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A

MANUAL

OF

ENGLISH LITERATURE,

BY

HENRY MORLEY,

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
LONDON.

Thoroughly Revised,

WITH AN ENTIRE RE-ARRANGEMENT OF MATTER, AND WITH
NUMEROUS RETRENCHMENTS AND ADDITIONS,

BY

MOSES COIT TYLER,

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN.

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PREFACE.

This volume may be described as an evolution from "A First Sketch of English Literature," written by Professor Henry Morley of London, and first published there in 1873. Notwithstanding its title, that book is by no means a slight affair: it has, in fact, upwards of nine hundred closely-printed pages; and its rather self-depreciatory name was given to it, doubtless, in consideration of the larger and more elaborate account of English literature on which its author has been engaged during the past twenty years, and of which three notable portions have been already issued.

In spite of some disadvantages in its construction, the "First Sketch of English Literature" is, for fulness of learning and for vigor and wholesomeness of thought, probably the best book of the kind hitherto produced in our language. It seems to have been intended as a text-book for college-students in England. However well it may be suited to the methods and conditions of English studies there, it has certain peculiarities that hinder its successful use by students in this country. Under the sanction of Professor Morley's courteous and generous consent, I have undertaken to make such changes in the book as my own acquaintance with it in the class-room had suggested to me as being the most desirable.

It is, of course, due to Professor Morley, that he should have, if possible, no responsibility except for his own part in this Manual; and I have tried to express, even upon the title-page, the nature of the changes which his "First Sketch" has undergone at my hands. The precise range and detail of those changes, however, it is impossible for me fully to point out, either upon the title-page or here.

In general, I may say that the substance of this Manual is Professor Morley's, and that the construction of it is mine. Even with reference to the substance of the book, however, I ought to explain that it differs in many respects from the "First Sketch." I have retained from that work the essential part of every thing bearing directly upon English literature; but I have tried to leave out every thing whose relation to English literature was either indirect, or, for American readers, bewildering: such as, on the one hand, extended references to Italian, French, and Spanish literatures; or, on the other hand, a multitude of incidental allusions — genealogical, domestic, local, and titular — that would perplex no student in England, but are sure to perplex most students in America. But my changes in the substance of the "First Sketch" have not been confined to those of omission. Wherever I thought it desirable, I have freely added materials not in the original work: for example, all of the Introduction excepting the first section; several pages of the chapters on the fifteenth century; the larger part of the account of the nineteenth century; besides many of the paragraphs of introduction and transition scattered through the book. But the most of my work upon the substance of this Manual cannot be here specified; it consists of innumerable small bits of alteration and addition, fitted in and mixed up with the original materials, and no longer distinguishable from them except by a careful collation of the two books item by item.

In a large book like this — a book of minute historical, biographical, and bibliographical statement — the liability to errors in dates, names, quotations, and other small details, is something enormous. My endeavor to detect all inaccuracies whatsoever to be found in the materials which compose the present work has cost an amount of labor and anxiety that would hardly be imagined, except by those who know from experience what it is to go through, sentence by sentence, a book of this sort, and try to verify every fact asserted or implied in it. As the book now stands, it will be found, I think, far more trustworthy, even in this sacred matter of precision in small things, than most other works of the kind. Yet I know that, in spite of all my effort to keep them out, some inaccuracies must still have crept into the book; and I shall be exceedingly grateful to any reader who will kindly notify me of any error, whether large or small, which he may discover in it.

In the citation of book-titles, many of which, especially in the times before the eighteenth century, are long and diffuse, Professor Morley, in his "First Sketch," has followed a custom which has hitherto prevailed in such books, and which may perhaps be adapted to the convenience of the general reader, but which is not strictly scientific; he has often given, in quotation-points but without signs of ellipsis, only the leading words of a title: thus, "Tragical History of Doctor Faustus," instead of "The Tragical History of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus." Moreover, in the spelling of old book-titles, his usage is not uniform, even for the same period, even for the same author; some titles are given in the antique spelling, others are modernized in part, and still others are modernized altogether. I confess that while for the ordinary uses of a text-book these methods of citation may be sufficient, and do certainly correspond to the common practice, I regret their adoption by Professor Morley in his "First Sketch;" and in my revision of that book, I began with the purpose of transforming all titles according to a fixed standard of precise and full citation. I was, however, soon forced to give up the attempt, as involving an amount of labor that I could not bestow upon the book; and I have contented myself with verifying every title — which I had the means of verifying at all — with respect to its accordance with the sense of the original.

In passing from the substance of this Manual to its construction, my task of explanation is made easy. For this portion of the work, I alone am responsible. Any one who will take the "First Sketch" and compare it with this Manual, with reference to the arrangement of materials into literary epochs, into chapters, into subordinate topics under chapters, and even in many cases into paragraphs under subordinate topics, will see that in all these particulars the Manual is a new book.

The disadvantages that I have observed as attending the use of the "First Sketch" as a text-book seemed to me largely to grow out of peculiarities in its construction. It is a mass of rich and various learning upon English literature, but densely packed together in small uniform type, with chapters very few and very long, with meagre indication at the head of each chapter respecting its contents, with no charts of periods and of the authors belonging to each period, with no analytic table of contents at the beginning, and with no analytic index at the end. It is lacking in perspective; in sharp and obvious divisions of the great departments of the subject; in such an adjustment of materials under these departments as to separate the essential from the non-essential, the more important from the less important; in paragraphs of transition that may give to the student, in the right places, a clew to the spirit and drift of what is coming, and to its relations with what has just gone. Further-more, the narrative of English authors which it presents is told synchronistically and in fragments, — each of the principal authors being dealt with for a single stage of his career, then giving way to some contemporary author, and to another, and another, the first one then returning, and again giving way, and again returning, and so on, until the end of his career is reached. For the general reader, provided that he is already acquainted with the principal personages in English literature, and can thus witness, without forgetfulness or confusion, this flitting appearance and disappearance and re-appearance of names along the pages, such a method of narrating literary history is both interesting and helpful; it especially gives him a vivid sense of the actual contemporaneousness of authors in each group, and of the mutual entanglements and reciprocations of their lives. But for the average college-student, even though tolerably advanced in literary knowledge, the case is very different: the vast majority of these once famous names are new and strange to him; their separate individuality cannot easily be grasped and remembered by him; and after some scores of them have flitted in and out before his vision, he finds it hard to collect around each name the facts pertaining to it as they lie dispersed over so many pages; he begins to get the wrong man into the right place, or the right man into the wrong place; and finally, unless supported by uncommon help from his teacher, he is in danger of surrendering to discouragement and disgust.

It is perhaps needless to say that all these disadvantages in the construction of the original work, I have endeavored to remove by an entirely new combination both of the old and of the new materials that have gone into the present work. Instead of the presentation of the careers of authors synchronistically and in fragments, they are, with the exception of two or three names, here presented in wholes, — contemporary authors being carefully grouped together, but each author having the privilege of telling his whole story through before another one gets the floor. Moreover, the twelve centuries of English literature are here broken into natural and manageable periods, as explained in the Introduction; each of these periods is boldly marked off from the others by subordinate title-pages and by conspicuous charts of names; in the exposition of each period, authors are grouped together in such manner as to give most prominence to those who are most important; and by the familiar device of using type of different sizes, the student is easily guided to those portions of the narrative which, for the immediate purpose of the recitation, deserve his chief attention, while, also, space is thus gained for materials that will be valuable to him for illustration and for subsequent reference.

With respect to the proportion of parts in this work, there is one peculiarity about which I venture to offer a suggestion, especially to my fellow-teachers. Here are twelve centuries of English literature to be dealt with. In any proper account of these twelve centuries, how much space should be given to each century? Nothing can be plainer than that, in a wise and helpful treatment of such a subject, some centuries should be unfolded with greater detail than others; and that the most help should be given to the student upon just those centuries on which the most help is needed, — that is, upon those centuries respecting which the materials within his reach are likely to be the most scanty, as well as the most difficult to handle. It will be safe to say, I suppose, that, wherever this Manual shall be used, there will be sufficient materials for studying the literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; namely, the works of the leading authors of those times, together with many periodicals and books in review of them. But for the ten centuries of English literature prior to the eighteenth, the materials in most American libraries are far less abundant, and from many of them are to a lamentable extent wanting.

Accordingly, in this Manual — which herein retains the general plan adopted in the "First Sketch" — the first ten centuries are treated with the greater fulness of detail; while, beginning with the eighteenth century, and coming down to the very border of the present year, the narrative, though embracing a still larger throng of names, grows less and less minute, and becomes finally a mere outline, — guiding the student, indeed, to all the great forms of recent English literature, and to the names of the chief writers who have illustrated each form, but leaving to the student the pleasure and the gain of filling in the sketch by studies which he can easily make for himself, and in which he will be sure to reap an ample reward both in knowledge and in delight.

It is of the utmost importance, even in the use of a text-book on English literature, that students should be saved from lapsing into a passive and listless attitude toward the subject, and should be so skilfully steered in their work that they may come to know for themselves the exhilaration of original research. If I may refer to my own experience as a teacher, I would say that in my introductory course upon English literature — in which course only do I use a text-book — I have found it a great advantage, while my pupils were engaged in reciting from the text-book upon the earlier periods of English literature, to parcel out among them, for direct study in the library, the most celebrated works in prose and poetry belonging to the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries; with the understanding that each student, in his turn, is to have the opportunity of reporting upon the topic assigned to him, as it shall be reached by the class in the regular process of the work. For some such method, this Manual is particularly adapted.

It is my earnest hope that this book may prove to be the means — among others developed originally in this country, as well as drawn hither from England, France, and Germany — of giving a healthy impulse and guidance to the study of English literature in America; and it has occurred to me that many readers of the present volume may be glad to have here a few words respecting the noble-minded English scholar and writer to whom they are chiefly indebted for it.

Henry Morley was born in London in 1822, and received his education at the Moravian school of Neuwied-on-the-Rhine, and at King's College, London. In 1844, at Madeley, in Shropshire, he began professional life as a physician. After four years of medical practice, he yielded to the strong bent of his nature toward educational work, and established near Liverpool a school to be conducted on an original method, which proved very successful, and of which he subsequently published a description. In 1851, he reluctantly abandoned this school, in order to enter upon an active literary career in London. He at once became associated with Charles Dickens in the editorial management of "Household Words," and so continued for six years. Near the end of that time, he joined the staff of "The Examiner," of which he was the editor-in-chief from 1859 to 1864. Two years before he attained the latter position, he also became lecturer on English literature in King's College. In 1865, he was made professor of English literature in University College, London, — his immediate predecessors in that office being David Masson and Arthur Hugh Clough. He still retains his professorship in University College; but, in 1870, he added to its duties those of examiner in English language, literature, and history, to the University of London.

During this long period of activity, first as physician, then as educator and journalist, he has likewise been a diligent student, and a prolific writer. The versatility of his literary labors is something notable. His interest in questions relating to sanitary science has been shown in many separate papers upon the subject, and especially in two books: "Tracts upon Health for Cottage Circulation," 1847; and "How to Make Home Unhealthy," 1850. In poetry, and in prose fiction, he has published "The Dream of the Lily Bell," 1845; "Sunrise in Italy," 1847; and two volumes of "Fairy-Tales," 1859 and 1860. In biography, his publications are many and important: "Life of Bernard Palissy of Saintes," two volumes, 1852; "Life of Jerome Cardan," 1854; "Life of Henry Cornelius Agrippa," 1856; "Clément Marot, and Other Studies," 1871. In 1851, his attention to certain educational problems was shown in a book entitled "A Defence of Ignorance." In 1866, he compressed into a book his special work as a dramatic critic: "The Journal of a London Playgoer from 1857 to 1866."

It is, however, in the immense field of English literary history and criticism that his special work has lain; and in this field, also, he takes eminent rank among living English authors, both for the range and minuteness of his researches, and for the value of the books which those researches have enabled him to produce. Besides his "First Sketch of English Literature," he has published "Gossip and Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair," 1857; "The Spectator," original and corrected texts, with introduction and notes, 1868; "Tables of English Literature," and "Notes of Literature," 1870; "Shorter English Poems, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time," "Illustrations of English Religion," and "The English Drama,"—the last three books having appeared within the last two or three years. All of these works, numerous and extended as many of them are, may be regarded as but incidental productions when compared with the one great literary task of his life, expressed in his "English Writers." Of this work, Vol. I., Part I., "The Celts and Anglo-Saxons," and Vol. I., Part II., "From the Conquest to Chaucer," appeared in 1864; while Vol. II., Part I., "From Chaucer to Dunbar," appeared in 1867.

I must not close this Preface without recording here some grateful, even if inadequate, mention of the painstaking and generous assistance I have received, while this book has been passing through the press, from my friend and associate, Professor Isaac N. Demmon. In many important ways the book has been improved by his good taste, his trained literary judgment, and his wide and accurate scholarship.

MOSES COIT TYLER.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR,
June 3, 1879.

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ENGLISH LITERATURE.

INTRODUCTION.

1. The literature of a people tells its life. History records its deeds; but literature brings to us, yet warm with their first heat, the appetites and passions, the keen intellectual debate, the higher promptings of the soul, whose blended energies produced the substance of the record. We see some part of a man's outward life, and guess his character, but do not know it as we should if we heard also the debate within, loud under outward silence, and could be spectators of each conflict for which lists are set within the soul. Such witnesses we are, through English literature, of the life of the English-speaking race. Let us not begin the study with a dull belief that it is but a bewilderment of names, dates, and short summaries of conventional opinion, which must be learned by rote. As soon as we can feel that we belong to a free people with a noble past, let us begin to learn through what endeavors and to what end it is free. Liberty as an abstraction is not worth a song. It is precious only for that which it enables us to be and do. Let us bring our hearts, then, to the study which we here begin, and seek through it accord with that true soul of our country by which we may be encouraged to maintain in our own day the best work of our forefathers.

The literature of England has for its most distinctive mark the religious sense of duty. It represents a people striving through successive generations to find out the right, and do it, to root out the wrong, and labor ever onward for the love of God. If this be really the strong spirit of her people, to show that it is so is to tell how England won, and how alone the English race can expect to keep, the foremost place among the nations.

2. One of the first facts for the student of English literature to make note of is the identity and the continuity of that literature, under all changes in its outward form, from a time near the middle of the seventh century down to the present. Some have taught that English literature begins in the fourteenth century, with Chaucer and his associates; and that the literature that was in England before that time, being called by such names as Anglo-Saxon and Semi-Saxon, was quite another matter, — was a literature so different from the English as to be almost an alien literature. This is a twofold mistake, historical and literary. For at least seven hundred years before Chaucer the people of England called themselves the English people, just as they have done during the five hundred years since Chaucer; and during all those centuries they have uniformly called their language and their literature English likewise. For twelve hundred years the people and the speech of England have preserved themselves; they have gone steadily forward in their normal development; neither has lost its identity. Moreover, English literature before Chaucer, not only had this long existence of seven hundred years, but it was abundant in many forms of prose and poetry. When Chaucer came, instead of supposing himself to be at the beginning of a literature, he thought himself at the end of one; and in his poems he asks forbearance of his readers, on the plea that all the harvest of poetry had then been reaped by his predecessors, and that he could only go through the field, and glean among their leavings.

3. We need, also, early in our studies, to fix upon some clear and useful system for the division of English literature into periods. Of course, all such divisions are arbitrary; some of them are likewise fanciful and confusing: yet, if we can discover one that is without the faults last mentioned, we shall find these advantages in it: —

(1) It will break up a very large subject into manageable portions.

(2) It will help us to see the successive influences that have been at work in the formation of English literature.

(3) It will help us to see the relations between the literary history of each period and its general history as presented in politics, social life, religion, science, and art.

(4) It will help us to connect the traits of each author with those of his own period, and to see their mutual relations.

A very reasonable system for the division of English literature into periods is one which identifies its several great epochs with the several great epochs of the language in which it is written. Thus, during the twelve centuries in which the English language has existed, there have been at least four great epochs in its development. During the first epoch, extending from 670 to the Norman Conquest in 1066, the language may be described as First English, or Anglo-Saxon. During the second epoch, extending from the Norman Conquest to the middle of the fourteenth century, when Chaucer's career began, the language may be described as Transitional English. During the third epoch, extending from the middle of the fourteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth century, near the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the language may be described as Early Modern English. During the fourth epoch, extending from the middle of the sixteenth century to the present, the language may be described as Modern English.

In the following treatise, therefore, we shall break up the twelve centuries of English literature into four great periods corresponding to these four great stages in the development of the English language.

I. *Period of First English, or Anglo-Saxon, 670-1066.*
II. *Period of Transitional English, 1066-1350.*
III. *Period of Early Modern English, 1350-1550.*
IV. *Period of Modern English, 1550 to the present.*

Of these four periods, the first two can be conveniently dealt with in bulk, each by itself; but, for the last two periods, the literature is so immense, and the transitions in literary spirit and form are so rapid, that each needs to be broken up into smaller and subordinate divisions. It is a great help to clearness of apprehension on the part of the student, as well as to fixedness of recollection, if these smaller and subordinate divisions of English literary history can be made to correspond to those simple and natural divisions of English history in general, with which all readers are familiar, namely, divisions into centuries and half-centuries. Accordingly, in this work, beginning with 1350, — at the threshold of our Period of Early Modern English, — we have arranged English writers and their works in groupings of half-centuries, as "The First Half of the Eighteenth Century," "The Second Half of the Eighteenth Century," and so forth. The only exception to this practice is in the case of the fifteenth century, of which the entire literary record is so meagre, that it does not need to be divided into halves. Thus the student will be accustomed, from the outset, to associate his knowledge of the literary history of England with his knowledge of its general, social, political, or military history in the same spaces of time, and thereby to see more truly how all these several expressions of the national life of England were swayed at every point by the same influences, how each remains as a witness and a clew to the character of all the others, and how, at last, all need to be studied together, if he would deeply know the history whose meaning he is trying to master.

PART I.

FIRST ENGLISH, OR ANGLO-SAXON:

670-1066.

ENGLISH LITERATURE.

PERIOD OF FIRST ENGLISH, OR ANGLO-SAXON: 670-1066.

POETS.

Cædmon.
Author of Beowulf.
Aldhelm.
Cynewulf.
Authors of Poems in Exeter Book.
Authors of Poems in Vercelli Book.
Authors of Poems in Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.
King Canute.

PROSE-WRITERS.

Bede.
King Alfred.
Ethelwold.
Ælfric.
Authors of Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

CHAPTER I.

THE FORMING OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

1. The Earliest Europeans.—2. The Celts.—3. The Teutons.—4. Their Blending into the English People.—5. Traits contributed by the Celts.—6. Traits contributed by the Teutons.

1. Once Europe was peopled only here and there by men who beat at the doors of nature, and upon the heads of one another, with sharp flints. What knowledge they struck out in many years was bettered by instruction from incoming tribes, who, beginning earlier or learning faster, brought higher results of experience out of some part of the region that we now call Asia. Generation after generation came and went, and then Europe was peopled by tribes different in temper,—some scattered among pastures with their flocks and herds, or gathering for fight and plunder around chiefs upon whom they depended; others drawing together on the fields they ploughed, able to win, and strong to hold, the good land of the plain in battle under chiefs whose strength depended upon them. But none can distinguish surely the forefathers of these most remote forefathers of the Celt and Teuton, in whose unlike tempers lay some of the elements from which, when generations after generations more had passed away, a Shakespeare was to come.

2. The first of these great tribes who came into the British Isles were the Celts; and of these there were two distinct families,—the Gaelic Celts and the Cymric Celts. The former, migrating by sea from Spain, struck on the eastern coast of Ireland and on the south-western shores of England, and thence spread thinly over both islands. Afterwards the Cymric Celts, who had been seated in Belgium and the north of France, being crowded and hustled by an advancing Teutonic tribe, fled across the Channel, landed on the south coast of England, and gradually forced the main body of their predecessors in Southern

Britain (the Gaelic Celts) to join their countrymen across the Irish Sea. Soon, however, the Teutons, who had formed a Belgic Gaul, crossed the English Channel, and were strong enough to form a Belgic England; and from all lands opposite the eastern coast of Britain, the Teutons kept coming over as colonists.

3. This process of change was continuous, and may have been so for some centuries before the hundred years between the middle of the fifth and the middle of the sixth century after Christ, during which there were six Teutonic settlements thought worthy of especial record. The six settlements were thus distinguished because they established sovereignties, and began the strong uprearing of the nation which took from a great immigrant Teutonic tribe its name of English.

The First English, who are commonly known by the school-name of Anglo-Saxons, but who even then called themselves the English people (*Englisc folc*), were formed by a gradual blending of Teutonic tribes. They came, at different times and in different generations, from different parts of the opposite coast. On the eastern shores, from the Moray Firth to below Whitby, the land lay readiest of access to men from the opposite side of the North Sea, among whom Scandinavians were numerous; accordingly the Scandinavian element is chiefly represented in the character, form, face, and provincial dialects of the north country. The part of the east coast belonging now to Lincolnshire was readiest of access to the Danes; and in Lincolnshire the Danish element is strongly represented. Farther south, the coast was opposite the Frisian settlements; therefore, among the immigrants over the North Sea to Southern England, the Frisians, forefathers of the modern Dutchmen, would predominate. Adventurers of many tribes might join in any single expedition. When they had formed their settlements, the Teutonic spirit of co-operation, and the social progress that came of it, produced changes of home, intermarriages, community of interests, community of speech in a language proper to the cultivated men of the whole country. This manner of speech, First English (or Anglo-Saxon), was not brought complete from any place upon the Continent, but it was formed here by a fusion of the closely-related languages or dialects of the Teutonic immigrants.

4. Thus we see that by the year 670, at about which time the first writing in English literature was produced, there was in the British Isles a population consisting in part of Celts, and in part of Teutons; and it is from a blending of these tribes during the twelve centuries that have elapsed since then, that the present English-speaking race have derived their physical and spiritual qualities. English literature from the seventh century to the nineteenth is a continuous expression of those qualities, both spiritual and physical.

5. First we desire to know what qualities have been contributed to the common stock by the Celt; for his influence on English literature proceeds not from example set by one people, and followed by another, but, in the way of nature, by establishment of blood-relationship and the transmission of modified and blended character to a succeeding generation. The Gaelic Celt — now represented by the Irish and the Highland Scotch — was at his best an artist. He had a sense of literature; he had active and bold imagination, joy in bright color, skill in music, touches of a keen sense of honor in most savage times, and in religion fervent and self-sacrificing zeal. In the Cymric Celt — now represented by the Welsh — there was the same artist nature. By natural difference, and partly, no doubt, because their first known poets learned in suffering what they taught in song, the oldest Cymric music comes to us, not like the music of the Irish harp, in throbbings of a pleasant tunefulness, but as a wail that beats again, again, and again some iterated burden on the ear.

In the fusion of the two races, the Celtic and Teutonic, which slowly began among the hills and valleys of the north and west of England, where the populations came most freely into contact, the gift of genius was the contribution of the Celt. "The true glory of the Celt in Europe," says James Fergusson, "is his artistic eminence. It is not, perhaps, too much to assert, that, without his intervention, we should not have possessed in modern times a church worthy of admiration, or a picture or a statue we could look at without shame."

The sense of literature was shown in the earliest times by the support of a distinct literary class among the Celts, who then possessed England. In Erin, the first headquarters of song and story, even in the third century there was the poet with his staff of office, a square tablet staff, on the four sides of which he cut his verse; and there were degrees in literature. There was the Ollamh, or perfect doctor, who could recite seven fifties of historic tales; and there were others, down to the Driseg, who could tell but twenty. As we travel down from the remotest time of which there can be doubtful record, we find the profession of historian to be a recognized calling, transmitted in one family from generation to generation, and these later professors of history still bore the name of Ollamhs. Of the active and bold fancy that accompanied this Celtic sense of literature as an art, and of the Celt's delight in bright color, almost any one of the old Gaelic poems will bear witness. The delight in color is less manifest in the first poems of the Cymry. For them the one color was that of blood: they are of the sixth century, and sing of men who died in the vain fight against the spreading power of the Teuton. Of those Gaels, who were known as Gauls to Rome, Diodorus the Sicilian told, three centuries before the time of Fionn and Oisin, how they wore bracelets and costly finger-rings, gold corselets, and dyed tunics flowered with colors of every kind, trews, striped cloaks fastened with a brooch, and divided into many party-colored squares, — a taste still represented by the Highland plaid. In the old Gaelic tale of the "Tain Bo" men are described marching: "Some are with red cloaks; others with light-blue cloaks; others with deep-blue cloaks; others with green, or gray, or white, or yellow cloaks, bright and fluttering about them. There is a young, red-freckled lad, with a crimson cloak, in the midst of them; a golden brooch in that cloak at his breast." Even the ghost of a Celt, if it dropped the substance, retained all the coloring of life. The vivacity of Celtic fancy is shown also by an outpouring of bold metaphor and effective simile: —

"Both shoulders covered with his painted shield,
The hero there, swift as the war-horse, rushed.
Noise in the mount of slaughter, — noise and fire:
The darting lances were as gleams of sun.
There the glad raven fed. The foe must fly
While he so swept them, as when in his course
An eagle strikes the morning dews aside,
And like a whelming billow struck their front.
Brave men, so say the bards, are dumb to slaves.
Spears wasted men; and ere the swan-white steeds
Trod the still grave that hushed the master voice,
His blood washed all his arms. Such was Buddvan,
Son of Bleedvan the Bold."

Here, in a mere average stanza, containing one of the ninety celebrations of the Cymric chiefs who fell at Cattraeth, we have more similes than in the six thousand and odd lines (English measure) of "Beowulf," the first heroic poem of the Teutonic section of our people. The delight in music — among the old Irish Celts in the music of the harp and tabor, among the old Welsh Celts in the music of the harp, the pipe, and the crowd — is another characteristic. It is noted also that the music of the Gaels was sweet, lively, and rapid, and that the music of the Cymry was slower and more monotonous.

6. But what, we ask in the second place, are the qualities contributed to the common English stock by the Teutons? They were wanting in vivacity of genius. They were practical, earnest, social, true to a high sense of duty, and had faith in God. They used few similes, and, although their poetry is sometimes said to abound in metaphor, its metaphors were few and obvious. By metaphor a word is turned out of its natural sense. There is little of metaphor in calling the sea the water-street, the whale-road, or the swan-road; the ship, a wave-traverser, the sea-wood, or the floating-wood; a chief's retainers, his hearth-sharers; or night, the shadow-covering of creatures. This kind of poetical periphrasis abounds in First English poetry; but it proceeds from the thoughtful habit of realization, which extends also to a representation of the sense of words by some literal suggestion that will bring them quickened with a familiar experience or human association to the mind. There is in the unmixed English an imagination with deep roots and little flower, solid stem and no luxuriance of foliage. That which it was in a poet's mind to say was realized first, and then uttered with a direct earnestness which carried every thought straight home to the apprehension of the listener. The descendants of those Frisians who did not cross to England resemble the First English before they had been quickened with a dash of Celtic blood. Both Dutch and English, when the seed of Christianity struck root among them, mastered the first conditions of a full development of its grand truths with the same solid earnestness, and carried their convictions out to the same practical result. Holland, indeed, has been, not less than England, a battle-ground of civil and religious liberty. The power of the English character, and therefore of the literature that expresses it, lies in this energetic sense of truth, and this firm habit of looking to the end. Christianity having been once accepted, aided as it was greatly in its first establishment among us by zeal of the Gael and Cymry, the First English writers fastened upon it, and throughout the whole subsequent history of our literature, varied and enlivened by the diverse blending of the races that joined in the forming of the nation, its religious energy has been the centre of its life.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST ENGLISH POETRY.

1. The Long Line of English Poets.—2. Cædmon.—3. His Paraphrase.—4. Beowulf.—5. Aldhelm.—6. Other Poets.—7. Mechanism of First English Verse.

1. We may think of all the poets that English literature has had during these twelve hundred years as a great host of men and women still marching in long procession, and still singing their songs to all who will listen. As our eyes move down the line, we catch sight of Chaucer, and Lydgate, and Sackville, and Spenser, and Shakespeare, and Milton, and Dryden, and Pope, and Burns, and Wordsworth, and Keats, and Shelley, and Elizabeth Browning, and Tennyson. It may well seem to us the most glorious army that ever marched; and it interests us to know that at the very head of it walks a man who lived as far off as the latter half of the seventh century, and who was of so lowly origin that he seemed to rise out of the earth, and to come to his great vocation of song, not by human training, but by inspiration of God. The name of the first poet in English literature is **Cædmon.**

2. It appears that, in the year 657, a holy woman, the Abbess Hilda, founded a monastery at Whitby, on one of the high cliffs of the coast of Yorkshire, looking off upon the North Sea. Among the tenants of the abbey lands near by was this humble person, Cædmon, quite innocent of any knowledge of letters, already well advanced in years, but a devout convert from Paganism to the Christian faith, of which the new monastery was a beacon in all that dark neighborhood. One day he joined a festive party at the house of some remoter neighbor of the country-side. The visitors came in on horseback and afoot, or in country cars, drawn, some by horses, and some by oxen. There was occasion for festivity that would last longer than a day. The draught cattle of the visitors were stabled, and would need watching of nights, since, in wild times, cattle-plunder also was a recreation, and one that joined business to pleasure. The visitors took turns by night in keeping watch over the stables. One evening when Cædmon sat with his companions over the ale-cup, and the song went round, his sense of song was keen; but, as a zealous Christian convert, he turned with repugnance from the battle-strains and heathen tales that were being chanted to the music of the rude harp which passed from hand to hand. As the harp came nearer to him, he rose, since it was his turn that night to watch the cattle, and escaped into the stables. There, since we know by his work that he was true poet-born, his train of thought, doubtless, continued till it led to a strong yearning for another form of song. If, for these heathen hymns of war and rapine, knowledge and praise of God could be the glad theme of their household music! and if he,—even he— Perhaps we may accept as a true dream the vision which Bede next tells as a miracle. Cædmon watched, slept; and in his sleep one came to him and said, "Cædmon, sing." He said, "I cannot. I came hither out of the feast because I cannot sing."—"But," answered the one who came to him, "you have to sing to me."—"What," Cædmon asked, "ought I to sing?" And he answered, "Sing the origin of creatures." Having received which answer, Bede tells us, he began immediately to sing, in praise of God the Creator, verses of which this is the sense: "Now we ought to praise the Author of the heavenly kingdom, the power of the Creator and his counsel, the deeds of the Father of glory: how he, though the eternal God, became the Author of all marvels; omnipotent Guardian, who created for the sons of men, first heaven for their roof, and then the earth." "This," adds Bede, "is the sense, but not the order of the words which he sang when sleeping." Cædmon remembered, upon waking, the few lines he had made in his sleep, and continued to make others like them. The vision seems to have been simply the dream-form given to a continuation of his waking thoughts; and Cædmon may well have believed, according to the simple faith of his time, that in his dream he had received a command from heaven. He went in the morning to the steward of the land he held under the abbey, and proposed to use his gift of song in aid of the work that was being done by Abbess Hilda and her companions. Hilda called him to her, up the great rock, and, to test his power, caused pieces of Scripture story to be told to him, then bade him go home, and turn them into verse. He returned next day with the work so well done, that his teachers became, in turn, his hearers. Hilda then counselled him to give up his occupations as a layman, and received him with all his goods into the monastery. There sacred history was taught to him, that he might place the word of God in pleasant song within their homes, and on their highways, and at festive gatherings, upon the lips of the surrounding people. He was himself taught by religious men trained in the Celtic school, which was more closely allied to the Eastern than the Western Church. They knew and read the Chaldee Scriptures, and, as their new brother began his work with the song of Genesis, the name they gave him in the monastery was the Chaldee name of the Book of Genesis, derived from its first words, "In the beginning," that being, in the Chaldee, b'Cadmon.

3. Cædmon sang, in what is now called his "Paraphrase," of the creation, and with it of the war in heaven, of the fall of Satan, and of his counsellings in hell as the Strong Angel of Presumption. Thus Cædmon began, first in time and among the first in genius, the strain of English poetry: —

"Most right it is that we praise with our words,
Love in our minds, the Warden of the skies,
Glorious King of all the hosts of men:
He speeds the strong, and is the head of all
His high creation, the almighty Lord.
None formed him: no first was, nor last shall be,
Of the eternal Ruler; but his sway
Is everlasting over thrones in heaven."

Cædmon paints the Angel of Presumption, yet in heaven, questioning whether he would serve God: —

"'Wherefore,' he said, 'shall I toil?
No need have I of master. I can work
With my own hands great marvels, and have power
To build a throne more worthy of a God,
Higher in heaven. Why shall I, for his smile,

Serve him, bend to him thus in vassalage?
I may be God as he.
Stand by me, strong supporters, firm in strife.
Hard-mooded heroes, famous warriors,
Have chosen me for chief; one may take thought
With such for counsel, and, with such, secure
Large following. My friends in earnest they,
Faithful in all the shaping of their minds;
I am their master, and may rule this realm.'"

And thus, to quote one passage more, Cædmon, a thousand years before the time of Milton, sang of Satan fallen: —

"Satan discoursed; he who henceforth ruled hell
Spake sorrowing.
God's angel erst, he had shone white in heaven,
Till his soul urged, and, most of all, its pride,
That of the Lord of hosts he should no more
Bend to the word. About his heart, his soul
Tumultuously heaved, hot pains of wrath
Without him.
Then said he, 'Most unlike this narrow place
To that which once we knew, high in heaven's realm,
Which my Lord gave me, though therein no more
For the Almighty we hold royalties.
Yet right hath he not done in striking us
Down to the fiery bottom of hot hell,
Banished from heaven's kingdom, with decree
That he will set in it the race of man.
Worst of my sorrows this, that, wrought of earth,
Adam shall sit in bliss on my strong throne;
Whilst we these pangs endure, this grief in hell.
Woe, woe! Had I the power of my hands,
And for a season, for one winter's space,
Might be without, then with this host, I —
But iron binds me round; this coil of chains
Rides me; I rule no more; close bonds of hell
Hem me their prisoner.'"

Cædmon, when he has thus told the story of creation and the fall of man, follows the Scripture story to the flood, and represents with simple words the rush of waters, and the ark "at large under the skies over the orb of ocean." So he goes on, picturing clearly to himself what with few words he pictures for his hearer. The story of Abraham proceeds to the triumph of his faith in God; when he had led his son Isaac to the top of a high mount by the sea, he "began to load the pile, awaken fire, and fettered the hands and feet of his child; then hove on the pile young Isaac; and then hastily gripped the sword by the hilt, would kill his son with his own hands, quench the fire with the youth's blood." From this scene of God's blessing on the perfect faith of Abraham, Cædmon proceeds next to the passage of the Red Sea by the Israelites, — a story of the power of God, who is able to lead those who put their faith in him unhurt through the midst of the great waters. And the next subject of the extant paraphrase is taken from the Book of Daniel, to show the same Power leading Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael, with their garments unsinged, through the furnace-fire. This paraphrase closes with Belshazzar's feast. The rest is from the New Testament, inscribed in the one extant manuscript less carefully, and by a later hand. It has for its subject Christ and Satan. It is fragmentary; and perhaps no part of it is by Cædmon, except that which describes the fasting and temptation in the wilderness.

4. Thus the English heart sang through the verse of Cædmon its first great hymn based on the Word of Truth. But in the English heart, side by side with its sense of need, and of duty toward God, lay its sturdy joy in combat with man; and not far from the time when was born this first great English poem of religion, was born likewise the first great English poem of war.

The Teutonic settlers in England had brought along with them from the Continent an heroic legend concerning a chief named **Beowulf,** who was a Pagan like themselves; and the memory of him they kept alive within them long after they had ceased somewhat to be Pagans. By some unknown Christian poet, writing in the same north of England where Cædmon was uttering his inspirations, this old legend was put into English verse, forming a poem of 6,357 short lines, and bearing the name of its hero, "Beowulf." It is the most ancient heroic poem in any Germanic language. Its hero sails from a land of the Goths to a land of the Danes, and there he frees a chief named Hrothgar from the attacks of a monster of the fens and moors, named Grendel. Afterwards he is himself ruler, is wounded mortally in combat with a dragon, and is solemnly buried under a great barrow on a promontory rising high above the sea. "And round about the mound rode his hearth-sharers, who sang that he was of kings, of men, the mildest, kindest, to his people sweetest, and the readiest in search of praise." In this poem real events are transformed into legendary marvels; but the actual life of the old Danish and Scandinavian chiefs as it was first transferred to this country is vividly painted. It brings before us the feast in the mead-hall, with the chief and his hearth-sharers, the customs of the banquet, the rude beginnings of a courtly ceremony, the boastful talk, reliance upon strength of hand in grapple with the foe, and the practical spirit of adventure that seeks peril as a commercial speculation: for Beowulf is undisguisedly a tradesman in his sword. The poem includes, also, expression of the heathen fatalism, "What is to be goes ever as it must," tinged by the energetic sense of men who feel that even fate helps those who help themselves; or, as it stands in "Beowulf," that "the Must Be often helps an undoomed man when he is brave."

5. These two poets, Cædmon and the unknown author of "Beowulf," were doubtless the greatest poets in our First English period; but, among the other poets of that period, a beautiful and interesting character was **Aldhelm.** He was born in 656, was of gentle stock, was well taught by the learned Adrian; and for the love of God he gave his life, with all his intellectual and his material wealth, to the monastery at Malmesbury. In 672, at the very time when Cædmon was doing his poetic work at Whitby, Aldhelm, a youth of sixteen, joined a poor monastery which had been founded by a Scot, more learned than rich, named Meldum, after whom the place had its name of Meldum's Byrig, or Malmesbury. The place was so poor that the monks had not enough to eat. Aldhelm obtained a grant of the monastery, rebuilt the church, gathered religious companies about him, and inspired in them his zeal for a pure life. He was a musician and a poet; played, it is said, all the instruments of music used in his time. His letters and his Latin verse, chiefly in praise of chastity, survive; but those English songs of his which were still on the lips of the people in King Alfred's day are lost to us. William of Malmesbury has recorded, on King Alfred's authority, that Aldhelm was unequalled as an inventor and singer of English verse; and that a song ascribed to him, which was still familiar among the people, had been sung by Aldhelm, on the bridge between country and town, in the character of an English minstrel or gleeman, to keep the people from running home directly after mass was sung, as it was their habit to do, without waiting for the sermon. Another story is, that on a Sunday, at a time when many traders from different parts of the country came into Malmesbury, Abbot Aldhelm stationed himself on the bridge, and there, by his songs, caused some of those who would have passed to stay by him, and, leaving their trade until the morrow, follow him to church.

6. Apart from "Beowulf," and Cædmon's "Paraphrase," each existing in a single manuscript, the main body of the First English poetry that has come down to us has been preserved in two collections, known as the **Exeter Book** and the **Vercelli Book.** Each is named from the place where it was found. The Exeter Book is a collection of poems given, with other volumes, to the library of his cathedral by Leofric, Bishop of Exeter, between the years 1046 and 1073. The other volume was discovered in 1823, in a monastery at Vercelli, in the Milanese, where it had been mistaken for a relic of Eusebius, who was once Bishop of Vercelli.

Among the pieces in these volumes are three of considerable length, by a poet named **Cynewulf,** who, according to one opinion, was Bishop of Lindisfarne, and died in 780, or, according to another opinion, was Abbot of Peterborough, and died in 1014. In the Vercelli Book is Cynewulf's "Elene," a poem of 2,648 lines, on the legend of St. Helen, or the finding of the true cross by the mother of Constantine. In the Exeter Book we have Cynewulf's legend of "Juliana," martyr in the days of Emperor Maximian, and a series of poems which have unity among themselves, and have been read as a single work, — Cynewulf's "Christ." Cynewulf deals with Scripture history and legend in a devout spirit; and his poems are interesting, although their earnestness is not quickened by any touch of genius.

Among other poems in the two collections, we have in the Exeter Book "The Traveller's Song," which is sometimes thought to be the oldest of First English poems; the legend of "St. Guthlac;" "The Phœnix," an allegory of the life of the Christian; "The Panther" and "The Whale," two examples of the early Christian fashion of turning natural history into religious apologue; "An Address of the Soul to the Body;" "The Various Fortunes of Men;" and some "Proverbs" and "Riddles." The collection contains a few pieces not exclusively devotional, and it represents in fair proportion the whole character of First English poetry. Since it was produced by an educated class trained in the monasteries, the religious tone might be expected to predominate, even if this were not also the literature of a religious people. The domestic feeling of the Teuton is tenderly expressed among these poems in a little strain from shipboard on the happiness of him whose wife awaits on shore the dear bread-winner, ready to wash his travel-stained clothes and to clothe him anew by her own spinning and weaving.

In the Vercelli Book, beside Cynewulf's "Helen," there is a still longer legend of "St. Andrew," with a "Vision of the Holy Rood," the beginning of a poem on "The Falsehood of Men," a poem on "The Fates of the Apostles," and two "Addresses of the Soul to the Body," one corresponding to that in the Exeter Book. Such poems, in which the soul debates with the body as chief cause of sin, remained popular for centuries.

Among the remains of First English poetry outside the Exeter and the Vercelli Book, the most interesting of those which seem to have been produced before the end of the eighth century is a fragment of old battle-song known as "The Fight at Finnesburg;" also a fine fragment of a poem on "Judith," and a fragment of a gloomy poem on "The Grave."

Few poems remain to us from the First English period, belonging to the years after the eighth century. The writers of that famous national record called "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" occasionally rise from prose into verse, and in this way has been preserved the poem of "The Battle of Brunanburh."

There remains to us, nearly complete, a First English poem on "The Battle of Maldon," or, as it is also called, "The Death of Byrhtnoth," warm with the generous love of independence, and yet simply honest in its record of defeat, through which we feel, as it were, the pulse of the nation beating healthily.

Perhaps the most famous specimen of the poetry of this period is a scrap of song believed to have been composed by King Canute. One day, when he was going by boat to Ely to keep a church festival, he ordered his men to row slowly, and near shore, that he might hear the psalms of the monks; then he called to his companions to sing with him, and invented on the spot a little song: —

"Merie sungen the Muneches binnen Ely
Tha Cnut ching reuther by;
Rotheth cnites ner the land
And here ye thes Muneches sang."
("Pleasantly sang the monks in Ely
When Canute the king rowed by;
Row, boys, near the land,
And hear ye the song of the monks.")

Then followed other verses, said to have been still remembered and sung a hundred years after the Conquest.

7. As to their mechanism, there is one measure for "Beowulf," Cædmon's "Paraphrase," and all subsequent First English poems. There is no rhyme, and no counting of syllables. The lines are short, depending upon accent for a rhythm varying in accordance with the thought to be expressed, and depending for its emphasis upon alliteration. Usually, in the first of a pair of short lines, the two words of chief importance begin with the same letter, and, in the second line of the pair, the chief word begins also with that letter, that is to say, if the alliteration is of consonants; in the case of vowels the rule is reversed, — the chief words begin with vowels that are different.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST ENGLISH PROSE.

1. The Venerable Bede.—2. Alcuin and John Scotus Erigena.—3. King Alfred.—4. Ethelwold and Dunstan.—5. Progress in England.—6. Ælfric.—7. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

1. As Cædmon marches at the head of the long line of English poets, so **the Venerable Bede** leads the still longer line of English prose-writers. This wise and saintly man, born in 673, was a child in arms when Cædmon sang the power of the Creator and his counsel, and the young Aldhelm had begun his work at Malmesbury. When seven years old, — that is to say, about the time of the death of Abbess Hilda, — Bede was placed in the newly-founded monastery of St. Peter, at Wearmouth. Three years later the associated monastery of St. Paul was opened at Jarrow, on the banks of the Tyne, about five miles distant from St. Peter's. Bede, then aged ten, was transferred to the Jarrow monastery. There he spent his life, punctual in all formal exercises of devotion, and employing his whole leisure, pen in hand, for the advancement of true knowledge. He digested and arranged the teaching of the fathers of the church, that others might with the least possible difficulty study the Scriptures by the light they gave. He produced, in a Latin treatise on "The Nature of Things," a text-book of the science of his day, digested and compacted out of many volumes. His works are almost an encyclopædia of the knowledge of his time. He drew it from many sources, where it lay hidden in dull, voluminous, or inaccessible books; and he set it forth in books which could be used in the monastery schools, or be read by the educated for their own further instruction. The fame of the devout and simple-minded English scholar spread beyond England. A pope in vain desired to have him brought to Rome. He refused in his own monastery the dignity of abbot, because "the office demands household care; and household care brings with it distraction of mind, which hinders the pursuit of learning." He was thus at work in his monastery, thirty-six years old, at the time of the death of Aldhelm.

In 731, in his fifty-ninth year, Bede finished the most important of his works, that known as his "Ecclesiastical History." That History of the English Church was virtually a history of England brought down to the date of its completion, and based upon inquiries made with the true spirit of a historian. Bede did not doubt reported miracles; and that part of the religious faith of his time supplies details which we should be glad now to exchange for other information upon matters whereof he gives too bare a chronicle; but, whatever its defects, he has left us a history of the early years of England,— succinct, yet often warm with life; business-like and yet childlike in its tone; at once practical and spiritual, simply just, and the work of a true scholar, breathing love to God and man. We owe to Bede alone the knowledge of much that is most interesting in our early history. Where other authorities are cited, they are often writers, who, on the points in question, know no more than Bede had told them. Bede died in the year 735, four years after the completion of his History. He wrote in Latin, then the language of all scholars; but in his last days, under painful illness, he was urging forward a translation into English of the Gospel of St. John. One of his pupils said to him, when the end was near, "Most dear master, there is still one chapter wanting; do you think it troublesome to be asked any more questions?" He answered, "It is no trouble. Take your pen and make ready, and write fast." Afterwards, says the pupil, who gave, in a letter that remains to us, the narrative of Bede's last days, when the dying scholar had been taking leave of his brethren in the monastery, and bequeathing among them his little wealth of pepper, napkins, and incense, "the boy said, 'Dear master, there is yet one sentence not written.' He answered, 'Write quickly.' Soon after the boy said, 'The sentence is now written.' He replied, 'It is well. You have said the truth. It is ended. Receive my head into your hands; for it is a great satisfaction to me to sit facing my holy place, where

I was wont to pray, that I may also, sitting, call upon my Father.' And thus on the pavement of his little cell, singing 'Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost,' when he had named the Holy Spirit he breathed his last, and so departed into the heavenly kingdom."

2. After Bede's death there were in England two great scholars, who by their writings made themselves famous over all Europe: these were **Alcuin**, who died in 804, and **John Scotus Erigena**, who died about 884. These men did much to advance learning and to quicken thought in England; but as their writings were in Latin, and not in English, their connection with English literature was only indirect.

3. The chief prosperity of First English prose gathers about the name and reign of the great **King Alfred**. Thirteen years before the death of Erigena, that is in 871, Alfred became King of England; and at that time the same races, which, by their settlements three or four centuries earlier, had laid the foundations of England, were again descending on the coasts of the North Sea and the Atlantic. They spread their ravages from Friesland to Aquitaine, and pushed inland by way of the Rhine, the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne. In England they were called the Danes; in France, the Normans. In the autumn of 866 the Danes occupied in strength part of the eastern coast, and in the following spring they plundered and burned churches and monasteries of East Anglia. The Abbess Hilda's was among the monasteries burned in 867.

In 876, when Alfred, aged twenty-seven, had been for five years an unlucky king, with Healfdene strong at the head of his Danes in the north of England, and Guthrum in the south, Rolf (called also Rollo and Rou) entered the Seine. He and his brother Gorm had, like others, contended with their own king at home. Gorm had been killed, and Rolf had gone into independent exile as a bold adventurer by sea. He had sought prizes in England and Belgium before he went up the Seine, and was then invited to take peaceful occupation of Rouen. In 879 King Alfred obtained peace by his treaty with Guthrum. Thirty-two years afterwards, in 911, the land of the Normans, afterwards called Normandy, was yielded to Rollo and his followers.

Thus we see that King Alfred, in his struggle with the Danes, was battling only with one part of a great movement akin to that which had first brought the English into Britain; and that the foundation of Normandy, about ten years after King Alfred's death, is but another of its incidents, although an incident of first importance in the history of Europe.

King Alfred, having secured some peace with the new settlers on his coast, proceeded to restore strength to his people with the help of the best advisers he could gather to his court. Churches and monasteries had suffered for their wealth; but their plunder and destruction meant also destruction of their schools. "There are only a few," said Alfred, "on this side of the Humber, who can understand the divine service, or even translate a Latin letter into English, and I believe not many on the other side of the Humber either. They are so few, indeed, that I cannot remember one south of the Thames when I began to reign." Alfred re-established monasteries, and took pains to make them efficient centres of education for his people. Partly because the knowledge of Latin had to be recovered, partly because good knowledge is most widely diffused through a land when it is written in the language of the people, Alfred made, or caused to be made for him, translations of the books which had been most valued when they were among the Latin text-books of the days of Bede and Alcuin. One of these was Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," or History of England, translated into English without any of the added information with which it could have been enriched. Perhaps a reverence for Bede's work caused Alfred to present it to his countrymen without change or addition.

The same feeling would not stand in the way of a free handling of "The Universal History" of Orosius. This had been the accepted manual in monastery schools, for general history from the creation to A.D. 416. Its author was a Spanish controversial Christian of the fifth century, and it was written at the suggestion of St. Augustine of Hippo. Augustine was himself writing "De Civitate Dei" to sustain the faith of Christians who had seen Alaric sack Rome, by showing from church history that the preaching of the Gospel could not add to the world's misery. He suggested to Orosius, who just then came to consult him on some question of heresy, that he might show from profane history the same thing for the re-assurance of the faithful. Orosius produced, therefore, in Latin, a dull book, written, as Pope Gelasius I. said, "with wonderful brevity against heathen perversions," and it became in the monastery schools the chief manual of universal history. King Alfred, in giving a free translation of it to his people, cleared the book of church controversy, omitted, altered, and added, with the sole purpose of producing a good summary of general history and geography.

King Alfred's other work in aid of a right knowledge of history was, probably, the establishment of that national record of events which was kept afterwards for a long time from year to year, and is now commonly known as "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle." It begins, after a brief account of Britain, with Cæsar's invasion; is in its earlier details obviously a compilation, and that chiefly from Bede, but begins to give fuller details after the year 853; and so, from a date within Alfred's lifetime, begins to take rank with Bede as one of the great sources of information on the early history of England. It may be supposed, that, for the keeping of this annual record of the nation's life, local events were reported at the headquarters of some one monastery in which was a monk commissioned to act as historiographer; that, at the end of each year, this monk set down what he thought most worthy to be remembered, and that he then had transcripts of his brief note made in the scriptorium of his monastery, and forwarded to other houses for addition to the copies kept by them of the great year-book of the nation. Geoffrey Gaimar, writing in the twelfth century, says that King Alfred had at Winchester a copy of a chronicle fastened by a chain; so that all who wished might read. In some such way as this "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" was kept up until the time of the Norman conquest, and for three generations after that. Its last record is of the accession of Henry II. in the year 1154.

King Alfred not only tried to make his countrymen acquainted with the world in which they lived, but he sought also to aid each in acquiring a firm rule over the world within himself. For this reason he turned into English the famous Latin work of Boëthius, the last man of genius produced by ancient Rome. Boëthius, a Roman senator, lost the favor of Theodoric by a love for his country, which his enemies called treason; was imprisoned, and from prison led to execution, about the year 525. In prison he wrote his noble work called "The Consolation of Philosophy," in five books of prose, mixed with verse. The first of its five books recognized as the great source of consolation that a wise God rules the world; the second argued that man in his worst extremity possesses much, and ought to fix his mind on the imperishable; the third maintained that God is the chief good, and works no evil; the fourth, that, as seen from above, only the good are happy; and the fifth sought to reconcile God's knowledge of what is necessary with the free-will of mankind. The charm of a philosophic mind expressed through a pure strain of natural piety had made this dialogue between Philosophy and the Prisoner so popular, that the church justified its use of the volume in schools by claiming Boëthius as a Christian martyr. He was canonized as a saint in the eighth century, though in his book he turns from the depth of worldly calamity to explore all sources of true consolation, and does not name Christ. Alfred believed, as he was told, that Boëthius suffered as a Christian under Theodoric, and told it again when he gave "The Consolation of Philosophy" in English to his people.

King Alfred also, with the same desire to give men inward strength, translated into English a famous book by Pope Gregory the Great. This book, known as the "Regula Pastoralis," showing what the mind of a true spiritual pastor ought to be, was made English as "Gregory's Book on the Care of the Soul." It is in the preface to this that King Alfred tells of the decay of learning in his kingdom, and of his desire for its true restoration.

We cannot know with certainty whether much of the work ascribed to King Alfred was done by his own hand, or whether he may rather be said to have encouraged, by strong fellowship in industry, the labors of those good men whom he gathered to his court, and who worked under his direction, giving and receiving counsel, for the furtherance of his most royal enterprise. What we do know with certainty assures us, that, although King Alfred lived a thousand years ago, a thousand years hence, if there be England then, his memory will yet be precious to his country.

4. There is little to be said of our First English literature after the time of King Alfred, who died in 901. Two devout ecclesiastics, **Ethelwold** and **Dunstan**, sought to reform monastic life by putting more purity and zeal into it; and, in the prosecution of this work, Ethelwold translated into English Benedict's "Rule of a Monastic Life." Dunstan wrote an adaptation of the same rule for the use of English monks, and also a large "Commentary on the Benedictine Rule," doubtless from notes of the lectures given by him to his pupils in the monastery schools. Some fragments of First English in the chapter library at Gloucester have been partly published in facsimile as "Gloucester Fragments," and include a detail of miracles that preceded and directed the dedication, by Archbishop Dunstan, of Ethelwold's restored Cathedral of Winchester.

5. No vigor of independent genius was developed by this movement towards greater strictness of monastic rule. The best intellectual effort among us in the century following the death of Alfred took the same direction. Earnest and religious men felt in their youth an enthusiasm stirred by the re-founding of those monasteries in which they were trained; and, looking only to the farthest limit of their little world, they devoutly sought to raise their country by putting purer and intenser life into the men who were its teachers. But the nation was advancing, through much stir of blood, into a new age of its life, and could be little helped by a fixed reproduction of past forms.

Alfred's grandson, Athelstan, attacked by Danes from Ireland and Danes of the north of England, with allies from among the Gael and Cymry, overcame his enemies in the year 937 at the great battle of Brunanburh. Trouble with Danes continued, till there was more quiet in the reign of Edgar, who began to rule at the age of sixteen, and from the outset of his reign took Dunstan for chief counsellor. Edgar, therefore, supported the great efforts made for a revival of monasticism. He died in the year 975, after sixteen years of rule, and was called Lord of the whole Isle of Albion. Blending of all constituents of the great nation of the future was still going on. An England had been formed, and now came the foreshadowing of a Great Britain. The days of the first generations of English are therefore drawing to a close.

Meanwhile Denmark, Sweden, and Norway had grown also into compact powers; and in the reign of Ethelred the Unready England was not merely disturbed by the Danes settled on her shores, but had to face their power as invaders. In the year 994 they attacked Ipswich, ravaged the surrounding country, and were met unsuccessfully at Maldon in Essex by the patriotic bands which had been trained and led by Byrhtnoth, who fell in the battle.

6. These were the days of outward tumult, in which **Ælfric** wrote his "Homilies." Ælfric was one of the first pupils of Ethelwold at Abingdon. When Ethelwold became Bishop of Winchester, Ælfric acted as chief of the teachers in his diocese, and wrote for the use of schools a lively little book of Latin "Colloquy." It was afterwards enlarged and republished by Ælfric Bata, who had himself been taught Latin by it at Winchester. Latin being in his time, and long before and after, spoken and written as the common language of the learned, colloquy was a common way of teaching. Ælfric represents in his dialogue pupils who beg to be taught, answering questions as to their respective trades; and thus he brings out in a few pages a very large number of words that would be used by them in talk over the daily business of life. Ælfric wrote also for his pupils a "Glossary" in Latin and English. He was removed from Winchester to the Abbey of Cerne in Dorsetshire by the wish of its founder, and there it was, that, at the request of the founder's son, Ælfric produced his "Homilies," compiled and translated from the Fathers, in two sets each of forty sermons. The first set was completed in the year 990, and is a harmony of the opinions of the Fathers on all points of faith as the English Church of his time accepted them. It was made public by the authority of Sigeric, then Archbishop of Canterbury. The other set tells of the saints whom the church then revered. Ælfric also began a translation, in abridgment, of the Bible into English, and completed in this way the whole Pentateuch, as well as the Book of Job. Thus Ælfric is to be remembered as the first man who translated into English prose any considerable portion of the Bible.

7. It has already been mentioned that the great national record of English history, the **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle**, was established in King Alfred's time, and continued to be written, year by year, until almost a century after the Norman Conquest. With this work, representing both prose and poetry, the story of First English literature, therefore, comes to an end.

PART II.

TRANSITIONAL ENGLISH:

1066-1350.

ENGLISH LITERATURE.

PERIOD OF TRANSITIONAL ENGLISH: 1066–1350.

ENGLISH WRITERS IN LATIN AND IN FRENCH.

- William of Malmesbury.
- Geoffrey of Monmouth.
- Wace.
- Ralph Higden.
- Walter Map.
- Sæwulf.
- Hilarius.
- Athelard of Bath.
- Alexander Neckham.
- Roger Bacon.
- Ralph Glanville.
- Henry of Bracton.
- Nigel Wireker.
- Robert Grosseteste.
- Richard de Bury.

WRITERS IN TRANSITIONAL ENGLISH.

- Layamon.
- Orm.
- Nicholas of Guildford.
- Authors of Metrical Creeds, Paternosters, Gaudia, etc.
- Thomas of Erceldoune.
- Robert of Gloucester.
- Robert of Brunne.
- Laurence Minot.
- Richard Rolle.
- Ralph Higden.

CHAPTER I.

WRITINGS OF ENGLISHMEN IN LATIN AND IN FRENCH.

1. The English Language before and after the Norman Conquest.—2. Writings in Latin and in French.—3. Chronicles.—4. William of Malmesbury.—5. Geoffrey of Monmouth.—6. Wace.—7. A Group of Minor Chroniclers.—8. Ralph Higden.—9. Romances; Walter Map.—10. Other Romance-Writers.—11. Sæwulf.—12. Hilarius.—13. Miracle-Plays and Mysteries.—14. Writers on Science; Athelard of Bath.—15. Alexander Neckham.—16. Roger Bacon.—17. Writers on Law; Ralph Glanville; Henry of Bracton.—18. Religious Discussion; English Debate concerning Authority.—19. Nigel Wireker.—20. Robert Grosseteste.—21. Richard de Bury.

1. During the four centuries from Cædmon to the Conquest the language of books written in English may be said to have been fixed. Among the First English themselves, mixtures of race and tribe from the Continent varied in different parts of the country, and in each place the constituents and the proportions of the mixture were shown by the form of speech. Provincial dialects were thus established. Then, as now, the spoken language of the country had its local differences, only more strongly marked than they now are; and the untaught multitude was careless about grammar; while the cultivated class, which produced books, maintained in them a standard of the language, being careful to preserve accuracy in use of inflection, discrimination of gender, and upon all other such points. Even the vocabulary of First English literature remained for those four centuries very uniform; so that, with a few traces of provincialism which may point towards the birthplace of a writer, and perhaps some looseness of grammar towards the close of the period, during the four centuries of First English literature, all English thought written in English may be said to have come down to us in one language as fixed as that which we now speak.

But, during the three centuries from the Conquest to the time of Chaucer, there was continuous change. The language then was in transition to the later form, in which, again, it became fixed. In race the Normans were another combination of the English elements. Even the part of France on which they had established themselves was Teutonized before they came to it; for it was that which had in Cæsar's time a population traceable to a Teutonic immigration, and to which there had come in the fifth century the Franks, — Teutons again. As far as concerned race only, there was quite as much of original kindred in the blood of those whom we call Normans and Saxons as between fellow-Englishmen now living in Yorkshire and in Hampshire. But the energetic Normans had been drawing, for the subsequent advantage of the world, their own separate lessons from the school of life. They had dropped in France their own language; their sons learnt speech of the mothers found in the new country, and, when they first came over to England as rulers, gave kings who spoke only French, ecclesiastics whom their kings could trust, French-speaking abbots at the head of the monasteries (which were the only conservators of knowledge and centres of education), and French-speaking knights in their castles, as centres of influence among the native rural population.

French was the language of the ruling class in Church and State. Latin was used in books habitually as the common language of the educated throughout Europe, — the only language in which a scholar might hope to address, not merely the few among a single people, but the whole republic of letters. English remained the language of the people, and its predominance was sure.

But there was no longer in the monasteries a cultivated class maintaining a standard of the language. The common people were not strict in care of genders and inflections. Those newcomers who sought to make themselves understood in English helped also to bring old niceties of inflection to decay. At the same time old words were modified, and some were dropped, when their places were completely taken by convenient new words that formed part of the large vocabulary wherewith our language was now being enriched. In large towns change was continuous and somewhat rapid; in country districts it was slow. Thus, while the provincial distinctions all remained, local conditions, here advancing, there retarding, the new movement, caused increase of difference between the forms of speech current in England at one time.

2. In the years next following the Conquest the chief authors were ecclesiastics, and their language Latin. The books were usually chronicles and lives of saints; but there was representation also of the love of travel, and already a faint indication of the new spirit of free inquiry that was to break the bonds of ancient science. Not until the time of King John, who began his reign just a hundred and thirty-three years after the Conquest, did books in English begin to appear. During all that time, nearly all writing of mark had been in Latin; and those books which were not in Latin were in French. Indeed for more than a hundred years after the reign of John, and quite down to the end of our period of Transitional English, the larger part of the literature written in England was in Latin and in French rather than in English. This huge mass of writings produced in England from the middle of the eleventh century to the middle of the fourteenth, but produced in some other language than that of England, cannot be regarded as English literature. We need not here concern ourselves with these writings, except so far as they illustrate the condition of English thought at that time, or as they stand for the origin of literary movements which revealed themselves, then and afterward, in literature that is English. Under this limitation let us glance rapidly over the Latin and French writings that were produced in England during the three centuries now under consideration.

3. Perhaps the most interesting and valuable portion of them are the **Chronicles**, which during all this period were written by ecclesiastics, and generally by monks.

The history-making Normans gave from the first much occupation for the pen of the good monk in his scriptorium. In that room he copied the desirable things that were not bought for the monastic library, — works of the Fathers, writings in defence of orthodox belief; a good book on the right computation of Easter; a treatise on each of the seven steps of knowledge which led up to theology, namely, grammar, rhetoric, and logic, forming the *trivium* of ethics, with arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, the *quadrivium* of physics. There would be need also of a fresher history than Orosius could furnish. The framer of such a history might begin with Adam, and cause any short sketch of the history of the world from the creation to be copied, or a larger history to be reduced in scale. As he proceeded towards his own time, he would give out now this, now that, accepted history of a particular period, to be copied literally, or condensed. But when he came down to a time within his own memory, or that of men about him, he began to tell his story for himself, and spoke from living knowledge; from this point, therefore, his chronicle became for after-times an independent record of great value. In days when the strong sought conquest, and lands often changed masters, the monasteries, with wide-spread possessions, had reason to keep themselves well informed in the history-making of the great lords of the soil. The chronicle, which faithfully preserved a record of events in the surrounding world during the years last past, would be one of the best read and most useful books in the monastic library. Monasteries were many, and the number also of the chroniclers was great. In England they were usually men whose hearts were with the people to whom they belonged. Not brilliant, like those chroniclers of France who gave their souls up to outside enjoyment of court glitter and the pomp of war, but sober and accurate recorders of such matter as concerned realities of life, they saw in England the home of a people, not the playground of a king.

4. Of all this great throng of chroniclers, the best are these three,—William of Malmesbury, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Wace, sometimes miscalled Robert Wace.

William of Malmesbury, who almost rose from the chronicler into the historian, was born probably about the year 1095; and of his parents one was English, and one Norman. He went as a boy into the monastery at Malmesbury; was known there as an enthusiast for books; sought, bought, and read them; and gave all the intervals between religious exercises to his active literary work. He was made librarian at Malmesbury, and would not be made abbot. His chief work, "De Gestis Regum" ("History of the Kings of England"), is in five books, beginning with the arrival of the First English in 449, reaching to the Norman Conquest by the close of book ii., giving the third book to William the Conqueror, the fourth to William Rufus, and the fifth to Henry I., as far as the twentieth year of his reign. Under a separate title, "Historia Novella" ("Modern History"), William, at the request of Robert of Gloucester, continued his record of current events, in three short books, to the year 1142, where he broke off in the story of the contest of his patron, the Earl of Gloucester, with King Stephen, at Matilda's escape over the ice from Oxford to Wallingford. "This," he said, "I purpose describing more fully, if, by God's permission, I shall ever learn the truth of it from those who were present." As he wrote no more, the time of William of Malmesbury's death is inferred from the date of the conclusion of his history, 1142, when his age was about forty-seven. So able a scholar had, of course, many commissions from the other monasteries to produce lives of their saints. He wrote also in four books "De Gestis Pontificum" ("History of the Prelates of England").

5. Five years after William of Malmesbury had ceased to write, **Geoffrey of Monmouth** completed his "Chronicon sive Historia Britonum" ("History of British Kings"). As his predecessor William had brought chronicle-writing to perfection, so Geoffrey, out of the form of the chronicle, produced the spirit that was to animate new forms of literature, and opened a spring of poetry that we find running through the fields of English literature in all after-time.

Geoffrey was a Welsh priest, in whom there was blood of the Cymry quickening his genius. He had made a translation of the "Prophecies of Merlin," when, as he tells us, Walter Calenius, Archdeacon of Oxford, found in Brittany an ancient history of Britain, written in the Cymric tongue. He knew no man better able to translate it than Geoffrey of Monmouth, who had credit as an elegant writer of Latin verse and prose. Geoffrey undertook the task, and formed accordingly his "History of British Kings" in four books, dedicated to Robert, Earl of Gloucester. Afterwards he made alterations, and formed the work into eight books, to which he added "Merlin's Prophecies," translated out of Cymric verse into Latin prose. The history, as finally completed by him in 1147, is in twelve books, and the whole work was a romance of history, taking the grave form of authentic chronicle. Geoffrey closed his budget with a playful reference to more exact historians, to whom he left the deeds of the Saxons, but whom he advised "to be silent about the kings of the Britons, since they have not that book in the British language, which Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, brought out of Brittany." There is a sly vein of banter in this reference to the mysterious book upon which Geoffrey fathered his ingenious invention of a list of British kings who did wonderful deeds, gave their names to this place and that, reigned each of them exactly so many years and months, and made an unbroken series from Brut, great-grandson of Æneas, through King Arthur, to Cadwallo, who died in the year 689. "It was Somebody who said it, not I." We first read, in this fiction, of Sabrina, "virgin daughter of Locrine;" of Gorboduc, whose story was the theme of the earliest English tragedy; of Lear and his daughter; and, above all, of KING ARTHUR as the recognized hero of a national romance. Geoffrey obtained the by-name of Arturus, and was said to have "made the little finger of his Arthur stouter than the back of Alexander the Great." So wrote a painstaking, unimaginative chronicler of the next generation, William of Newbury, who, considering "how saucily and how shamelessly he lies almost throughout," and not caring to specify "how much of the acts of the Britons before Julius Cæsar that man invented, or wrote from the inventions of others as if authentic," said of Geoffrey, "As in all things we trust Bede, whose wisdom and sincerity are beyond doubt; so that fabler with his fables shall be straightway spat out by us all." Far from it. The regular chronicler was scandalized at the pretensions of a perfectly new form of literature, a work of fancy dressed in the form of one of his own faithful records of events. But the work stirred men's imaginations.

6. The two chroniclers just mentioned wrote their books in Latin; but the chronicler now to be spoken of, **Wace,** wrote his most important book in French. He was born at Jersey, educated at Caen, and was a reading-clerk and a romance-writer at Caen in the latter part of Stephen's reign. He shared the enthusiasm with which men of bright imagination received Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Chronicle," and reproduced it as a French metrical romance, the "Brut," in more than 15,000 lines. Sometimes he translated closely, sometimes paraphrased, sometimes added fresh legends from Brittany, or fresh inventions of his own. His work was completed in 1155, immediately after the accession of Henry II., who gave him a prebend at Bayeux. Wace afterwards amplified a Latin chronicle of the deeds of William the Conqueror, by William of Poitiers, that king's chaplain, into a "Roman de Rou." But there was no continuance of royal favor; and he died, unprosperous, in England, probably in 1184.

7. Although these three chroniclers are the most noteworthy, it may be well to place here at least the names of others of less importance. They are Turgot, who wrote a "Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ;" Florence of Worcester, who wrote "Chronicon ex Chronicis ab Initio Mundi usque ad Annum Christi 1117 deductum;" Eadmer of Canterbury, who wrote "Historia Novorum;" Alfred of Beverley, who wrote an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Chronicle;" Geoffrey Gaimar, who wrote a French metrical translation of the same "Chronicle," and added to it the series of Saxon kings; Henry of Huntingdon, who wrote a "Chronicon" in eight books; William of Newbury, who wrote "Historia Rerum Anglicarum;" Roger of Hoveden, who wrote "Annales," from 732, where Bede left off, to 1201; Gerald of Wales, otherwise called Gerald du Barri, or Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote "Expugnatio Hiberniæ;" Roger of Wendover, who wrote "Flores Historiarum;" Matthew Paris, who wrote "Historia Major;" John of Oxnead, who wrote a "Chronicon" from 449 to 1292; Nicholas Trivet, who wrote "Annales Sex Regum Angliæ," ending in 1307; Peter Langtoft, who wrote in French verse a "Chronicle of England," ending in the same year; John of Trokelowe, who wrote "Annales," from 1307 to 1323; and Robert of Avesbury, who wrote "De Mirabilibus Gestis Edwardi III.," ending with 1356.

8. This long series of chronicles written by Englishmen, chiefly in Latin, is fittingly closed in the "Polychronicon," written in Latin by **Ralph Higden**, a Benedictine monk, who, in his earlier life, is thought to have written the first miracle-plays in English. His "Polychronicon," in seven books, was so called, he says, because it gave the chronicle of many times. Its first book described the countries of the known world, especially Britain; its second book gave the history of the world from the creation to Nebuchadnezzar; the next book closed with the birth of Christ; the fourth book carried on the chronicle to the arrival of the Saxons in England; the fifth proceeded to the invasion of the Danes; the sixth, to the Norman Conquest; and the seventh, to Higden's own time in the reign of Edward III., his latest date being the year 1342. He died about 1363; and long after his death the "Polychronicon" stood in high credit as a sketch of universal history, with special reference to England.

9. It is but a short step from the chronicles of this period to its romances; and of these, the most beautiful as well as the most important are those which may be grouped together under the name of the Arthurian romances. Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Chronicle" had suddenly made King Arthur famous in England. Wace's version of the stories relating to Arthur had quickened the popular interest in his adventures; when it occurred to a very brilliant and very earnest man, named **Walter Map,** to arrange and harmonize all these exquisite tales, and to put a Christian soul into them. This service of Walter Map's has had enormous influence upon English thought and English literature down to the present moment; and it is right that we should now stop and make some special study of a man so distinguished. Walter Map, sometimes called Mapes, had, like Geoffrey of Monmouth, Celtic blood in his veins. Born about the year 1143, on the borders of Wales, he called the Welsh his countrymen, and England "our mother." He studied in the University of Paris, which was then in the first days of its fame. After his studies there, he came home, and was at court, in attendance on King Henry II., whom he afterward served as judge, as military chaplain, as ambassador to the French king, and as delegate to the Lateran Council of 1179. After his return from Rome, Map was made a canon of St. Paul's, and also precentor of Lincoln. He held also the parsonage of Westbury in Gloucestershire, but still was in attendance on the king, and especially attached to the young Prince Henry after he had been crowned by his father. In the reign of Richard I., and the year 1196, when his age was about fifty-three, Map was made Archdeacon of Oxford; but beyond that date nothing is known of him.

Walter Map was a bright man of the world, with a high purpose in his life; poet and wit, a spiritual man of genius. He fought with his own weapons against the prevalent corruption of the clergy. While he was at court, there began to pass from hand to hand copies of Latin verse purporting to be poems of a certain Bishop Golias, a gluttonous dignitary, glorying in self-indulgence, — his name probably derived from *gula*, the gullet. The verses were audacious, lively, and so true to the assumed character, that some believed them to come really from a shameless bishop. Here was the corruption of the Church personified, and made a by-word among men. The poems gave a new word to the language, — "goliard." Walter Map was the creator of this character; but the keen satire of his lively Latin verse bred imitators, and Father Golias soon had many sons. A fashion for Golias poetry sprang up, and then the earnest man of genius had fellow-laborers in plenty.

Another of Map's books was "De Nugis Curialium" ("On the Trifles of Courtiers"). He had been asked, he says, by a friend, Geoffrey, to write something, as a philosopher and poet, courtly and pleasant. He replied that poetical invention needs a quiet, concentrated mind, and that this was not to be had in the turmoil of a court. But he did accept a lighter commission, and "would endeavor to set down in a book whatever he had seen or heard that seemed to him worth note, and that had not yet been written; so that the telling should be pleasant, and the instruction should tend to morality." His work, therefore, which is in five divisions, is a volume of trustworthy contemporary anecdote by the man who knew better than any other what was worth observing. There is no pedantry at all, no waste of words. There is not a fact or story that might not have been matter of table-talk at Henry's court. Anecdotes on subjects allied to one another are generally arranged together; but there is a new topic in every chapter, and the work is a miscellany rich in illustration of its time, and free enough in its plan to admit any fact, or opinion, or current event, worth record. It includes bold speaking against crusading zeal that left home-duties unperformed, against the vices of the court of Rome, even against that vice in the kings of England which caused their people to be oppressed by unjust game-laws. Under this head King Henry II. is himself the subject of a warning anecdote.

But Map's great work was that which justified his friend Geoffrey in demanding of him "something as a philosopher and poet." He it was who first gave a soul to the KING ARTHUR legends, and from whom we date the beginning of a spiritual harmony between the life of the English people and the forms given to the national hero by our poets. The Latin races have made no such use of Charlemagne or Roland as we shall find the English to have made of the King Arthur myth. The cycle of the Charlemagne romances offers a wide field for study, bright with life and color derived from the active genius of the *trouvères*. But these tales remain what those of the Arthurian cycle were before the genius of Walter Map had harmonized them with the spirit of his country. The old tales were tales of animal strength, courage, and passion; the spiritual life was added to them when Walter Map placed in the midst of them the Holy Graal, type of the heavenly mysteries; and that legend itself became the first piece in the series of prose romances, now produced and written to be read aloud, forming the groundwork on which metrical romances afterwards were based.

The series begins with "The Romance of the Holy Graal," sometimes also called "The Romance of Joseph of Arimathæa." The Graal, according to its legend, was the holy dish (low Latin, *gradale*) which contained the paschal lamb at the Last Supper. After the supper it was taken by a Jew to Pilate, who gave it to Joseph of Arimathæa. It was used by Joseph of Arimathæa at the taking down of our Lord from the cross, to receive the gore from his wounds; and thus it became doubly sacred. When the Jews imprisoned Joseph, the Holy Graal, placed miraculously in his hands, kept him from pain and hunger for two and forty years. Released by Vespasian, Joseph quitted Jerusalem, and went with the Graal through France into Britain, where it was carefully deposited in the treasury of one of the kings of the island, called the "Fisherman King." The second romance in the series is that of "Merlin:" the third is that of "Lancelot of the Lake." In the latter, while developing the Arthur legend, Map idealized that bright animal life which it had been the only object of preceding stories to express. The romance is rich in delicate poetical invention. Lancelot is the bright pattern of a knight according to the flesh, cleared in one respect of many scattered offences, which are concentrated in a single blot, represented always as a dark blot on his character, — the unlawful love for Guinevere. Next in the series comes the romance of "The Quest of the Holy Graal." From Lancelot, who had been painted as the ornament of an unspiritual chivalry, Map caused a son to spring, Sir Galahad, the spiritual knight, whose dress of flame-color mystically typified the Holy Spirit that came down in tongues of fire. The son and namesake of Joseph of Arimathæa, Bishop Joseph, to whom the holy dish was bequeathed, first instituted the order of the Round Table. The initiated, at their festivals, sat as apostle knights, with the Holy Ghost in the midst of them, leaving one seat vacant as that which the Lord had occupied, and which was reserved for the pure Galahad. Whatever impure man sat there the earth swallowed. It was called, therefore, the "Seat Perilous." When men became sinful, the Holy Graal, visible only to pure eyes, disappeared. On its recovery (on the recovered purity of the people) depended the honor and peace of England; but only Sir Galahad, who at the appointed time was brought to the knights by a mysterious old man clothed in white, — only the unstained Sir Galahad succeeded in the quest. Throughout "The Quest of the Graal" Map knitted the threads of Arthurian romance into the form which it was his high purpose to give them, and made what had become the most popular tales of his time in England an expression of the English earnestness that seeks to find the right, and do it for the love of God. All their old charm is left, intensified, in the romance of Lancelot; but all is now for the first time shaped into a legend of man's spiritual battle, and a lesson on the search, through a pure life alone, for the full revelation of God's glory upon earth. After this, it remained only to complete the series of the romances by adding the "Mort Artus" ("The Death of Arthur"). The spiritual significance thus given by Walter Map to King Arthur, as the romance hero of the English, he is so far from having lost among us, that we shall find great phases in the history of English thought distinctly illustrated by modifications in the treatment of the myth.

10. Meanwhile the demand for Arthurian romances grew; and, when Map's work was done, another Englishman, **Luces de Gast**, living near Salisbury, wrote, probably towards the close of Henry II.'s reign, the first part of "Tristan," or "Tristram." The second part was added by Hélie de Borron. Popular as it became, this romance is, in spirit and execution, of inferior quality. Sir Tristram and the fair Isoude are but coarse doubles of Map's Lancelot and Guinevere.

A Frenchman, Chrestien of Troyes, who began writing before the close of Henry II.'s reign, was, in Arthurian romance, the ablest of the contemporaries and immediate followers of Walter Map. He began, about the year 1180, with the romance of "Erec and Enide," and produced metrical versions of Map's "Lancelot" and Graal romances. He wrote also the romance of "Percival le Gallois."

Not long afterwards a German poet, Wolfram von Eschenbach, fastened upon the Graal story in the true spirit of Map's work. Taking the sight of the Graal as the symbol of nearness to God, he painted, in his romance of "Parzival," the soul of a man striving heavenward, erring, straying, yielding to despair, repenting, and, in deep humility, at last attaining its desire. The Graal, thus become famous, was said to be made of one emerald lost from the crown of Lucifer as he was falling out of heaven.

11. A writer representing the love of travel was **Sæwulf**, a merchant, the first English traveller who followed in the track of the crusaders, went to the East, escaped by accident from a great storm at Joppa which destroyed a thousand persons, and lived to produce a lively record in Latin of all that he saw in Palestine during the years 1102 and 1103. When he came home, Sæwulf withdrew from the world, and became a monk of Malmesbury, where the best of the chroniclers after Bede was then librarian.

12. It was a little less than a century after the Norman Conquest, that there was an Englishman in France, **Hilarius**, who had gone to be taught by Abelard at Paraclete, and from whom we have our earliest known miracle-plays. The acting of such plays seems to have been introduced into this country soon after the Conquest. Matthew Paris, a chronicler who lived in the thirteenth century, refers to a miracle-play of St. Katherine, written some years before 1119, by Geoffrey of Gorham, who became afterwards prior, and was in 1119 made Abbot of St. Albans. This is the earliest allusion to the acting of such pieces in this country. They had arisen out of the desire of the clergy to bring leading facts of Bible history and the legends of the saints home to the hearts of the illiterate. A great church was dedicated to some saint. The celebration of the saint's day was an occasion for drawing from afar, if possible, devout worshippers, and offerings to the shrine. Some incidents from the life of the saint, enforcing, perhaps, his power to help those who chose him for their patron, it was thought good to place at some part of the church service of the day, with dramatic ingenuity, before the eyes of the unlettered congregation.

It was probably while he was living in France that Hilarius wrote in Latin his three miracle-plays, — "St. Nicholas," "The Raising of Lazarus," and "The History of Daniel."

The first was intended to be performed in a church dedicated to St. Nicholas. Upon the day consecrated to that saint his image was removed, and a living actor, dressed to represent the statue, was placed in the shrine. When the pause was made in the service for the acting of the miracle, one came in at the church-door dressed as a rich heathen, deposited his treasure at the shrine, said that he was going on a journey, and called on the saint to be the guardian of his property. When the heathen had gone out, thieves entered, and silently carried off the treasure. Then came the heathen back, and furiously raged. He took a whip and began to thrash the image of the saint. But upon this the image moved, descended from its niche, went out and reasoned with the robbers, threatening also to denounce them to the people. Terrified by this miracle, the thieves returned tremblingly, and so, in silence, they brought every thing back. The statue was again in its niche, motionless. The heathen sang his joy to a popular tune of the time, and turned to adore the image. Then St. Nicholas himself appeared, bidding the heathen worship God alone, and praise the name of Christ. The heathen was converted. The piece ended with adoration of the Almighty, and the church service was then continued.

The second play, "The Raising of Lazarus," was intended to portray the mystery of the resurrection of the dead. Its incidents having been realized to the utmost, and its dialogues set to popular tunes of the day, the officiating priest, who, as Lazarus, has risen from the tomb, turns in that character to admonish the assembled people. He turns then to the representation of Jesus, whom he adores as Master, King, and Lord, who wipes out the sins of the people, whose ordinance is sure, and of whose kingdom there shall be no end. And the closing direction of the author is, that "this being finished, if it was played at matins, Lazarus shall begin 'Te Deum Laudamus;' but, if at vespers, 'Magnificat anima mea Dominum;'" and so the church service proceeds. The last of the three plays by Hilarius was designed for a pompous Christmas representation of the story of Daniel, and at its close the church service was to be continued by the priest who played Darius.

13. These crude plays, written in the twelfth century, are of deep interest to us, as representing the earliest movements of the English mind in the direction of dramatic literature, and as being in some sense the very beginning of a department of English literature that is now very rich and brilliant.

It is proper that in this place the student should understand the meaning of two terms that frequently occur in connection with this early stage of our dramatic literature, — the terms "mystery" and "miracle-play." The first simply meant a play founded on Biblical incidents, and containing Biblical characters; the second meant a play founded on non-Biblical incidents, and containing non-Biblical characters. Thus, of the three plays of Hilarius, that of St. Nicholas is, strictly speaking, a miracle-play; while the two devoted to Lazarus and Daniel are mysteries. It should be added that these two elements were frequently blended in the same play, and that in England the term "mystery" was never in popular use; while the term "miracle-play" was applied indiscriminately to both kinds of religious play. In France, on the other hand, the term *mystère* was, from the fifteenth century, given to all religious plays whatsoever. We shall meet, later in our studies, with a third species of religious play, called the "morality-play."

14. As we have found in the Latin writings of Englishmen during this period the germs of the great and splendid drama of England, so we shall find in the same period the germs of three other powerful departments of writing. One of these is the literature of science; a second is the literature of law; a third is the literature of religious discussion.

Early in the twelfth century the impulse given by the Arabs to the advance of science began to be felt; and a new school of scientific thought is represented in its first faint dawn by **Athelard of Bath,** born some time in the reign of William the Conqueror. He studied at Tours and Laon; taught at Laon, and went eastward; made his way to Greece and Asia Minor, perhaps even to Bagdad; and, coming home to England in the reign of Henry I., on his way home taught the Arabian sciences, which he then discussed in a book of "Questions in Nature" ("Quæstiones Naturales").

In this book Athelard represented himself, on his return to England, hearing from his friends their complaint of "violent princes, vinolent chiefs, mercenary judges," and more ills of life. These ills, he said, he should cure by forgetting them, and withdrawing his mind to the study of nature. His nephew, interested also in the causes of things, asked Athelard for an account of his Arabian studies, and the book was his answer. He had left his nephew, seven years ago, a youth in his class at Laon. It had been agreed then that the uncle should seek knowledge of the Arabs, and the nephew be taught by the Franks. The nephew doubted the advantage of his uncle's course of study. What could he show for it? To give proof of its value, Athelard proceeded to results. "And because," he said, "it is the inborn vice of this generation to think nothing discovered by the moderns worth receiving; whence it comes, that, if you wish to publish any thing of your own, you say, putting it off on another person, It was Somebody who said it, not I — so, that I may not go quite unheard, Mr. Somebody is father to all I know, not I." He then proposed and discussed sixty-seven questions in nature, beginning with the grass, and rising to the stars, the nephew solving problems in accordance with the knowledge of the West, the uncle according to the knowledge of the East, where the Arabians were then bringing a free spirit of inquiry to the mysteries of science. Athelard of Bath wrote also on the abacus and the astrolabe, translated an Arabic work upon astronomy, and was the first bringer of Euclid into England by a translation, which remained the text-book of succeeding mathematicians, and was among the works first issued from the printing-press.

This brave and earnest man likewise expressed his love of science in a little allegory, "De Eodem et Diverso" ("On the Same and the Different"), published before 1116.

The taste for allegory was now gathering strength in Europe. It had arisen in the early church, especially among the Greek Fathers, with ingenious interpretation of the Scriptures. Bede, following this example, showed how, in Solomon's temple, the windows represented holy teachers, through whom enters the light of heaven; and the cedar was the incorruptible beauty of the virtues. When the monasteries passed from their active work as missionary stations into intellectual strife concerning orthodoxy of opinions, volleys of subtle interpretation and strained parallel were exchanged continually by the combatants. As the monasteries became rich, wealth brought them leisure, and temptation of the flesh; but still they were centres of intelligence; and as, in Southern Europe, along the coasts of the Mediterranean, contact with tuneful, rhyming Arabs was awakening a soft strain of love-music, the educated men of leisure in the monasteries must also exercise their skill. Love, it was said, after the Arabs, is the only noble theme of song. We also, said the church-bound, obey poet's law, and sing of love; but, when we name a lady, we mean Holy Church, or we mean the Virgin, or we mean some virtue. It is earthly love to the ear; but there is always an underlying spiritual sense. Thus we shall find, in a few generations more, the taste for allegory coloring almost the whole texture of European literature, and then remaining for a long time dominant. Athelard's little allegory is the first example in our literature of what afterwards became one of the commonest of allegoric forms. He represents Philosophy and Philocosmia, or love of worldly enjoyment, as having appeared to him, when he was a student on the banks of the Loire, in the form of two women, who disputed for his affections, until he threw himself into the arms of Philosophy, drove away her rival with disgrace, and sought the object of his choice with an ardor that carried him in search of knowledge to the distant Arabs.

15. Another writer who did somewhat to build up a literature of science in England was **Alexander Neckham.** Born in 1157, he was educated at St. Albans, and early intrusted with the school at Dunstable, dependent on the Abbey of St. Albans. In 1180, at the age of twenty-three, he was in Paris, distinguished as a teacher. He wrote within the next ten years a "Treatise on Science," in ten books of Latin elegiac verse, wherein he treated of creation, the elements, water and its contents, fire, air, the earth's surface, its interior, plants, animals, and the seven arts. He wrote a similar book in prose, besides other Latin poems, grammatical and theological treatises, and commentaries upon works of Aristotle. Neckham lived on through the reigns of Richard I. and John. In 1213 he became abbot of the Augustines at Cirencester, and he died in 1217.

16. But the great light in science during all those ages, both for England and the rest of the world, was **Roger Bacon,** who, born in 1214, was in his cradle in Somersetshire when the barons obtained from King John his signature to Magna Charta. He belonged to a rich family, sought knowledge from childhood, and avoided the strife of the day. He studied at Oxford and Paris, and the death of his father may have placed his share of the paternal estate in his hands. He spared no cost for instructors and transcribers, books and experiments; mastered not only Latin thoroughly, but also Hebrew and Greek, which not more than five men in England then understood grammatically, although there were more who could loosely read and speak those tongues. He was made doctor in Paris, and had the degree confirmed in his own University of Oxford. Then he withdrew entirely from the civil strife that was arising, and joined the house of the Franciscans in Oxford, having spent all his time in the world, and two thousand pounds of money, in the search for knowledge. Roger Bacon's family committed itself to the king's side in the civil war which Henry III.'s greed, his corruption of justice, and violation of the defined rights of his subjects, brought upon him. The success of the barons ruined Bacon's family, and sent his mother, brothers, and whole kindred into exile. Meanwhile the philosopher, as one of the Oxford Franciscans, had joined an order which prided itself in the checks put by it on the vanity of learning. But, in spite of their self-denials, the Franciscans, at Oxford and elsewhere, included many learned men, who, by the daily habit of their minds, were impelled to give to scholarship a wholesome practical direction. They were already beginning to supply the men who raised the character of teaching at the University of Oxford till it rivalled that of Paris. Friar Bacon was among the earliest of these teachers: so was Friar Bungay, who lives with him in popular tradition. Roger Bacon saw how the clergy were entangled in barren subtleties of a logic far parted from all natural laws out of which it sprang. He believed that the use of all his knowledge, if he could but make free use of it, would be to show how strength and peace were to be given to the Church. And then the Pope, who had been told of his rare acquirements and his philosophic mind, bade Roger Bacon, disregarding any rule of his order to the contrary, write for him what was in his mind. Within his mind were the first principles of a true and fruitful philosophy. But to commit to parchment all that he had been pining to say would cost him sixty pounds in materials, transcribers, necessary references, and experiments. He was a Franciscan, vowed to poverty, and the Pope had sent no money with the command to write. Bacon's exiled mother and brothers had spent all they were worth upon their ransoms. Poor friends furnished the necessary money, some of them by pawning goods, upon the understanding that their loans would be made known to his Holiness. There was a difficulty between the philosopher and his immediate superiors, because the Pope's command was private, and only a relief to Bacon's private conscience. His immediate rulers had received no orders to relax the discipline which deprived Franciscans of the luxury of pen and ink. But obstacles were overcome; and then Roger Bacon produced within a year and a half, 1268–69, his "Opus Majus" ("Greater Work"), which now forms a large, closely-printed folio; his "Opus Minus" ("Lesser Work"), which was sent after the "Opus Majus" to Pope Clement, to recapitulate its arguments, and strengthen some of its parts; and his "Opus Tertium" ("Third Work"), which followed as a summary and introduction to the whole, enriched with further novelty, and prefaced with a detail of the difficulties against which its author had contended, — details necessary to be given, because, he said, that he might obey the Pope's command, the friar had pawned to poor men the credit of the Holy See. These books, produced by Roger Bacon at the close of Henry III.'s reign, and when he was himself about fifty-four years old, rejected nearly all that was profitless, and fastened upon all that there was with life and power of growth in the knowledge of his time. They set out with a principle in which Bacon the Friar first laid foundations of the philosophy of Bacon the Chancellor of later time. He said that there were four grounds of human ignorance, — trust in inadequate authority, the force of custom, the opinion of the inexperienced crowd, and the hiding of one's own ignorance, with the parading of a superficial wisdom. Roger Bacon advocated the free, honest questioning of nature; and, where books were requisite authorities, warned men against the errors that arose from reading them in bad translations. He would have had all true students endeavor to read the original texts of the Bible and of Aristotle. He dwelt on the importance of a study of mathematics, adding a particular consideration of optics, and ending with the study of nature by experiment, which, he said, is at the root of all other sciences, and a basis of religion. Roger Bacon lived into the reign of Edward I., and died, probably, in the year 1292.

17. Side by side with this development of a true spirit in philosophy, the steady endeavor towards right and justice which arose out of the character of its people had enabled England to maintain the rights of subjects against all wrong-doing of their kings.

In the latter part of the twelfth century **Ralph Glanville** wrote his Latin treatise "Upon the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom of England" ("Tractatus de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Regni Angliæ"), which was completed towards the close of the reign of Henry II., and is the first treatise on English law. He says that the confusion of our laws made it impossible to give a general view of the whole laws and customs of the land; he sought rather to give a practical sketch of forms of procedure in the king's courts, and of the principles of law most frequently arising, discussing only incidentally the first principles upon which law is based.

Progress made in jurisprudence since the days of Henry II. is illustrated in the reign of Henry III. by the appearance of a jurist, **Henry of Bracton,** who wrote a book with the same title as Glanville's, — "Upon the Laws and Customs of England." Of Bracton himself it is known only that he wrote his treatise in the reign of Henry III., probably between the years 1256 and 1259; that it proves him to have been a lawyer by profession, deeply read in Roman law; and that he must have been the justiciary Henry of Bracton mentioned in judicial records of 1246, 1252, 1255, and other years, to 1267 inclusive. He was a judge, therefore, from 1245 to 1267, if not longer. There is reason to think he was a clerk in orders before he became a lawyer. In his treatise he does not, like Glanville, avoid dealing with first principles. English law had, during the seventy years between Glanville's book and Bracton's, been developed into a science, and the time was come for the first scientific commentary on its rules. Bracton painted accurately, in the five books into which his work is divided, the state of the law in his time, and he digested it into a logical system. The king's place in its system Bracton thus defined: "The king must not be subject to any man, but to God and the law; for the law makes him king. Let the king, therefore, give to the law what the law gives to him, — dominion and power; for there is no king where will, and not law, bears rule."

18. In the department of religious discussion English literature in every period has been copious and strong. It is important to observe, that, in the period now under view, the English mind was stirred by two great religious topics that have often since then engaged its passionate attention: first, the seat and limit of authority; and, second, corruption in the visible church. Controversy upon the seat and limit of authority, which, in its successive forms, is the most vital part of English history, and has been essential everywhere to the advance of modern Europe, became active in many countries during the latter half of the twelfth century. It became especially active at that time in England, as illustrated by the struggle between Henry II. and Thomas à Becket.

As we shall find the course of English literature illustrating throughout a steady maintenance of the principle out of which this contest arises, let us at once settle the point of view from which it will be here regarded.

No two men think alike upon all points, and some part of the difference is as distinctly natural as that which distinguishes one man from another by his outward form and face. It is part of the divine plan of the world that we should not all have the same opinions. If we observe in one man the group of ideas forming his principles of thought, we find that they have well-marked characters, which are common to him and to many others. One might even imagine an arrangement of men by their way of thought, as of plants by their way of growth, into primary classes, sections, alliances, families, genera, and species. The two primary classes of civilized men are (1) those in whom it is the natural tendency of the mind to treasure knowledge of the past, and shun departure from that which has been affirmed by wise and good men throughout many generations, — those, in short, who find rest, and hope of unity, in the upholding of authority; and (2) those in whom it is the natural tendency of the mind to claim free right of examining and testing past opinions, who seek the utmost liberty of thought and action, holding that the best interests of the future are advanced when every man labors for truth in his own way, and holds sincerely by his individual convictions. Look where we may, to parties in the Church, to parties in the State, or any chance knot of a dozen men collected at a dinner-party, the form of debate invariably shows this natural division of men's minds, serving its purpose for the thorough trial of new truth. No bold assertion is allowed to pass unquestioned. Whoever states a fact must also be prepared to prove it against ready opponents, who produce all possible grounds of doubt, and forms of evidence, against it. Thus men are trained in the right use of reason; their intellectual limbs gather strength by healthy exercise; and wholesome truths come out of the ordeal, as the pure grain winnowed from the chaff. Instead of wishing that all men were of our minds, we should account it one of the first blessings of life that there are men who don't agree with us. The currents of the air and sea are not more necessary, and more surely a part of the wise ordinance of the Creator, than those great currents of thought, which, with all the storms bred of their conflict, maintain health in man's intellectual universe.

When the millions lie in darkness, and are thought for by the few, they need the guidance of an absolute authority. As the light grows on them, each becomes more able to help himself. External aids and restrictions become gradually less and less necessary; exercise of authority falls within narrower limits; and exercise of individual discretion takes a wider range. This constant re-adjustment of the boundary-line between individual right and the restraint of law must needs advance with civilization, as keen intellectual debate prepares the way for every change. In England such a process has gone on so actively and freely, that its political institutions, which have grown, and are growing with its growth, are strong also with all its strength.

In the time of Henry II. the contest between the king and Becket represented what was then the chief point to be settled in the argument as to the limit of authority. It was a question of supremacy between the two great forms of authority to which men were subjected. Was the church, representing God on earth, to be, through its chief, the Pope, a supreme arbiter in the affairs of men, — a Lord of lords and King of kings? Or was the king alone supreme in every temporal relation with his subjects? Becket devoutly battled for supreme rule of the church. Henry maintained the independence of his crown. That battle won, the next part of the controversy on the limit of authority would concern the relations between king and people. When Henry's cause was stained with the crime of Becket's murder, the church had an advantage of which it understood the value. All that was done to make the shrine of the martyred Becket a place of pilgrimage, and to exalt the saint, was exaltation of the name inseparable from the cause of an unlimited church supremacy.

19. In the reign of Henry II. lived a noted religious satirist, **Nigel Wireker,** who was precentor in the Benedictine monastery at Canterbury. He wrote a treatise on the "Corruptions of the Church," which he dedicated to William de Longchamp, afterwards Bishop of Ely. His minor writings were attacks upon self-seeking and hypocrisy among those who made religion their profession; for the movement towards reformation in the church was now begun. Wireker's chief work, "Brunellus," or "Speculum Stultorum" ("The Mirror of Fools"), is a satirical poem in about 3,800 Latin elegiac lines, which has for its hero an ass, who goes the round of the monastic orders.

The name of this hero, Brunellus, a diminutive of Brown, is taken from the jargon of the monastic schools, which the author meant to satirize. The ass Brunellus found his tail too short, and went to consult Galen on the subject. The author explained that his "ass is that monk, who, not content with his own condition, wants to have his old tail pulled off, and try by all means to get a new and longer tail to grow in its place; that is to say, by attaching to himself priories and abbeys." Brunellus was unlucky with his medicines, and had part of his tail, short as he thought it, bitten off by four great mastiffs. He could not go home to his friends in that state. He felt that he had an immense power of patient labor. He would go and study at the University of Paris. After seven years of hard work there, he could not remember the name of the town in which he had been living. But he was proud of his erudition. He did also remember one syllable of the town's name, and had been taught that part may stand for the whole. The sketch of Brunellus at Paris is a lively satire upon the shortcomings of the schools. Brunellus having gone straight through the sciences, it was only left for him to perfect himself in religion. He tried all the orders in succession, and ended in the resolve to construct for himself out of them a new composite order of his own. Meeting Galen, Brunellus entered into discussion with him on the state of the church and of society, until he fell into the hand of his old master, and returned to the true duties of his life.

20. Nigel Wireker did not fight unaided in this battle against the corruption which had come into the church with wealth and idleness. A like battle formed part of the work of the man of greatest genius among those who wrote in the time of Henry II., — Walter Map, whom we have already studied in connection with the satirical and romantic poetry of this period. And the fight for church reform was taken up and carried forward in graver fashion by **Robert Grosseteste** (also called Grosthead), who was born of poor parents at Stradbrook, in Suffolk, about the year 1175. He studied perhaps at Paris as well as at Oxford, where he graduated in divinity, and became master of the schools. Grosseteste was contemporary with the founders of those orders of friars, the Franciscans and Dominicans, who represented in their first institution a strong effort to give to the church unity of faith and a pure Christian discipline. Dominic was five years older, Francis of Assisi seven years younger, than Robert Grosseteste, who became in 1224, at the request of Agnellus, the provincial minister of the Franciscans in England, their first rector at Oxford. He had already been Archdeacon of Wilts, was then Archdeacon of Northampton, and became afterwards Archdeacon of Leicester. At one time he was Rector of St. Margaret's, Leicester. In 1232, after a severe illness, Grosseteste, who would no longer be a pluralist, gave up all his preferments, except a prebend at Lincoln; and in 1235 he was made Bishop of Lincoln, then the largest and most populous diocese in the country, and very famous for its theological school. It was as Bishop of Lincoln that Grosseteste began the most energetic part of his career as church reformer. Strictly interpreting the duties of his office, he devoted himself to the suppression of abuses. Within a year of his consecration he had, after a visitation of the monasteries, removed seven abbots and four priors. Next year he was, in a council held in London, supporting the proposal to deprive pluralists of all their livings except one. His strictness produced outcry. The canons preached against their bishop in his own cathedral; a monk tried to poison him. In 1245 Grosseteste obtained the support of the Pope for his visitations; and in 1246 he obtained another bull from the Pope to prevent scholars at Oxford from graduating in arts without examination. When his visitations were resumed, his unreserved inquiry into the morals of those who undertook the spiritual guidance of his diocese produced so much scandal, that appeal was made to the king to check it. The king interfered by forbidding laymen to give evidence in such matters before Grosseteste's officials. Grosseteste battled against the greed of monks who seized for their monasteries possessions and tithes of the church meant for the use of resident priests. But the monks made it worth the Pope's while to be deaf to all the bishop's arguments upon that head. As he left the Pope, Grosseteste said aloud, so that his Holiness might hear, "O money, money! how much you can do!—especially at the court of Rome." In 1252 Grosseteste caused a calculation to be made of the income of the foreign clergy thrust by the Pope on English maintenance. It was seventy thousand marks,—three times the clear revenue of the king. In the following year, 1253, the last year of his life, Grosseteste made a famous stand against the avarice of Rome, by refusing to induct one of the Pope's nephews into a canonry at Lincoln. He died in the autumn of that year, accusing Rome of the disorders brought into the church. He left his library to the Franciscans. The mere list of his own writings occupies three and twenty closely-printed quarto pages. He wrote a book of husbandry in Latin, of which there are also

MSS. in French. He wrote sermons, treatises on physical and mental philosophy, commentaries on Aristotle, Latin and French verse, including a religious allegory of the "Château d'Amour." He applied also a rare knowledge of Greek and Hebrew to the minutest study of the Scriptures. He battled against the corruption of the church, not in the narrow spirit of an ascetic. Three things, he once told a Dominican, are necessary for temporal health,—food, sleep, and liveliness. Heartily in accord with the movement represented by the poverty of the Franciscans, he said that he liked to see the friars' dresses patched. But when one of them, mistaking a particular means for the great end that was sought thereby, praised, in a sermon, mendicancy as the highest step towards the attainment of all heavenly things, Grosseteste told him that there was a step yet higher; namely, to support one's self by one's own labor. One intimate friend of Grosseteste's was especially struck by his courage in facing both the King and the Pope to maintain right: another, the most famous of his pupils, Roger Bacon, was impressed most by his marvellous and almost universal knowledge.

21. Thus we see, that, during the three centuries from the Norman conquest to the beginning of Chaucer's career, a very considerable body of literature was produced by Englishmen in languages not English, — chiefly in Latin. We have reserved to the last the mention of one book, which fitly closes this branch of our subject, — a book which was produced near the end of the present period, and which seems to gather into itself the finest qualities both of literature and of scholarship pervading that entire mass of Anglo-Latin writings. The book to which we refer is "Philobiblon, seu de Amore Librorum et Institutione Bibliothecæ Tractatus" ("A Treatise on the Love of Books"). Its author, Richard Aungervyle, was born in the year 1281, at Bury St. Edmund's, in Suffolk, and has, therefore, usually been called, from his birthplace, **Richard de Bury.** His father was a Norman knight, who died in middle life, and left him to the care of his maternal uncles, who sent him to continue his studies at Oxford. There he distinguished himself so much by his acquirements, that he was appointed tutor to Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward III. This laid the foundation of the hearty friendship between Richard de Bury and his royal pupil, which brought to the former the great influence and prosperity enjoyed by him during his life. On the accession of Edward, his tutor was given one office after another until he became lord-chancellor; and in 1333 he was made Bishop of Durham. Three years before that, he had been sent in great state as ambassador to Pope John XXII. at Avignon, and there met Petrarch, who was at that time twenty-six years old. Petrarch, knowing that Richard de Bury was a great scholar, who had collected the largest library in England, asked him for some information on the subject of the "farthest Thule," which Richard said that he thought he could find in one of his books when he got home, and promised to send; but, as Petrarch told one of his correspondents, he forgot to send it. He might well forget; for he was very busy. Even after he became Bishop of Durham, he was employed by the king as his ambassador, that he might use his wit in carrying out the peaceful policy that he advised. His wealth and influence were very great, and he made generous use of them. In politics his voice was on the side of peace and good-will. When his desires for peace were frustrated, he closed his career as a statesman. In his diocese he was a most liberal friend to the poor. As a scholar he was the friend of all who sought knowledge, and gave to all true students who asked for it, with his hospitality while they were studying at Durham, free access to that valuable library which it had been the chief pleasure of his life to collect. He had used his private fortune and his influence in Church and State as a collector of books, applying to them the counsel of Solomon, "Buy wisdom, and sell it not." Travelling friars searched for him among the book-chests of foreign monasteries. Suitors in chancery knew that the gift of a rare volume would induce the chancellor, not to pervert justice, but to expedite the hearing of their suits. The books, collected with enthusiasm, were not treasured as a miser's hoard. When he withdrew from participation in the too warlike policy of Edward III., Richard de Bury, confining himself to the duties of his diocese, lived retired among his beloved parchments, still drawing to himself as chaplains and companions the most learned English scholars of his time. To be his chaplain, and by scholarship to win the household affection of a man so influential with the king, was a step to promotion sure enough to satisfy ambitious minds; while life with Richard Aungervyle housed the scholar among books, and gave him hourly access to the best library in England.

He died at his palace of Auckland in 1345; and it was only a little while before his death that he had finished his delightful book about books, which will keep his name alive as long as books last. It consists of a prologue and twenty chapters. In the prologue he greets his readers, and expresses sympathy for good scholars whose study poverty impedes; and for their sakes, as well as his own, he has long been, he says, an ardent collector of books. The first chapter opens the subject by commanding wisdom, and books as the abode of wisdom. "The glory of the world would perish in oblivion if God had not provided mortals with the remedies of books. Towers crumble to the earth; but he whose book lives cannot die. And it is to be considered, lastly, what convenience of teaching is in books, how easily, how secretly, how safely, in books we bear, without shame, the poverty of human ignorance. These are masters who instruct us without rod and cane, without words and wrath, and for no clothes or money. If you approach them, they are not asleep; if you question them, they are not secret; if you go astray, they do not grumble at you; they know not how to laugh if you are ignorant. O books! ye only are liberal and free, who pay tribute to all who ask it, and enfranchise all who serve you faithfully."

Thus he proceeds from chapter to chapter, writing in a vivacious style, and enforcing, with a contagious enthusiasm, the right spirit of study and the right care of books. It is noticeable, that, orthodox bishop as he was, no book of the time spoke more severely than his of the degradation of the clergy, of the sensuality and ignorance of monks and friars. The main object of Richard de Bury's book was practical. He was within a year of his death when he wrote it; and he desired not only to justify his life-long enthusiasm as a book-collector, but to make the treasures which he had held in his lifetime as a trust for the benefit of all good scholarship in England useful after his death forever. "Philobiblon" ended, therefore, with a plan for the bequest of his books to Oxford, on conditions that were to secure their perpetual usefulness, not merely to the particular hall which he proposed to endow in association with his library, but to the whole university. He did, accordingly, endow a hall, which the monks of Durham had begun to build in the north suburbs of Oxford, and did leave to it his famous library. Aungervyle's library remained at Durham College, for the use of the university, until that college was dissolved in the time of Henry VIII. Some of the books then went to Duke Humphrey's library, and some to Balliol College. Some went to Dr. George Owen, the physician of Edward VI.

CHAPTER II.

ENGLISH WRITINGS OF THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD.

1. State of English Literature in this Period.—2. Layamon.—3. Orm.—4. Nicholas of Guildford; Devotional and Moral Writings; Romances; Ancren Riwle.—5. Robert of Gloucester and his Contemporaries.—6. Robert of Brunne.—7. Laurence Minot.—8. Richard Rolle.—9. Dan Michel.—10. Ralph Higden and English Miracle-Plays.—11. The Chester Plays.—12. The Shepherds' Play.—13. The Modern Drama.

1. We must now turn from the Latin and French writings produced by Englishmen during the three centuries between the Conquest and Chaucer, and must give our attention to whatever writings were produced during the same period in the English language.

For the first hundred and forty years of this period almost nothing was written in the language of the conquered race; and we may think of English literature for all those hundred and forty years as in a state of abeyance, waiting for the time when the people who were inclined to write in the English language should rally from the depression caused by the Norman Conquest. In the reign of King John, which began in 1199, books in the English language once more made their appearance; and their number steadily increased from that time onward. Nevertheless, during this entire period, English was not the fashionable or dominant language in England; and the highest and best thought of England uttered itself in speech that was alien to England.

2. Perhaps the earliest book representing the revival of a desire for literary utterance in English is a long and notable poem called "Brut." Its author was **Layamon**, a priest of the church at Ernley, in Worcestershire. Living in the days when Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Chronicle" and Wace's French metrical version of it were new books in high fame among the educated and the courtly, "it came to him in mind, and in his chief thought," that he would tell the famous story to his countrymen in English verse. He made a long journey in search of copies of the books on which he was to found his poem; and when he had come home again, as he says, "Layamon laid down those books, and turned the leaves; he beheld them lovingly. May the Lord be merciful to him!" Then, blending literature with his parish duties, the good priest began his work. Priest in a rural district, he was among those who spoke the language of the country with the least mixture of Norman French, and he developed Wace's "Brut" into a completely English poem, with so many additions from his own fancy, or his own knowledge of West-country tradition, that, while Wace's "Brut" is a poem of 15,300 lines, Layamon's "Brut" is a poem of 32,250 lines. Layamon's verse is the old First English unrhymed measure, with alliteration, less regular in its structure than in First English times, and with an occasional slip into rhyme. Battles are described as in First English poems. Here, as in First English poetry, there are few similes, and those which occur are simply derived from natural objects. There is the same use of a descriptive synonyme for man or warrior. There is the old depth of earnestness that rather gains than loses dignity by the simplicity of its expression. From internal evidence it appears that the poem was completed about the year 1205. It comes down to us in two thirteenth-century MSS., one written a generation later than the other, and there are many variations of their text; but the English is so distinctly that of the people in a rural district, that, in the earlier MS., the whole poem contains less than fifty words derived from the Norman, and some of these might have come direct from Latin. In the second MS. about twenty of those words do not occur; but forty others are used. Thus the two MSS., in their 56,800 lines, do not contain more than ninety words of Norman origin. In its grammatical structure Layamon's English begins for us the illustration of the gradual loss of inflections, and other changes, during the transition of the language from First English to its present form. It has been called Semi-Saxon; it is better called Transitional English of Worcestershire in the beginning of the thirteenth century.

3. A writer named **Ormin**, or Orm, began also, in the reign of King John, another English poem of considerable extent, called, from his own name, "The Ormulum." He tells of himself, in the dedication of his book, that he was a regular canon of the order of St. Augustine, and that he wrote in English, at the request of brother Walter (also an Augustinian canon), for the spiritual improvement of his countrymen. The plan of his book is to give to the English people, in their own tongue, and in an attractive form, the spiritual import of the church services throughout the year. He gave first a metrical paraphrase of the portion of the Gospel assigned to each day, and added to each portion of it a metrical homily, in which it was expounded doctrinally and practically, with frequent borrowing from the writings of Ælfric, and some borrowing from Bede. The metre is in alternate verses of eight and seven syllables, in imitation of a Latin rhythm; or in lines of fifteen syllables, with a metrical point at the end of the eighth; thus, —

"This boc iss nemmned Ormulum,
Forthi that Orm itt wrohhte."

Of the homilies provided for nearly the whole of the yearly service nothing remains beyond the thirty-second, and there remains no allusion that points to the time when the work was written. Its language, however, places it with the earliest examples of Transitional English, and it belongs, no doubt, to the reign of John, or to the first years of the reign of Henry III. It seems to be the Transitional English of a north-eastern county; and the author had a peculiar device of spelling, on the adherence to which by copyists he laid great stress. Its purpose evidently was to guide any half-Normanized town-priest in the right pronunciation of the English when he read these verses aloud for the pleasure and good of the people. After every short vowel, and only then, Orm doubled the consonant.

4. In the reign of Henry III. (1216–1272), which we have now reached, the production of books in the English language became more and more common.

There is a bright English poem, called "The Owl and the Nightingale," which tells how those birds advanced each against the other his several claims to admiration and the demerits of his antagonist; and how they called upon the author, **Nicholas of Guildford**, to be judge between them. Master Nicholas lets us know, that, from a gay youth in the world, he had passed into the church, where his merits had been neglected, and that he was living at Portesham in Dorsetshire. In this poem we have the rhyming eight-syllabled measure of many a French romance; but it is so distinctly English of a rural district, that its 1,792 lines contain only about twenty words which are distinctly Norman in their origin.

To about the year 1250 belongs an English poem kindred in spirit to the "Ormulum," and, indeed, illustrative of the same feature in English character which was marked at the outset of our literature by Cædmon's "Paraphrase." This is a version of the Scripture narrative of Genesis and Exodus. Like "The Owl and the Nightingale," it illustrates the adoption of rhyme into our native poetry by use of the octosyllabic rhyming verse common in many French romances. The poem of "Genesis and Exodus" is by an unknown author. In its 4,162 lines there are only about fifty words of Norman origin. The writer begins by saying that men ought to love those who enable the unlearned to love and serve the God who gives love and rest of the soul to all Christians, and that Christian men should be glad as birds are of the dawn to have the story of salvation turned out of Latin into their own native speech.

The same spirit among the people is represented, from the date of Layamon onward, by Homilies, Metrical Creeds, Paternosters, Gaudia, or Joys of the Virgin, and short devotional or moral poems, of which MSS. remain. There is also a Bestiary, in English apparently of the same date; and in its 802 lines, except one or two Latin names of animals, which had already been adopted in First English, there are not more than eight words of Romance origin.

During the reign of Henry III. we meet the earliest translations into English verse of French popular romances. The most notable of these were "King Horn" and "The Romance of Alexander."

"King Horn" belongs to an Anglo-Danish cycle of romance, from which the Norman *trouvères* drew material, and includes such tales as "Havelok the Dane," "Guy of Warwick and Colbrond the Dane."

"Alexander" was a famous subject of romance poetry, and reappears, during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteen centuries, in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Spanish, Italian, and Scandinavian. It became the basis of many French and English poems likewise.

We must observe that in the reign of Henry III. appeared the earliest Scottish poet, **Thomas of Erceldoune**, who produced an English version of "Sir Tristrem," and was in repute in his own day, not only as a poet, but as a prophet also.

Another of the English productions of this time, but one which has greater interest to students of language than to students of literature, is the "Ancren Riwle" ("Rule of the Anchoresses"), which seems to have been written by a **Bishop Poor**, who died in 1237. It was intended for the guidance of a small household of women withdrawn from the world for service of God at Tarrant Keynstone in Dorsetshire.

5. Passing from the reign of Henry III. to that of Edward I. (1272–1307), we find our first example of an English chronicler in the period of Transitional English. This was **Robert of Gloucester,** a monk of the abbey in that town, who produced a rhymed "Chronicle of England," from the siege of Troy to the death of Henry III. in 1272. It was in long lines of seven accents, and occasionally six, and was the first complete history of his country, from the earliest times to his own day, written in popular rhymes by an Englishman. The language is very free from Norman admixture, and represents West Midland Transitional English of the end of the thirteenth century. Robert of Gloucester wrote also rhymed "Lives and Legends of the English Saints."

Among other books written in English during the reign of Edward I. was the English version of "The Lay of Havelok the Dane," which was made about the year 1280, and is one of the brightest and most interesting examples of the English of that time. To nearly the same date belongs "A Fragment on Popular Science," which colors with religious thought an attempt to diffuse knowledge of some facts in astronomy, meteorology, physical geography, and physiology. "A Metrical Version of the Psalms" into English was another of the productions of this time; it is known as "The Northumbrian Psalter." Luxury of the monks was attacked with satire in an English poem of "The Land of Cockaygne," named from *coquina*, a kitchen (a form of satire current in many parts of Europe), which told of a region free from trouble, where the rivers ran with oil, milk, wine, and honey; wherein the white and gray monks had an abbey of which the walls were built of pasties, which was paved with cakes, and had puddings for pinnacles. Geese there flew about roasted, crying, "Geese, all hot!" and the monks — as the song went on it did not spare them. To the close of the reign of Edward I. belongs also a set of moralized proverbs, called "The Proverbs of Hendyng," in a Southern English dialect.

6. Passing to the reign of Edward II. (1307–1327), we find a time of great literary barrenness, the most notable English writer being **Robert of Brunne.** He wrote in the previous reign his first work, "Handlynge Synne," a free, amplified translation into English verse of a French poem, "Manuel des Péchés," written by an Englishman, William of Waddington. Between 1327 and 1338 Robert of Brunne made a popular translation into English verse of the French rhyming "Chronicle" of Peter Langtoft. It should be added, that, throughout the fourteenth century, there was a continual reproduction in English verse of the most famous among the French metrical romances.

7. The great King Edward III. came to the throne in 1327; and in the year 1328, according to the usual chronology, Geoffrey Chaucer was born. But the great era of literary prosperity, with which the name of Chaucer is connected, cannot be said to begin before the middle of the fourteenth century. During the first half of the reign of Edward III., that is, during the boyhood of Chaucer, the two most noted English writers were North-of-England men, — Laurence Minot and Richard Rolle of Hampole.

Laurence Minot was a poet, who, in Northern English, celebrated victories of Edward III. over the Scots and the French, from the battle of Halidon Hill, in July, 1333, to the capture of Guisnes Castle, in January, 1352. His war-songs were linked together by connecting verses. When he had celebrated the defeat of the Scots at Halidon Hill, which caused the surrender of Berwick, he exulted in his second song over the avenging of Bannockburn; then celebrated the king's expedition to Brabant in 1338; proceeded to the first invasion of France, the sea-fight of Sluys or of the Swyne, the siege of Tournay, a song of triumph for the great battle of Crécy in 1346, songs of the siege of Calais, and of the battle of Neville's Cross (October, 1346), in which David, King of the Scots, was taken prisoner; then followed his celebrations of victory at sea over the Spaniards in 1350, and, lastly, of the taking of Guisnes Castle in 1352, when Chaucer was twenty-four years old. Probably Minot died soon afterwards, as he did not sing of the memorable events of the next following years. He was our first national song-writer, and used with ease a variety of rhyming measures, while he retained something of the old habit of alliteration.

8. Richard Rolle, known also as the Hermit of Hampole, was born, about the year 1290, at Thornton in Yorkshire. He was sent to school, and from school to Oxford, by Thomas Neville, Archdeacon of Durham, and made great progress in theological studies. At the age of nineteen, mindful of the uncertainty of life, and fearing the temptation to sin, he returned home, and one day told a beloved sister that he had a mighty desire towards two of her gowns, — one white, the other gray. Would she bring them to him the next day in a neighboring wood, and bring with them a hood her father used in rainy weather? When she did so, he took these garments, and clothed himself with them; then, looking as much like a hermit as he could, he ran away; while his sister cried, "My brother is mad!" He went then, so dressed, on the vigil of the Assumption, into a church, and placed himself where the wife of a Sir John de Dalton used to pray. When Lady de Dalton came with her servants, she would not allow them to disturb the pious young man at his prayers. Her sons, who had studied at Oxford, told her who he was. Next day he assumed, unbidden, the dress of an assistant, and joined in the singing of the service; after which, having obtained the benediction of the priest, he mounted the pulpit, and preached such a sermon that many wept over it, and said they had never heard the like before. After mass, Sir John de Dalton invited him to dinner; but he went, because of humility, into a poor old house at the gate of the manor, till he was urged by the knight's own sons to the dinner-table. During dinner he maintained a profound silence. But after dinner, Sir John, having talked with him privately, was satisfied of his sanity; he therefore furnished the enthusiast with such hermit's dress as he wished for, gave him a cell to live in, and provided for his daily sustenance. The Hermit of Hampole, thus set up in his chosen vocation, became, while Minot was singing the victories of Edward III., the busiest religious writer of his day, and continued so till 1349, when he died, and was buried in the Cistercian nunnery of Hampole, about four miles from Doncaster, near which he had set up his hermit's cell, and which, after his death, derived great profit from his reputation as a saint. He wrote many religious treatises in Latin and in English, and he turned the Psalms of David into English verse. He also versified part of the Book of Job, and produced a Northern English poem in seven books, and almost ten thousand lines, called "The Pricke of Conscience" ("Stimulus Conscientiæ"). Its seven books treat, 1. Of the Beginning of Man's Life; 2. Of the Unstableness of this World; 3. Of Death, and why Death is to be Dreaded; 4. Of Purgatory; 5. Of Doomsday; 6. Of the Pains of Hell; 7. Of the Joys of Heaven. The poem represents in the mind of an honest and religious monk that body of mediæval doctrine against which, in some of its parts,—and especially its claim for the Pope, or his delegates, of power to trade in release from the pains of purgatory,—the most vigorous protest of the English mind was already arising.

9. To the year 1340, which is about the date of Hampole's "Pricke of Conscience," belongs a prose translation, by **Dan Michel** of Northgate, into Kentish dialect, of a French treatise, "Le Somme des Vices et des Vertus," written in 1279 by Frère Lorens (Laurentius Gallus) for Philip III. of France. The English translation is entitled "The Ayenbite" (Again-bite, Remorse) "of Inwit" (Conscience). It discusses the Ten Commandments, the creed, the seven deadly sins, how to learn to die, knowledge of good and evil, wit and clergy, the five senses, the seven petitions of the Paternoster, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, and other such subjects, with more doctrine and less anecdote than in the "Manuel des Péchés," or "Handlynge Synne," which was a work of like intention.

10. We have already noted the introduction of miracle-plays into England; but they were written in Latin. We have now to note several steps in the development of this kind of entertainment; the first of which is, that, probably during the first half of the fourteenth century, miracle-plays began to be written in English. Although not beyond doubt, it is very likely that the first acting of miracle-plays in English was at Chester, about the year 1328, and that the author of them was a Benedictine monk, named **Ralph Higden**, who, in his later years, wrote the famous Latin chronicle called "Polychronicon."

For nearly two hundred years previous to 1328, miracle-plays had been growing in popularity in England. Even in the twelfth century the acting of these plays began to be outside of the church, instead of inside. This must soon have become necessary, if it were only for accommodation of the increasing number of spectators. For the acting of those plays of which a MS. was found at Tours, scaffolding was built over the steps of the church, and the audience occupied the square in front. Out of the heaven of the church, Figura (God) passed to Adam in paradise upon a stage level with the highest steps of the church-door. From that paradise Adam and Eve were driven down a few steps to the lower stage that represented earth. Below this, nearest to the spectators, was hell, an enclosed place, in which cries were made, chains were rattled, and out of which smoke came; out of which, also, men and boys dressed as devils came by a door opening into a free space between the scaffolding and the semicircle of the front row of spectators. They were also directed now and then to go among the people, and passed round by them, sometimes to one of the upper platforms. The original connection of these plays with the church service was represented by the hymns of choristers.

The next step in the development of the miracle-play was hastened by the complaint that the crowds who came to witness the performance, on an outside scaffolding attached to the church, trampled the graves in the churchyards. Decrees were made to prevent this desecration of the graves; and the advance, probably, was rapid to the setting up of detached scaffolding for the performance of the plays — still by the clergy, choristers, and parish clerks — upon unconsecrated ground.

In London the parish clerks had formed themselves into a harmonic guild, chartered by Henry III. in 1233; and their music was sought at the funerals and entertainments of the great. As miracle-plays increased in popularity, the parish clerks occupied themselves much with the acting of them. Chaucer's jolly Absalom, of whom we are told that,

> "Sometimes to shew his lightness and maistrie,
> He playeth Herod on a scaffold high,"

was a parish clerk.

The strongest impulse to a regular participation of the laity in the production of these plays seems to have been given by the church, when, in 1264, Pope Urban IV. founded, and in 1311 Clement V. firmly established, the festival of Corpus Christi in honor of the consecrated Host. This was the one festival of the church wherein laity and clergy walked together. The guilds of a town contributed their pictures, images, and living representatives of Scripture characters, to the procession, and the day was one of common festival. From the parade of persons dressed to represent the Scripture characters, it was an easy step to their use in the dramatic presentation of a sacred story. Early in the fourteenth century one author declared it to be sin in the clergy to assist at any other plays than those which belonged to the liturgy, and were acted within the church at Easter and Christmas. This author especially condemned participation by the clergy in plays acted in churchyards, streets, or green places. In 1378, when Chaucer was fifty years old, the choristers of St. Paul's Cathedral petitioned Richard II. to prohibit the acting of the history of the Old Testament, to the great prejudice of the clergy of the church, who had spent considerable sums for a public representation of Old-Testament plays at the ensuing Christmas.

In the hands of the English guilds — which stood for the rising middle classes of the people — miracle-plays received a development peculiar to this country. Instead of short sequences of three or four plays, complete sets were produced, and they told what were held to be the essential parts of the Scripture story from the creation of man to the day of judgment. The number in each set may have corresponded to the number of guilds in the town for which it was originally written. Each guild was intrusted permanently with the due mounting and acting of one play in the set. Thus, at Chester, the tanners played "The Fall of Lucifer;" the drapers played "The Creation and Fall, and the Death of Abel;" "The Story of Noah's Flood" was played by the water leaders and the drawers of Dee. Among the possessions of each guild were the properties for its miracle-play, carefully to be kept in repair, and renewed when necessary. Actors rehearsed carefully, and were paid according to the length of their parts. They wore masks, or had their faces painted in accordance with the characters they undertook. The player of the devil wore wings and a closely-fitting leather dress, trimmed with feathers and hair, and ending in claws over the hands and feet. All the other actors wore gloves, or had sleeves continued into hands. The souls of the saved in the day of judgment wore white leather; the others, whose faces were blacked, wore a linen dress suggestive of fire, with black, yellow, and red. Thus we have, among the miscellaneous items in old books of the Coventry guilds, a charge for souls' coats, one for a link to set the world on fire, and "paid to Crowe, for making of three worlds, three shillings." The stage furniture was as handsome in thrones and other properties as each company could make it. They gilded what they could. Hell mouth, a monstrous head of a whale (its old emblem), was painted on linen with open jaws, — sometimes jaws that opened and shut, two men working them, — and a fire lighted where it would give the appearance of a breath of flames. By this way the fiends came up and down.

The acting of one of these great sequences of plays usually took three days, but was not limited to three. In 1409, in the reign of Henry IV., the parish clerks played at Skinner's Well in Islington, for eight days, "Matter from the Creation of the World." In England the taste for miracle-plays was blended with the old desire to diffuse, as far as possible, a knowledge of religious truth; and therefore the sets of miracle-plays, as acted by the town guilds, placed in the streets, as completely as might be, a living picture-Bible before the eyes of all the people. Such sequences of plays were acted in London, Dublin, York, Newcastle, Lancaster, Preston, Kendal, Wakefield, Chester, Coventry, and elsewhere. The set used in one town might be adopted by another. Many sets must have been lost; but three remain to show how thoroughly the English people sought to use the miracle-play for the advancement of right knowledge. These three are known as the "Chester," "Wakefield," and "Coventry" plays.

11. The Chester Plays were a series of twenty-four, written, as we have seen, by a monk of St. Werburgh's in Chester, probably Ralph Higden, and first acted in 1327 or 1328.

The spectator who had taken his place betimes — by six o'clock in the morning — at a window, or upon a scaffolding, to see the miracle-plays, would have first the great decorated stage upon six wheels, which was to present the creation, rolled before him. He would receive from that such living impression as it was meant to convey; and, when it rolled away to begin the series at some other part of the town before another concourse of spectators, the next pageant would follow to present to him the story of the death of Abel. That would pass, and then would come a lively presentment of the story of the flood. Sometimes more than one stage was necessary to the acting of a play. The Old-Testament series would be founded on those parts of Scripture which told of the relations between God and man, and pointed to the Saviour. The New-Testament series would represent the life of Christ, still showing what the church taught to be man's relation to the world to come, and closing with the day of judgment. The acting was not confined to the stages, but in some places blended with the real life of the town. The magi rode in through the streets, sought Herod on his throne, and addressed him from their horses; then rode on and found the infant Christ. At another time a procession travelled through the streets, leading the Lord before the judgment-seat of Pilate. Every thing that was a part of Bible story was presented and received with deep religious feeling. The coarseness of coarse men — slayers of the innocents, tormentors, and executioners — was realized in a way, that, whatever we may now think of it, had no comic effect upon spectators. If in France the manner of acting, which brought those who performed devils' parts into too constant and familiar relations with the audience, deprived them of terror, it was not so in England. Our evil spirits came only when there was fit occasion, — as tempters, as bringers of evil dreams, as the possessors of lost souls. But, since the strain of deep and serious attention for three long successive days could not be borne by any human audience, places of relaxation and laughter were provided, always from material that lay outside the Bible story. Thus Cain might have a comic man; Noah's obstinate wife was an accepted comic character; and between the Old-Testament and New-Testament sections of the series there was a distinctly comic interlude, — "The Shepherds' Play."

12. The Shepherds' Play perhaps arose out of a custom, which certainly existed in the Netherlands, of blending the performance of a great mystery in the church with the daily life of the people in the world outside. The first notion of "The Shepherds' Play" was a homely realization of the record that "there were in the same country shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flocks by night." Simple shepherds were represented first, talking together, and their talk was sometimes of the hardships of the poor, of wrongs to be righted; then came one who was especially the comic shepherd, and jesting began, with wrestling, or some other rough country sport; after that, each would bring out his supper. They were shepherds of the same country with the spectators of the play. In "The Chester Play" they spoke of eating meat with Lancashire bannocks, and of drinking Alton ale. Jest having been made over the rude feast, there floated through the air, from concealed choristers, the song of the angels. At first the shepherds were still in their jesting mood, and mimicked the singing; then they became filled with religious awe, went with their rustic gifts to the stable in which the infant lay, and, after they had made their offerings, rose up exalted into saints. In the Wakefield series there are two Shepherds' Plays; so that the actors might take either. In one of them the comic shepherd is a sheep-stealer; and an incident which must have excited roars of laughter from a rough and hearty Yorkshire audience is so cleverly dramatized, that, apart from the religious close which can be completely separated from it, this Wakefield Shepherds' Play may justly be accounted the first English farce.

13. Nevertheless, as we shall find, the origin of the modern drama must not be traced to the miracle-play. There is no more than a distant cousinship between them. The miracle-plays, as thus adopted by the English people, remained part of the national life of England, not only throughout Chaucer's lifetime, but long afterwards. In Chaucer's time, even the Cornishmen had such plays written for them in the old Cymric of Cornwall; and miracle-plays were still acted at Chester as late as the year 1577, at Coventry as late as 1580, when Shakespeare was sixteen years old, and the true drama was rising from another source.

PART III.

EARLY MODERN ENGLISH:

1350-1550.

ENGLISH LITERATURE.

SECOND HALF OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

POETS.

Geoffrey Chaucer.
John Gower.
William Langland.
John Barbour.
Author of Piers Ploughman's Crede.

PROSE-WRITERS.

Geoffrey Chaucer.
Sir John Mandeville.
John Wiclif.
John Trevisa.
Ralph Strode.

CHAPTER I.

SECOND HALF OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY: CHAUCER.

1. Chaucer's English. — 2. Chaucer's Parentage and Birth-Year. — 3. His Education. — 4. His Training for Poetry. — 5. His Translations of "Le Roman de la Rose" and Boëthius. — 6. "The Court of Love." — 7. Chaucer's Stanza. — 8. "The Assembly of Foules." — 9. "Complaint of the Black Knight." — 10. Chaucer's Military Career. — 11. His "Dream." — 12. "Book of the Duchess." — 13. His Political Life. — 14. Second Period of his Literary Life; "Troilus and Cressida." — 15. "House of Fame." — 16. "Legend of Good Women." — 17. His Further Political Life. — 18. "The Flower and the Leaf." — 19. "The Cuckoo and the Nightingale." — 20. His Political Life continued; "The Astrolabe." — 21. His Last Years. — 22. "Canterbury Tales." — 23. His so-called Spurious Writings.

1. Our writers before Chaucer were men speaking the mind of England, either in Latin, the tongue of the learned; or in French, the tongue of the court and the castle; or in English, the tongue of the people. But the English they used differed much, both in vocabulary and in grammatical structure, from the English of to-day. With Chaucer, however, the English language had reached a fulness of development which enables it to speak to us all yet with clearness and a living warmth.

2. Geoffrey Chaucer was the son of Richard Chaucer, a wine-dealer of London, and was born in that city, perhaps in the year 1328, perhaps not until the year 1340.

The first of these dates has been, until lately, the accepted one, and it is not yet by any means abandoned. The argument in its favor rests chiefly on the fact that 1328 is the date given in the inscription on Chaucer's monument in Westminster Abbey. This monument, an altar-tomb under a Gothic canopy, was not erected until the year 1556, when Nicholas Brigham, a small poet who reverenced the genius of Chaucer, built it at his own expense. But we know from Caxton that there was an earlier inscription on a table hanging on a pillar near the poet's burial-place; and Brigham can hardly have done otherwise than repeat on his new tomb the old record, — that Chaucer died on the 25th of October, 1400, and that his age was then seventy-two. This date is in harmony with what we know of Chaucer's life and writings.

The argument against the former date, and in favor of the latter, rests chiefly on the fact, that, in a certain famous suit, Chaucer served as a witness on the 12th of October, 1386, and that, in the official record of his evidence, he is described as "Geffray Chaucere, Esquier, del age de xl ans et plus, armeez par xxvij ans" (aged forty and more, and having borne arms for twenty-seven years). Here it will be observed that upon the point essential to the cause, namely, the length of time during which he had borne arms, the record is exact; for it was in 1359 that he began to bear arms. If, however, he was born in 1328, he was, at the time of giving his testimony, fifty-eight years old; and to many this seems too advanced an age to be fairly described by the phrase, "forty years and more;" and accordingly, to such, 1340 seems the very earliest date that can be fixed for his birth. On the other hand, it is to be said that Chaucer probably was not asked his age, since it was not at all material to the case, and since, if he had been asked, the answer would have been more precise. The reporter perhaps glanced at the witness, and set down for age "forty and more," before putting the more material question. Upon the age of a man in middle life the estimates differ widely, according to the sense and eyesight of those who make them, and as men differ widely in the period at which they begin to show signs of decay. Chaucer was healthy, genial, and cheerful. It may well have been enough for a rough estimate of his age to set down that he was on the wrong side of forty, — "forty and more." References made to his old age in Chaucer's later life forbid us to be misled by the bad guess of an unknown reporter.

3. Chaucer's writings show him to have been a student to the last; we cannot therefore ascribe all his knowledge to the education he had as a youth. But his early writings show a range of culture that could have come only of a liberal education. There is no direct evidence that he studied at Oxford or Cambridge. If he went to either university, probably it was to Cambridge; for in his "Court of Love" he makes his Philogenet describe himself as "of Cambridge, clerk;" and in the opening of his Reeve's tale he alludes familiarly to the brook, mill, and bridge, which were "at Trompington, not far fro Cantebrigge." But there are no such familiar references to Oxford in his verse, though it must not be forgotten that the poor scholar sketched with sympathetic touches in the prologue to the "Canterbury Tales" was a clerk of Oxenforde.

4. Nothing trustworthy is known of Chaucer's occupation during the first years of his manhood. He was a poet, we know;

and perhaps, while training himself for that high service, he may have earned money by assisting in the business of the family. At any rate, there seems no doubt that his method of training himself for poetry consisted of study of the French literature, then most in demand, and of practice in translation. This, then, we may regard as the first period in Chaucer's literary career, — that of literary apprenticeship, during which his own work was largely imitative, and the models for his work were French.

5. It was in this time of his life that he turned into English verse the famous French poem called "Le Roman de la Rose," which in the original was begun early in the thirteenth century by William of Lorris, and was finished in the latter part of that century by John of Meung, being a poem of over twenty-two thousand lines. It is an allegorical love-poem, in which the timid grace and the romantic sentiment of its first maker are followed by the boldness, the wit, and the vigor of its second maker, who had no compassion for polished hypocrisy, and annoyed priests by his satire, and court ladies with a rude estimate of their prevailing character.

This poem had acquired great popularity throughout Europe, when Chaucer put somewhat less than half of it into English verse, under the title of "The Romaunt of the Rose," the translator allowing himself some freedom both of amplification and of abridgment, and often using that freedom to improve greatly upon the original.

It is probable, that, even at an earlier period of his life, Chaucer made his "Translation of Boëthius," which reads like a student's exercise. In the original work, prose is interspersed with poetry; and it is remarkable, that, in his translation, young Chaucer forbore to exercise his skill in English verse, and put the entire book of Boëthius into prose.

6. Chaucer's first original work was probably "The Court of Love," — a poem which so clearly derives its allegorical form from a study of "Le Roman de la Rose," that it might most naturally have come into the mind of Chaucer while he was at work on his translation of that poem. But, through forms which he was to outgrow, Chaucer already spoke like himself. In this "Court of Love" he struck the key-note of his future harmonies. The most characteristic feature of his poetry at once appears in it.

The author is represented as "Philogenet of Cambridge, clerk," ashamed to think that he is eighteen years old and has not yet paid service at the Court of Love. He journeys thither, and what does he find? Venus, of course, is the goddess worshipped. But, under her, the mythical Admetus and Alcestis, through whom marriage was idealized, are King and Queen of Love, and they live in a castle painted within and without with daisies. This reading of love, and the use of the daisy as its type, is Chaucer's own, repeated sometimes in form, and in spirit pervading all the work of his life. For Chaucer alone, in his time, felt the whole beauty of womanhood, and felt it most in its most perfect type, — in wifehood, with the modest graces of the daisy, with its soothing virtues, and its power of healing inward wounds. Physicians in his day ascribed such power to the daisy, which, by Heaven's special blessing, was made common to all, and was outward emblem also of the true and pure wife in its heart of gold and its white crown of innocence. That is what Chaucer meant when he told in later writing of his reverence for the daisy, and identified Alcestis with it. Why Alcestis? She was the wife of that Admetus to whom the Fates had given promise that he should not die, if, when the hour came, his father, mother, or wife would die for him. This his wife did, and was brought back from the dead by Hercules. The poem is an ideal of wifely devotion and a mythical upholding of true marriage. Chaucer here worked upon the lines of the French poets, introduced even a code distinctly founded upon that of the Courts of Love, which were in his time still popular in France; but it was not in him to adopt the playful fiction of these courts. He had what we might now call his own English sense of the domestic side of their one courtly theme, not represented even by the English literature of his day; and at once he became, alone in his own time, and more distinctively than any who followed him, the reverencer of the daisy, as he understood his flower, — the poet of a true and perfect womanhood.

7. Of less interest, but still important, is another point to be noted in Chaucer's "Court of Love." It includes stanzas translated from one of those poems with which Boccaccio was then delighting every educated reader of Italian who could buy or borrow copies. It is also in the peculiar seven-lined stanza, which should be called "Chaucer's stanza," since, probably in the course of such translation, it was evidently formed by him out of the octave rhyme which Boccaccio was then first introducing into literature. Putting like letters to stand for rhymes, the rhyming in the eight lines of Boccaccio's stanza runs a b a b a b c c, in which the system of the harmony is obvious. In the old Sicilian octave rhyme the verse had simply alternated. Boccaccio turned the closing lines into a couplet, and so gave to the whole measure a sense of perfectness, while adding to its music. Omitting Boccaccio's fifth line and its rhyme, Chaucer made his new stanza run a b a b b c c. Here there are seven lines, three on each side of a middle line, which is that upon which all the music of the stanza turns: it is the last of a quatrain of alternate rhymes, and first of a quatrain of couplets. The stanza thus produced has a more delicate music than the Italian octave rhyme out of which it was formed, and it remained a favorite with English poets till the time of Queen Elizabeth. Because it was used by a royal follower of Chaucer's, it has been called "rhyme royal." Let us rather call it "Chaucer's stanza."

8. Chaucer's "Court of Love" was court poetry; and the next evidence we have of the course of his life shows that he had obtained footing at court as an attendant upon the young princes, Lionel of Antwerp and John of Gaunt. So far as regards his court service, Chaucer's life and poetry are especially associated with the friendship and patronage of John of Gaunt; and we come now to a group of his poems which seems to have been distinctly written for this prince. In 1359, being then but nineteen years old, John of Gaunt married Blanche, aged also nineteen, second of two daughters of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, the first prince of the blood after the children of the king. Chaucer's "Assembly of Foules," or, as it is sometimes called, "Parliament of Birds," was most probably a poem written for John of Gaunt in 1358, during his courtship of this lady. If so, the argument implies, that, when she was eighteen, there were three noble suitors for the hand of the great heiress; that one of them, whose cause the poet advocates, was the king's son; and that her marriage was postponed for a year. The poem is, like "The Court of Love," in Chaucer's stanza, and is in the form of a dream, opening and closing with suggestion of the author as a close student of books. He always reads, he says; he surely hopes so to read that some day he shall be the better for his study; "and thus to read I will not spare."

In the opening of this poem Chaucer represents himself as reading with delight a beautiful fragment of the sixth book of Cicero "On the Republic," which contains the doctrine of the soul's immortality in "The Dream of Scipio" ("Somnium Scipionis"). To this fragment a wide influence was given among educated readers of the middle ages, — an influence which even Dante felt. It may be named as the work which, next to "The Romaunt of the Rose," had chief influence in determining a fashion of court literature for allegorical incidents in form of dream. We find the fashion illustrated in "The Assembly of Foules," and other of the earlier works of Chaucer, and in the literature of succeeding time, until the great development of new thought and new forms of writing in the days of Queen Elizabeth.

In telling the dream which forms the story of "The Assembly of Foules," Chaucer shows, as in "The Court of Love," the enjoyment with which he had then received the narrative poems of Boccaccio. Sixteen stanzas of the "Teseide," which describe Cupid at a fountain tempering his arrows, and the crouched Venus herself, are translated in sixteen stanzas of "The Assembly of Foules," and they are translated in a way that places beyond question Chaucer's knowledge of Italian. The turns of phrase make it quite evident that Chaucer wrote with the Italian original before him.

9. Chaucer's "Complaint of the Black Knight," which is also written in Chaucer's stanza, professes to record what the poet heard of the complaint of a knight whom false tongues had hindered of his lady's grace; and the poem, probably, was designed for John of Gaunt to present to his lady on occasion of some small misunderstanding incident to days of courtship. It is a court poem of French pattern, thoroughly conventional, expressing unreal agonies by the accepted formulas; and in it the natural genius of Chaucer appears only in some touches at the close.

10. Chaucer's great patron, John of Gaunt, was married in May, 1359; and, five months afterward, Chaucer himself was in the army which Edward III. then led against France; first laying unsuccessful siege to Rheims; next advancing on Paris, and burning its suburbs; and then suffering famine so severe, that the English host was compelled to retreat towards Brittany, leaving a track of dead upon its way. It was in Brittany that Chaucer was taken prisoner by the French; and as peace was signed in May, 1360, it is supposed, that, unless ransomed before that time, he was then released. This, however, is only conjecture; and nothing is known of Chaucer's life for the next seven years. At the end of that time, in 1367, when he was thirty-nine years old, he was still attached to the king's household, and he received in that year a salary of twenty marks for life, or until he should be otherwise provided for, in consideration of his former and future services.

11. It was probably about this time that Chaucer married Philippa Roet, one of the ladies in attendance on the queen, eldest daughter of Sir Payne Roet, and sister of Katherine, third wife of John of Gaunt. To this time, therefore, may be assigned, with some probability, the exquisite poem known as "Chaucer's Dream."

Throughout this poem there is a delicate play of fairy fancy. It is in the light octosyllabic rhyme, which came in almost with the first English poems written after the Conquest, telling how the poet found himself, in dream, the only man in a marvellous island of fair ladies, whose queen was gone over the sea to a far rock to pluck three magic apples, upon which their bliss and well-being depended. But she returned, and with her came the Poet's Lady, by whom the Queen of that Isle of Pleasaunce had found herself forestalled. The Poet's Lady had been found already on the far rock, with the magic apples in her hand. A Knight also had there claimed the unlucky Queen as his; but the Poet's Lady had comforted her, had graciously put into her hand one of the apples, and had brought in her own ship both Queen and Knight home to the pleasant island. There its fair ladies all knelt to the Poet's Lady. The Knight would have died of the Queen's rigor if she had not revived him by some acts of kindness, after which she was resolved to bid him go. But then there were seen sailing to that island ten thousand ships; and the God of Love himself made all resistance vain. Many knights landed; and the Queen of the Isle, being overcome, presented to the Lord of Love a bill declaring her submission. The God of Love also paid homage to the Poet's Lady, and, himself pleading to her the Poet's cause, laughed as he told her his name. At last, after a multitude of marvellous incidents, there was a marriage-festival; and all, except the Poet, had been thus happily married, when, during a whole day, they besought of the Poet's Lady grace for him also. She yielded, and their marriage was to be that night. Then the happy Poet was led into a great tent that served for church, and there was solemn service, with rejoicing afterwards, of which the loud sound woke him from his dream. He was alone then, in the old forest lodge, where he had slept, and was left in grief to pray that his Lady would give substance to his dreaming, or that he might go back into his dream and always serve her in the Isle of Pleasaunce. He ended his verse with a balade, bidding his innocent heart go forth to her who may "give thee the bliss that thou desirest oft."

12. We suppose Chaucer's marriage to have been about the year 1367. It was two years afterward, in September, 1369, that his illustrious patron lost his wife, the Duchess Blanche, in the courtship of whom, eleven years before, Chaucer's poems, "Assembly of Foules" and "Complaint of the Black Knight," are believed to have assisted. So the devoted poet mourns her death in his "Book of the Duchess," a court poem in eight-syllabled rhyming verse, with the customary dream, May morning, and so forth, the romance figure of Emperor Octavian, from the tale of Charlemagne, and a chess play, with Fortune imitated, almost translated, from a favorite passage of "Le Roman de la Rose." Thus far a follower of the court fashions, Chaucer is in this poem himself a celebrater of that home delight of love over which Alcestis was queen under Venus. It is faithful wedded love that the "Book of the Duchess" honors. We have here also the individual portrait of a gentlewoman who had been the poet's friend, and in whom he had seen a pattern of pure womanly grace and wifely worth. The Duchess Blanche left one son, about three years old, who became King Henry IV. To him, in his childhood, Chaucer must have been familiar as his father's household friend, and, doubtless, often welcome as a playfellow.

13. In the spring and summer of 1370 Chaucer was abroad on the king's service; and again, in November, 1372, being henceforth entitled an esquire, was made one of a commission that was to proceed to Italy, and treat with the duke, citizens, and merchants of Genoa for the choice of some port on the English coast at which the Genoese might establish a commercial factory. Upon such business he was in Italy, both at Florence and Genoa, in the year 1373. This was a year before the death of Petrarch, — the year, also, in which Petrarch wrote that moralized Latin version of Boccaccio's tale of Griselda, which was afterwards followed by Chaucer in his "Clerk's

Tale," and of which he made his Clerk say that it was "learned at Padua of a worthy clerk, . . . Francis Petrarch, the laureate poet." Chaucer is likely to have sought speech with so great a master of his art. He might also, during this visit to Italy, have spoken with Boccaccio, then living at Venice, and within but two years of his death; for Petrarch died in 1374, Boccaccio in 1375. Our own poet was home again at the close of November, 1373, and was paid for his service and expenses ninety-two pounds, which would be worth more than nine hundred pounds in present value. In April of the next year, 1374, on St. George's Day, a grant was made to Chaucer of a daily pitcher of wine from the hands of the king's butler. This he received till the accession of Richard II., when, instead of the wine, twenty marks a year were paid as its money value. Less than two months after the grant of daily wine, Chaucer owed also to John of Gaunt's good-will a place under government as comptroller of the customs and subsidy of wool, skins, and tanned hides in the port of London. The rolls of his office were to be written with his own hand, and none of his duties might be done by deputy. Only three days after he had been enriched with this appointment, John of Gaunt made in his own name a personal grant to Chaucer of ten pounds (represented now by one hundred pounds) a year for life, payable at the manor of Savoy, in consideration of good service rendered by Chaucer and his wife Philippa to the said duke, to his consort, and to his mother the queen. In November of the following year, 1375, Chaucer received, from the crown, custody of a rich ward, Edmund Staplegate of Kent; and this wardship brought him a marriage-fee of one hundred and four pounds, represented now by ten times that amount. Two months later Chaucer obtained another wardship of less value; and in another half-year he was presented with the fine paid by an evader of wool-duties, — a gift worth more than seven hundred pounds of our money.

14. The works of Chaucer hitherto described form a distinct group, marked by the predominating influence of French court poetry. Every young poet must acquire the mechanism of his art by imitation; and the fashion among poets in his younger days caused Chaucer to learn his art, in the first instance, as an imitator of the *trouvères*. His individuality is shown from the first, as in the honor paid to marriage; though his models are not of the best, and they do not quicken the development of independent strength. But, as Chaucer became more and more familiar with the great poets of Italy, their vigorous artistic life guided his riper genius to full expression of its powers. Before the age of forty he had, perhaps, not fully outgrown the influences of his early training. When he had passed the age of forty, Chaucer's writing shows, with the best qualities of his own independent genius, that, where he looked abroad at all for a quickening influence, it was not to France, but to the great Italian writers, — Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. We thus enter the second period of Chaucer's literary life, — a period in which the poet felt more and more strongly the impulse toward independent song, but in which the strongest external influence is derived from the higher strain of Italian literature.

The first poem falling in this second period is his "Troilus and Cressida," which is a free version of Boccaccio's "Filostrato," out of octave rhyme into Chaucer's seven-lined stanza. In his rendering of the Italian story the English poet not only so dealt with the baser incidents as to breathe pure air through an unwholesome tale, and even somewhat to spoil the first charm of the story-telling by interpolation of good counsel; but, for love of honesty, he so transformed the character of Pandarus in every respect as to make of it a new creation, rich with a dramatic life that is to be found, outside Chaucer, in no other work of imagination before Shakespeare. Chaucer may have been at work upon his poem, which is in five books and 8,251 lines, in the last years of the reign of Edward III., who died in 1377. Ripeness of age is indicated not only by the breadth and depth of insight shown in the character-painting, but may be inferred also from the grave didactic tone that interrupts from time to time the light strains of a love-story. Such fine hath Troilus for love, says Chaucer, at the close: young fresh folks, he or she, look Godward, and think this world but a fair. Love Him who bought our souls upon the cross, and whose love never will be false to you. Such stories as this the old clerks tell of the world's wretched appetites, and of the guerdon for travail in service of the heathen gods.

> "O moral Gower, this book I direct
> To thee, and to the philosophical Strode,
> To vouchsafe therë need is to correct,
> Of your benignities and zealës good."

And the book ends with a prayer that Christ may make us worthy of his mercy.

15. Richard II. began to reign in 1377, and continued upon the throne until 1399, one year before the death of Chaucer; and during all this time we are to imagine Chaucer as chief in renown of all English poets and men of letters. Of his ditties and glad songs the land full filled was over all. And the next important poem of his that we meet is "The House of Fame." The poem, in three books of octosyllabic rhyme, opened with a dream of the Temple of Venus, which is of glass, in a wide wilderness of sand. The poet, praying to be saved from phantom or illusion, was carried up by an eagle like that which swooped in dream upon Dante in the ninth canto of the "Purgatory;" and in "The House of Fame" we find very distinct traces of the influence of Dante on the mind of a great fellow-poet. In Chaucer there was, indeed, no gloom; but he penetrated none the less deeply to the heart of human life, because he had faith in God's shaping of the universe, was kindly and ever cheerful, and knew how to be wise without loss of the homely playfulness that comes of bright fancy and a heart at ease. The eagle of the poem said to the poet: You have taken pains with your love-singing, and have been a quiet student; therefore you are being taken up to see the House of Fame. You hear little about your neighbors, said the eagle to him. When you have done the reckonings of your day's office work (over the books relating to the customs and subsidy of wools, skins, and tanned hides in the port of London),

> "Thou goest home to thine house anone,
> And allso dumb as a stone
> Thou sittest at another book
> Till fully dazed is thy look,
> And livest thus as an hermite,
> Although thine abstinence is lite."

Chaucer enjoyed life and good fare. But the man of genius wins only by hard work a fame that is to live through many centuries; and Chaucer, happy among books, which are men disembodied, as among men in the flesh, was a hard-working student. As for the House of Fame, which he was permitted to look into, he found it, he said, the place between heaven, earth, and sea, to which all rumors fall; and his description of it began with a reminiscence of the invocation at the opening of Dante's "Paradise." But in invoking "Apollo, God of Science and of Light," Chaucer modestly avoids following Dante in the suggestion that he will crown himself with a few leaves of Apollo's laurel. He says only that he will go

"Unto the next laurèr I see
And kiss it, for it is thy tree."

Then Chaucer described the House of Fame as he saw it on a rock of ice, inscribed with names of men once famous. Many were melted or melting away; but the graving of the names of men of old fame was as fresh as if just written, for they were "conservëd with the shade." The description of the House is one of the brightest creations of Chaucer's fancy. There is a grand suggestiveness, a true elevation of thought, in the plain words that conjure up images, clearly defined and brightly colored, which do not rise only to melt in air and be no more. They pass into the reader's inner house of thought, and live there.

Of the goddess who sat within, some asked fame for their good works, and were denied good or bad fame. Others who had deserved well were trumpeted by slander. Others obtained their due reward. Some who had done well desired their good works to be hidden, and had their asking. Others made like request, but had their deeds trumpeted through the clarion of gold. Some who had done nothing asked and had fame for deeds only to be done by labor; others who had asked like favor were jested at through the black clarion. Chaucer himself refused to be petitioner. Enough, if his name were lost after his death, that he best knew what he suffered, what he thought. He would drink, he said, of the cup given to him, and do his best in his own art. From the House of Fame he was taken by the eagle to the whirling House of Rumor, full of reports and of lies shaped as shipmen and pilgrims, pardoners, runners, and messengers. Every rumor flew first to Fame, who gave it name and duration. In a corner of this House of Rumor

Chaucer saw men crowding about one who told love-stories. The clamor about this shadow of himself awoke him from his dream. Then, being awake, he remembered how high and far he had been in the spirit.

> "Wherefore to study and read alway
> I purpose to do day by day."

16. The next important poem of Chaucer's, "The Legend of Good Women," could not have been published before 1382. Not content with all that he had done to give womanly delicacy to the character of Cressida in the earlier part of the poem relating to her, and to draw the noblest moral from her fall, he felt even yet that the beauty of pure womanhood was clouded by her story. He set to work, therefore, upon "The Legend of Good Women" with the avowed purpose of satisfying by his writings his own sense of what is good and just. But the suggestion even of this series of poems Chaucer derived from Boccaccio, whose collection of one hundred and five stories of illustrious women, told briefly and pleasantly in Latin prose, includes nearly all of those whom Chaucer celebrated; a remarkable omission being that ideal wife Alcestis, long since enshrined in our poet's verse as Queen of Love. Chaucer's stories of good women probably were written in various years, and represent the steadiness with which he paid, through life, what he calls reverence to the daisy. The book, when finished, was to be given, on behalf of Alcestis, to the queen, Anne of Bohemia, wife of Richard II.

17. During the first decade of the reign of Richard II., in which time Chaucer's poetic life seems to have been expressed by these two poems, "The House of Fame" and "The Legend of Good Women," his outward life was that of a diplomatist, a courtier, and a politician. In 1378, within a year after the accession of Richard II., he had been twice sent abroad on diplomatic service, — in January, with the Earl of Huntingdon, to France, to treat of the king's marriage; and in May, with Sir Edward Berkeley, to Lombardy, to treat on affairs concerning the king's war, when the shores of England lay at the mercy of the French and Spaniards. In 1382 the friendship of John of Gaunt had procured for Chaucer another office under government. Retaining his post as comptroller of wool customs, he became also comptroller of the petty customs in the port of London, with liberty to do the work of that office by deputy. In February, 1385, he was released from all compulsory work for his salaries by being allowed to appoint a permanent deputy in the office of wool customs. In 1386 he sat as one of the members for Kent in the Parliament which met on the 1st of October. The French were then threatening England with invasion; and the great barons, headed by the king's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, were active for the overthrow of the king's corrupt administration. Jchn of Gaunt was then away with an army in Portugal, upon affairs arising out of his relation to Castile.

In the Parliament which had Chaucer — acting, of course, with the king's party — among its members, there arose a trial of strength. After three weeks of struggle, Richard was compelled to abandon his chancellor, the Earl of Suffolk, to a prosecution by the Commons, and to submit himself for twelve months to a commission of regency. Two famous noblemen of the day, the Earl of Gloucester and the Earl of Arundel, as leaders of the opposition, were included in this commission. It was to inquire into the conduct of officials of all kinds, and into gifts and pardons granted in the name of the crown; it was to hear and decide on all griefs of the people which could not be redressed by common course of law, and to provide for all abuses such remedies as might seem to it good and profitable. The commission was appointed on the 19th of November, 1386. It began with an examination of the accounts of officers employed in the collection of the revenue. On the 10th of December it dismissed Chaucer from his office of comptroller of the wool customs. Ten days later it dismissed him also from his other office of comptroller of the petty customs.

18. During at least a part of the year's rule of this commission of regency, Chaucer seems to have been in Guienne with John of Gaunt, who was there marrying Philippa, his daughter by his first wife, Duchess Blanche, to King John I. of Portugal. The marriage was graced by Chaucer with his poem of "The Flower and the Leaf." The flower and the leaf represented two of the badges usual in mediæval heraldry. A flower, the rose, is the badge of England; a leaf, the shamrock, is the badge of Ireland. In Chaucer's time there was a current argument in chivalry as to the relative significance of leaves and flowers. Eustache Deschamps, nephew and pupil of Guillaume Machault, with an eye to the roses of England, wrote in honor of Philippa, upon the occasion of the wedding, a poem giving to the flower superiority over the leaf, as having fairer scent, color, and promise of fruit. There can be but little doubt that Chaucer's poem was, from the English side, a return compliment to the bridegroom. John of Portugal, a man of thirty, had fought for his throne, and owed both that and his wife to success in battle. He was a soldier-king, who lived to be called John the Great; and Chaucer's poem, written in the person of a lady, — the bride-elect, — gives the chief honor to the laurel, meed of mighty conquerors. "Unto the leaf," she says, "I owe mine observaunce."

19. To this part of Chaucer's life may belong also the poem of "The Cuckoo and the Nightingale." Master Nicholas of Guildford had sung of the contest overheard by him between the owl and nightingale about two hundred years before Chaucer sang of what he, also, had overheard between the nightingale and cuckoo. But, two hundred years before Chaucer, the birds were rude; each bragged of himself, and made contemptuous attacks upon the other. The only question was, Which is the better bird? Now, in the contest between nightingale and cuckoo, the cuckoo, indeed, is a bird of bad manners; but he does not affront the nightingale with personalities. He is rude because he flouts at love, which is the subject of discussion. The poem is based on a popular superstition that they will be happy in love during the year who hear the nightingale before the cuckoo. If they hear the cuckoo first, it is the worse for them. No date can be suggested for the poem, which seems to belong to Chaucer's second period, and like "The Flower and the Leaf," which was no doubt written in 1387, during the days of terror for the king's party, shows that Chaucer was a man whom no adversity could sour.

20. In May, 1389, King Richard suddenly asked his uncle

Gloucester how old he was, and, being told that he was in his twenty-second year, said he must then certainly be of an age to manage his own concerns. So he dismissed his council, took the government into his own hands, and left his uncle Gloucester to retire into the country; while John of Gaunt was desired to return to England. By this court revolution Chaucer profited. On the 12th of July in the same year he was appointed clerk of the works at the Palace of Westminster, Tower of London, Castle of Berkhamstead, and at about a dozen royal manors and lodges, and at the mews for the king's falcons at Charing Cross. He might serve by deputy; and his salary was two shillings a day, which would be about twenty in present value. In November of the same year John of Gaunt returned to London. But in 1391 Chaucer, for some unknown reason, ceased to hold office as clerk of the king's works. His means were then very small; indeed, it does not appear that he had other income than the ten pounds a year (say now one hundred pounds) for life granted in 1374 by John of Gaunt, and his allowance of forty shillings half-yearly for robes as the king's esquire. And it was at this date, 1391, that he wrote for his son Lewis, ten years old, a book of instruction, "Bread and Milk for Babes," or the "Conclusions of the Astrolabe," simply and tenderly — true to the pure domestic feeling that shines through his verse — employed in a father's duty of encouraging his child's taste for ennobling studies. He had given the boy an astrolabe; and the little treatise was to show him how to use it, as far as a child could. Some of its uses, he said, "be too hard for thy tender age of ten years to conceive. By this treatise, divided in five parts, will I show thee wonder light rules and naked words in English; for Latin ne canst thou not yet but small, my little son. But, nevertheless, sufficeth to thee these true conclusions in English, as well as sufficeth to those noble clerks, Greeks, these same conclusions in Greek, and to the Arabians in Arabic, and to Jews in Hebrew, and to the Latin folk in Latin; which Latin folk had them first out of divers other languages, and wrote them in their own tongue, that is to say in Latin. . . . And, Lewis, if it so be that I show thee in my little English as true conclusions touching this matter, and not only as true, but as many and subtle conclusions, as be showed in Latin in any common treatise of the astrolabe, con me the more thanks, and pray God save the king that is the lord of this language."

This treatise on the astrolabe is of special interest, as the only example of his prose-writing that remains to us besides the two prose stories in "The Canterbury Tales," called "The Tale of Melibœus" and "The Parson's Tale." There is another prose work that has been attributed to Chaucer, — "The Testament of Love;" but it is probable that this belongs among the spurious writings attributed to him.

21. We now come to the last and the most glorious period of the life of Chaucer, when he was at work upon "The Canterbury Tales." He must have lost his wife about the year 1387. She left him two sons, — an elder son, Thomas, and the Lewis for whom the treatise on the astrolabe was written. In 1394 Chaucer, whose means then were very small, received from the king a pension of twenty pounds a year for life, payable half-yearly, — at Michaelmas and Easter. In 1395 Chaucer's straitened means were indicated by four borrowings from the exchequer of money in advance. There was but one such borrowing in 1396; but there were four again in 1397. In the following year Chaucer was very poor. In May he obtained the king's letters of protection from arrest, on any plea, except it were connected with land, for the next two years, on the ground of "various arduous and urgent duties in divers parts of the realm of England." After this, Chaucer, on account either of sickness or of occupation, did not apply for money personally; but in July, 1398, within three months of his obtaining letters of exemption from arrest, he sent to the exchequer for a loan of 6*s.* 8*d.*, — say £3. 6*s.* 8*d.* present value. In September, 1799, Richard II. publicly surrendered his crown to that Henry who then became Henry IV., who was the son of John of Gaunt and his first wife, the Duchess Blanche, and who from his childhood had been Chaucer's friend. Amid all his new prosperity Henry did not forget the poor old poet. On the 3d of October he granted to Chaucer forty marks a year, in addition to the smaller annuity that King Richard had given him. The old poet had then only a year to live; but his last year was freed from care. At Christmas he took the lease of a house in the garden of the Chapel of St. Mary, Westminster; and there he died, aged seventy-two, on the 25th of October, 1400.

22. But these years of public turbulence and of private distress could not darken the genius of Chaucer; they were made glorious by his partial performance of a task that lifts him up among the few great poets of all time. Work upon "The Canterbury Tales" must have been the main occupation of the poet's latter days; and the last words of the last tale in the papers, gathered together by the hand of his son Thomas, may have been the last words from his pen. They look up to heaven, where "the body of man, that whilom was sick and frail, feeble and mortal, is immortal, and so strong and so whole, that there may no thing impair it; there is neither hunger, nor thirst, nor cold, but every soul replenished with the sight of the perfect knowing of God. This blissful reign may men purchase by poverty spiritual, and the glory by lowness, the plenty of joy by hunger and thirst, and rest by travail, and the life by death and mortification of sin. To this life He us bring that bought us with his precious blood. Amen." Chaucer was one of the few greatest poets of the world who rise to a perception of its harmonies, and have a faith in God forbidding all despair of man. No troubles could extort from him a fretful note. Wisely, kindly, with shrewd humor, and scorn only of hypocrisy, he read the characters of men; and, seeing far into their hearts, was, in his "Canterbury Tales," a dramatist before there was a drama, a poet who set the life of his own England to its proper music.

In this work, had it been completed, the whole character of England would have been expressed, as it is already expressed or implied in the great fragment left to us. Boccaccio, who died twenty-five years before Chaucer, placed the scene of his "Decameron" in a garden, to which seven fashionable ladies had retired with three fashionable gentlemen, during the plague that devastated Florence in 1348. They told one another stories, usually dissolute, often witty, sometimes exquisitely poetical, and always in simple, charming prose. The purpose of these people was to forget the duties on which they had turned their backs, and stifle any sympathies they might have had for the terrible grief of their friends and neighbors who were dying a few miles away. For these fine ladies and gentlemen, equal in rank and insignificance, Chaucer gave us a group of about thirty English people, of ranks widely different, in hearty human fellowship together. Instead of setting them down to lounge in a garden, he mounted them on horseback, set them on the high road, and gave them somewhere to go, and something to do. The bond of fellowship was not a common selfishness; it was religion; not, indeed, in a form so solemn as to make laughter and jest unseemly, yet, according to the custom of his day, a popular form of religion, — the pilgrimage to the shrine of Thomas à Becket, — into which men entered with much heartiness. It happened to be a custom which had one of the best uses of religion, in serving as a bond of fellowship wherein conventional divisions of rank were for a time disregarded; partly because of the sense, more or less joined to religious exercise of any sort, that men are equal before God, and also, in no slight degree, because men of all ranks, trotting upon the high-road with chance companions, whom they might never see again, have been in all generations disposed to put off restraint, and enjoy such intercourse as will relieve the tediousness of travel. Boccaccio could produce nothing of mark in description of his ten fine gentlemen and ladies. The procession of Chaucer's pilgrims is the very march of man on the high road of life.

From different parts of London or the surrounding country, Canterbury pilgrims met in one of the inns on the Southwark side of London Bridge, to set forth together upon the Kent road. Chaucer's pilgrims started from the "Tabard," an inn named after the sleeveless coat once worn by laborers, now worn only in a glorified form by heralds. Chaucer feigns that he was at the "Tabard," ready to make his own pilgrimage, when he found a company of nine and twenty on the point of starting, and joined them, so making the number thirty. Harry Bailly, the host of the "Tabard," also joined the party, so making thirty-one. When Chaucer describes the pilgrims in his prologue to "The Canterbury Tales," his list contains thirty-one, without reckoning the host. This little discrepancy is one of many reminders in the work itself that Chaucer died while it was incomplete. As he proceeded with his story-telling, he probably was modifying, to suit the development of his plan, several of the first-written details of his prologue. The pilgrims were, 1, 2, 3, a knight, his son, and an attendant yeoman; 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, a prioress, another nun who was her chaplain, and three priests;

9, 10, a monk and a friar; 11, a merchant; 12, a clerk of Oxford; 13, a serjeant-at-law; 14, a franklin, that is, a landholder free of feudal service, holding immediately from the king; 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, a haberdasher, a carpenter, a weaver, a dyer, and a tapestry-maker; 20, Roger, or Hodge, of Ware, a London cook; 21, a sailor from the West country; 22, a doctor of physic; 23, Alisoun, a wife of Bath; 24, 25, two brothers, — a poor town parson and a ploughman; 26, a reeve, or lord's servant, as steward or overseer; 27, a miller; 28, a sompnour, or summoner of delinquents to the ecclesiastical courts; 29, a pardoner, who dealt in pardons from the Pope; 30, a manciple of a lawyer's inn-of-court (a manciple was a buyer of victuals for a corporation); 31, Chaucer himself, who is described by 32, Harry Bailly, the host, as one who looked on the ground as he would find a hare, seemed elvish by his countenance, for he did unto no wight dalliance, yet was stout; for, says the host, "he in the waist is shape as well as I."

Harry Bailly, large, bright-eyed, bold of speech, shrewd, manly, well-informed, had a shrew of a wife. He gave his guests a good supper, and jested merrily when they had paid their reckonings. It was the best company of pilgrims that had been at his inn that year, he said, and he should like to secure them mirth upon the way. They were all ready for his counsel; and it was that each of them should tell two tales on the way to Canterbury, and two other tales on the way home. The one whose tales proved to be "of best sentence and of solas" should have a supper in that room, at the cost of all, when they came back from Canterbury. He was to be their guide; and whoever gainsaid his judgment was to pay for all they spent upon the way. All agreed, and appointed the host governor, judge, and reporter of the tales. Then wine was fetched; they drank, and went to bed. The host roused them at dawn next morning, the 28th of April (our 7th of May), when the length of day was a few minutes over fifteen hours. The company rode slowly to the watering of St. Thomas, that is to say, of the Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr in Southwark; which may be called, in the series of church-stations, the London terminus of the line of pilgrimage to St. Thomas the Martyr's shrine at Canterbury.

Here the host reminded the companions of their undertaking; and all, at his bidding, drew out slips by way of lot. Whoever had the shortest should begin. This wholesome device excluded all questions of precedence of rank among the fellow-pilgrims. The lot fell to the knight, whereat all were glad; and with the courtesy of prompt assent he began.

The knight's tale is the tale of "Palamon and Arcite," Englished by Chaucer, in spirit as well as language, from the "Teseide" of Boccaccio. The monk is asked for the next story; but the miller is drunk, and forces on his companions what he calls a noble tale. This is a coarse tale, told with vivid master-touches; and, as its jest is against a carpenter, Oswald the reeve is provoked to match it with a coarser jest against a miller. An honest warning of their nature is placed by Chaucer before these two stories, which belong to the broad view of life, but show the low animal part of it: —

"And therefore whoso list it not to hear,
Turn over the leaf, and choose another tale;
For he shall find ynow both great and smale
Of storial thing that toucheth gentilesse,
And eke morality and holiness."

In plainest words the reader is warned beforehand, by the pure-hearted poet, of the character of these two stories, in order that they may be passed over by those who would avoid their theme. The miller's tale has in its coarseness a rough moral at the close. The reeve's tale paints a form of life that we can well spare from the picture; yet it is taken from the "Decameron," and was put by Boccaccio, not, as by Chaucer, in a churl's mouth, but upon the lips of one of his fine ladies. After this, we find throughout, what we found in the knight's tale, Chaucer's sense of the pure beauty of womanhood. There is the whole range of character to be included in his picture; but on the fleshly side most natural and genial are the touches with which he gives the wife of Bath her place among the company. Chaucer began a cook's tale of a riotous apprentice, as if he meant to read a lesson to the Perkin revellers of the day; but he broke off, weary of low themes. "The Tale of Gamelyn," a bright piece of the class of poetry to which the Robin Hood ballads belong, is here placed, as a cook's tale, in Chaucer's series. It may have been among his papers; but it probably is from another hand. "The Man of Law's Tale" is of a good woman, the pious Constance, and seems to have been taken from the second book of Gower's "Confessio Amantis." "The Wife of Bath's Tale," of a knight, Florentius, who by obedience won a perfect bride, is again one of the tales of the "Confessio Amantis." "The Friar's Tale" contemns the cruel rapacity of sompnours, and "The Sompnour's Tale" scorns hypocritical rapacity in friars. "The Clerk's Tale" is the story of the patience of Griselda, the last tale in the "Decameron," and one which Petrarch said none had been able to read without tears. Chaucer's poem is distinctly founded, not on the tale as it stands in the "Decameron," but upon Petrarch's moralized version. This we find throughout, from the form of opening down to the religious application at the end, and the citation of the general Epistle of St. James, in the stanzas beginning,—

> "For sith a woman was so patiënt
> Unto a mortal man, well more we ought
> Receiven all in gree that God us sent."

But the poetical treatment of the story is so individual, that it all comes afresh out of the mind of Chaucer. Its pathos is heightened by the humanizing touch with which the English poet reconciles the most matter-of-fact reader to its questionable aspects. He feels that the incidents of the myth are against nature, and at every difficult turn in the story he disarms the realist with a light passage of fence, and wins to his own side the host of readers who have the common English turn for ridicule of an ideal that conflicts with reason. Chaucer's "Merchant's Tale" is that afterwards modernized by Pope in his "January and May." His "Squire's Tale" is of the Tartar Cambys Kan, or Cambuscan, of his two sons Algarsif and Camballo, and of his daughter Canace, who had a ring enabling her to hear the speech of birds, and a mirror which showed coming adversity, or falsehood in a lover. This is a tale of enchantment left unfinished, with stately promise of a sage and solemn tune, and which suggested to Milton the wish that the grave spirit of thoughtfulness would raise Musæus or Orpheus,

> "Or call up him that left half told
> The story of Cambuscan bold;
> Of Camball and of Algarsife,
> And who had Canace to wife
> That owned the virtuous ring and glass;
> And of the wondrous horse of brass
> On which the Tartar king did ride."

"The Franklin's Tale," to be found also in the "Decameron," was of a wife true of word as true of heart. The second "Nun's Tale" was of St. Cecilia, from "The Golden Legend," a treatise on church festivals, written at the end of the thirteenth century by an archbishop of Genoa, Jacobus à Voragine, and translated into French by Jehan de Vignoy. "The Pardoner's Tale" is a lesson against riotous living. Three profligates would slay death, the slayer of the young. An old man said they would find him under an oak in the wood. They found there nearly eight bushels of gold florins. At this they rejoiced, and cast lots which of them should go to the town to fetch bread and wine while the others watched the treasure. The lot fell on the youngest. While he was gone, his comrades plotted to kill him on his return, that the gold might be divided between two only; and he himself plotted to poison two of the bottles of wine he brought, that all the gold might belong to himself alone. So they slew him, and had short mirth afterwards over the wine he had poisoned.

"The Shipman's Tale," from the "Decameron," was of a knavish young monk. The prioress told the legend of a Christian child killed by the Jews in Asia. The child when living loved the Virgin, who appeared to it when dying and put a grain under its tongue, so that the dead child-martyr still sang, "O alma Redemptoris Mater." Until the grain was removed, the song continued. Chaucer himself began "The Rhyme of Sir Thopas," a merry burlesque upon the metrical romances of the day, ridiculing the profusion of trivial detail that impeded the progress of a story of tasteless adventures. Sir Thopas rode into a forest, where he lay down, and, as he had dreamed all night that he should have an elf-queen for his love, got on his horse again to go in search of the elf-queen; met a giant, whom he promised to kill next day, the giant throwing stones at him; and came again to town to dress himself for the adventure. The pertinacity with which the rhyme proceeds to spin and hammer out all articles of clothing and armor worn by Sir Thopas makes the host exclaim at the story-teller, "Mine earës aken for thy drasty speech," and cry, "No more!" The device, too, is ingenious, which puts the poet out of court in his own company, so far as regards the question who won the supper. His verse having been cried out upon, Chaucer answers the demand upon him for a tale in prose with "The Tale of Melibœus," a moral allegory upon the duties of life. "The Monk's Tale" is of men in high estate who have fallen into hopeless adversity, — a series of short "tragedies," suggested by a popular Latin prose-book of Boccaccio's on the "Falls of Illustrious Men." Among the monk's examples is that of Ugolino, whereof Chaucer writes that they who would hear it at length should go to Dante, "the gretë poete of Itaille," as he had said of any reader curious to hear more of Zenobia, "Let him unto my maister Petrarch go." The host at last stopped Piers the monk because his tales were dismal; and Sir John, the nun's priest, asked for something merry, told a tale of the Cock and the Fox, taken from the fifth chapter of the "Roman de Renart."

Thus the pilgrims made for themselves entertainment by the way till they reached Boughton-under-Blean, seven miles from Canterbury, where they were overtaken by a canon's yeoman, who was followed by his master. These had ridden after the pilgrims for three miles. They seem to have followed them from Faversham, where the canon, a ragged, joyless alchemist, who lived in a thieves' lane of the suburb, was on the watch for travellers whom he might join, and dupe with his pretensions to a power of transmuting metals. This canon, said his man, after other flourishing as herald of his master, could pave all their road to Canterbury with silver and gold. "I wonder, then," said Harry Bailly, "that your lord is so sluttish, if he can buy better clothes. His overslop is not worth a mite; it is all dirty and torn." Chaucer proceeds then skilfully to represent the gradual but quick slide of the yeoman's faith from his master, who, when he caught up the company, found his man owning that they lived by borrowing gold of men who think that of a pound they can make two:

> "Yet it is false: and ay we have good hope
> It is for to doon, and after it we grope."

The canon cried at his man for a slanderer. The host bade the man tell on, and not mind his master, who then turned and fled for shame, leaving the company to be entertained with "The Canon's Yeoman's Tale," preluded with experience of alchemy.

The manciple related after this the tale, from Ovid's "Metamorphoses," of the turning of the crow from white to black for having told Apollo of the falsehood of his Coronis. There is then an indication of the time of day—four o'clock in the afternoon—before "The Parson's Tale," which evidently was meant to stand last; for it is a long and earnest sermon in prose on a text applying the parable of a pilgrimage to man's heavenward journey. The text is from Jeremiah, vi. 16, "Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls."

23. Much debate is now going on among scholars respecting the genuineness of some of the writings attributed to Chaucer. By F. J. Furnivall, for example, the genuineness of the following works is vehemently denied.—"The Court of Love;" "The Craft of Lovers, and Remedy of Love;" "The Lamentation of Mary Magdalene;" "The Romaunt of the Rose;" "The Complaint of the Black Knight;" "Chaucer's Dream;" "The Flower and the Leaf;" and "The Cuckoo and the Nightingale." The argument against them is, that, in the earliest extant MSS., Chaucer is not named as their author; that they contain many violations of Chaucer's usages in rhyme; that some of them are ridiculously inferior to his certified works; and, finally, that some of them are obviously of a date later than his life. The trial of the case, however, is still in progress, and the final verdict cannot yet be rendered.

CHAPTER II.

SECOND HALF OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY. CHAUCER'S LITERARY CONTEMPORARIES.

1. John Gower; his Balades; "Speculum Meditantis;" "Vox Clamantis;" "Confessio Amantis;" his Later Years; "Tripartite Chronicle." — 2. William Langland; "The Vision of Piers Ploughman;" Imitations of it. — 3. John Barbour; "Bruce." — 4. Sir John Mandeville; "Travels." — 5. John Wiclif. — 6. John Trevisa; "Translation of Higden's Polychronicon." — 7. Ralph Strode.

1. THOUGH Chaucer had no peer in genius during his own time, there were among his contemporaries several strong men of letters, of whom three were poets, — John Gower, William Langland, and John Barbour; and three were prose-writers, — Sir John Mandeville, John Wiclif, and John Trevisa.

John Gower was a gentleman of Kent, close kindred to a wealthy knight, Sir Robert Gower. The date of his birth is not known; but he survived Chaucer eight years, dying, a blind old man, in the year 1408. It is likely that he was born two or three years before Chaucer. He was well educated; wrote with ease in French, Latin, and English; and used coat armor at a time when such matters had significance. We know that he had landed property in several counties, — Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent. Among the pleasant hills of Otford in Kent, Gower was at home in the reign of Edward III. as a country gentleman who had neither wish nor need to live at court. He wrote, in these his earlier days, verse, not merely according to the fashion of France, but in French. There remains a collection of his French exercises in love-poetry, "Balades," — a form of Provençal verse not in the least related to the Northern ballad. A balade is a love-poem in three stanzas of seven or eight (usually seven) lines, and a final quatrain. Gower wrote five of his balades for those who "look for the issue of their love in honest marriage." The other forty-five are of the usual kind, mere variations on the given theme, "universal to all the world, according to the properties and conditions of lovers who are diversely experienced in the fortune of love."

Gower wrote also three long poems, — one in French, one in Latin, one in English. The one in French is lost. It was divided into twelve books, treating of the vices and virtues, and of the various degrees of men seeking — as a contemporary described it — to teach by a right path the way whereby a transgressed sinner ought to return to the knowledge of his Creator. That first work, called the "Speculum Meditantis" ("Mirror of one Meditating"), was written, no doubt, in the reign of Edward III., and was probably the book which earned for the poet, from his friend Chaucer, the name of "Moral Gower."

In the earlier days of Richard II., John Gower was still living at his home in Kent; and in May, 1381, he was in the very midst of the tumult connected with the uprising of the men of Kent and the men of Essex, led on by Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and John Ball. This event drew from John Gower his second great poem, the "Vox Clamantis" ("Voice of One Crying"), in seven books of Latin elegiacs.

In its first book Gower told of the revolt allegorically, in the form of a dream of beasts who have changed their nature. A voice admonished him quickly to write what he had seen and heard; for dreams often contain warnings of the future.

In his second book, being awake, he did begin to write, invoking no muse but the Holy Spirit. If he seem unpolished to the reader, let the reader spare the faults, and look to the inner meaning of his work. And again and again he asks that the soul of his book, not its mere form, be looked to. "The Voice of One Crying" shall be the name of his volume, because there are written in it the words that come of a fresh grief. Then he went on to utter what was in his heart. There is no blind fortune ruling the affairs of men; they go ill or well according to the manner in which men fulfil their duties before God. As we do, so we rejoice or suffer. There is no misfortune, no good luck. Whatever happens among us, for good or ill, comes with our own doing, — "nos sumus in causa." The object of Gower's "Vox Clamantis" was, therefore, to set the educated men, readers of Latin, to the task of finding that disease within our social body of which the Jack Straw rebellion was but a symptom; his plan was to go through all orders of society, and ask himself wherein each fell short of its duty.

This he began to do in the third book, which has, like the second, a most earnest prelude. "I do not," Gower says, "affect to touch the stars, or write the wonders of the poles; but rather, with the common human voice that is lamenting in this land, I write the ills I see. In the voice of my crying there will be nothing doubtful; for every man's knowledge will be its best interpreter." Then follows a passage which ought to be quoted by all teachers who would train young people to write. Gower prays that his verse may not be turgid; that there may be in it no word of untruth; that each word may answer to the thing it speaks of pleasantly and fitly; that he may flatter in it no one, and seek in it no praise above the praise of God. "Give me that there shall be less vice, and more virtue, for my speaking."

Then he divided society into three classes, represented by clerk, soldier, and ploughman; and to an unsparing review of their vices he devotes the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth books. The seventh and last book applied Nebuchadnezzar's dream to the state of society in England; man's hard avarice being the iron in the feet of the image, and his lusts the clay. Prelates, curates, priests, scholars, monks, friars, soldiers, merchants, lawyers, were degenerate. Gower declared, with this, his especial love for the land of his birth. He repeated that what he had written was not his own complaint, but the voice of the people revealed to him in his dream. It touches only the guilty; and may each correct his own fault where he finds it! "Here," he says, "is the voice of the people; but often where the people cries is God." And in the "Vox Clamantis" we do hear the voice that throughout the literature of the English people labors to maintain the right and to undo the wrong.

Between Gower and Chaucer there seems always to have been a devoted friendship. When, in the first year of Richard's reign, Chaucer went with a mission to Lombardy, he had left the care of his private interests in the hands of two friends, one of whom was John Gower. Chaucer had dedicated to Gower his "Troilus and Cressida," and had then joined to his friend's name a word of honor, as the "moral Gower," which cleaves to it still. Presently we come to a poem of Gower's from which we learn that this friendship remained unbroken to their later days.

In 1389 King Richard had taken the government into his own hands, and, living in fear of his people, made some effort to rule also himself. For a few following years, men who, like

Gower, had their country's welfare at heart, credited the king with good intentions, and gave him loyally their friendship. In 1393, John Gower, rowing to town from his house in Kent or Essex by the river highway, then commonly used as the great London road, met the king's barge. At the invitation of Richard — who was at that time twenty-six years old, while the poet's age was about sixty-six — Gower left his boat, and conversed with the king, who, in the course of conversation, asked him to write a new book for himself to read. Gower had been suffering from a long illness, and still was ill: but he undertook to write such a book in English for King Richard, to whom his allegiance and heart's obedience were due; and he resolved to write so that his words might be as wisdom to the wise, and recreation to the idle. Thus Gower began his "Confessio Amantis" ("Confession of a Lover") at a time when his friend Chaucer was at work upon "The Canterbury Tales;" and thus each poet in his latter years was following the example which had been set by Boccaccio in his "Decameron," except that they used verse instead of prose in stringing a chain of tales on a slight thread of story. But, as to the spirit of their work, the English poets differ much from the Italian.

In the "Confessio Amantis," Gower's notion of a poem that should be

"Wisdom to the wise,
And play to them that list to play,"

was as serious as Hampole's "Pricke of Conscience." He began by telling its origin, and dedicating it to the king. But in a revision of his book, made when Richard had cast down the hope of those who credited him, for a few years after 1389, with the desire to do his duty, Gower expunged his words of allegiance; said, in place of them, "What shall befall here afterward God wot!" and transferred the dedication to Henry of Lancaster. For the fashionable device of his poem, Gower, infirm and elderly, cared little. To the best of his power he used it as a sort of earthwork, from behind which he set himself the task of digging and springing a mine under each of the seven deadly sins. There were eight books, with a prologue. The prologue repeated briefly the cry of the "Vox Clamantis." The eight books were, one for each of the seven deadly sins, with one interpolated book, seventh in the series, which rhymed into English a digest of the "Secretum Secretorum." This was a summary of philosophical and political doctrine wrongly supposed in the Middle Ages to contain the pith of Aristotle's teaching, as drawn out by himself for the use of Alexander. The second part of it, "De Regimine Principum," on the duties of kings, or "Governail of Princes" as the English writers called it, enabled Gower to edify the unteachable Richard with much argument upon the state and duties of a king.

Near the end of this poem the aged poet, having received absolution from his confessor, the priest of Nature, was dismissed from the court of Venus, with advice from her to go "where moral virtue dwelleth." He was to take also a message from Venus to her disciple and poet Chaucer, who, in the flower of his youth, made ditties and glad songs, wherewith, said Venus,

> "The land fulfilled is over all;
> Whereof to him in special,
> Above all others, I am most hold;
> Forthi now in his daiës old,
> Thou shalt him tellë this message:"

that he was to crown his work by making his Testament of Love as Gower had made his shrift, so that her court might record it. Here it is quite evident that Gower, speaking of himself as one old man, turns with playful compliment to his friend Chaucer as another.

About the year 1396, Gower, being not far from seventy years of age, and having lost all confidence in the character of King Richard II., withdrew from the outer life of the world. The Priory of St. Mary Overies, on the Southwark side of London Bridge (of which the chapel is now represented by the Parish Church of St. Saviour), was being rebuilt in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. The masons were still at their work, when John Gower, who was the most liberal contributor towards the cost of rebuilding, established lodgings and a chapel of his own in the new priory, and withdrew from the world to spend his last years peacefully, a clerk among clerks, within shadow of the church of which he was an honored benefactor. Gower's faith in Richard was gone; and the public events which immediately followed his retirement caused the old poet to write in Latin leonine hexameter his "Tripartite Chronicle." This is the sequel to his "Vox Clamantis," since it tells the issue of the misgovernment against which that earlier work had been a note of warning. The "Chronicle" was called "Tripartite," because it told the story of Richard's ruin in three parts, of which the first, said Gower, related human work, the second hellish work, the third a work in Christ.

Human work was the control of Richard by his uncle Gloucester when the commission of regency was established; hellish work was the *coup d'état;* the work in Christ was the consequent dethronement of King Richard.

On the accession of Henry IV., John Gower, who needed no money, received from the new king recognition of his hearty sympathy with what he looked upon as Christ's work in the overthrow of tyranny. In the year of Chaucer's death, Gower became blind. But he lived on in the priory till 1408; and after his death in that year, considering his liberal aid to their building-works, his brethren there honored his memory with a painted window and a tomb, upon which his effigy is still to be seen lying, adorned with the Lancastrian collar of SS, with an appended badge of the swan. This was the valued gift of the new king. When, in his blindness, his hand touched it, the aged moralist might now and then recall the past, and blend hope for the future with abiding faith that "often where the people cries, there is God."

2. If John Gower was the poet of the wealthy and cultivated classes in England during the latter half of the fourteenth century, **William Langland** was essentially the poet of the common people. He was probably born in Oxfordshire, and not earlier than 1332. The opening of his famous poem, "The Vision of Piers Ploughman," leads us to infer that William Langland was bred to the church, and was attached at one time to the monastery of Great Malvern. But he married, and seems only to have performed minor offices of the church. He came to London, for in the latest continuation of the poem he speaks of himself as living poorly in Cornhill by the performance of small clerical duties. If Langland was the author of a poem on the "Deposition of Richard II.," which has been not unreasonably ascribed to him, he was alive in 1399.

"The Vision of Piers Ploughman" speaks the mind of the main body of the English people of its time. It is a vision of Christ seen through the clouds of humanity, — a spiritual picture of the labor to maintain right, and uphold the life spent upon duty done for love of God. The poem is in the mystical number of nine dreams, and, in its completest form, twenty-three "passus," or cantos. Without rhyme, unless by accident, and with alliteration in First English manner, a national poet of vivid imagination has here fastened on the courtly taste for long allegorical dreams, and speaks by it to the humblest in a well-sustained allegory, often of great subtlety, always embodying the purest aspirations. Everywhere, too, it gives flesh and blood to its abstractions by the most vigorous directness of familiar detail; so that every truth might, if possible, go home, even by the cold hearthstone of the hungriest and most desolate of the poor, to whom its words of a wise sympathy were recited.

Langland dreamed of a fair field full of folk, — the world and its people, — among whom the maid Meed (worldly reward) was about to be wedded to Falsehood. Theology forbade the marriage, and the question of it was tried before the king in London. The allegory is the first of the sequence of dreams forming the whole vision, rich in lively picturing of the conditions of men in the world, and plain of speech as to the duties of kings.

The poet slept again, and saw in his second dream again the fair field full of folk, to whom now Reason was preaching that the pestilence and the south-west wind on Saturday at even came to warn them of their sin and pride. After a time, Repentance prayed; and then Hope blew a horn, at which the saints in heaven sang, and a thousand men cried up to Christ and his pure mother that they might know the way to Truth. They inquired of a pilgrim fresh from Sinai, who said that he had never heard such a saint asked after. Then suddenly a Ploughman put forth his head and said that he knew Truth as naturally as a clerk his books. Piers Ploughman is thus first introduced in the poem as type of the poor and simple to whom the things of God are revealed, and gradually, within fifty lines, passes into the Christ who came as one of low estate to guide the erring world.

In the course of this long poem are discussed, in vivid and often in satirical forms, all those topics that then stirred the hearts and brains of the English people, especially of the lowly classes; and towards the end of it, it is shown that Grace gave to Piers the Ploughman on earth a team of four oxen, which were the four evangelists, and four stots, Austin, Ambrose, Gregory, and Jerome, who, with two harrows, an old and a new (Testament), followed Piers's plough. And Grace gave the seed that should be sown: the spirits of prudence, and of temperance, and of fortitude, and of justice. Thus ended the spiritual search; but over the heavenly vision of Piers Ploughman there again rolled the dark mists of earth. Piers was attacked by Pride. Conscience counselled his followers to defend themselves in the Castle of Unity (the church).

The Pope, whom "God amend," plundered the church. The king claimed all he could take.

In the last dream, the ninth, Antichrist came in a man's form to waste the crop of Truth. Within the Castle of Unity Flattery got entrance as a physician. Thus Conscience was ousted, saying,

"Now kynde me avenge,
And send me hap and heele,
Till I have Piers the Ploughman."

So, with the object of his search yet unattained, through the turmoil and disaster of those days of Richard II., in which the poem was completed, the poet sent his last thought heavenward, and built his last hope for the world upon a search for Christ.

The power of Langland's poem is incidentally proved by the imitations of its form or title that have appeared since then. One of these is a poem of 850 lines, in the measure and outward manner of "The Vision of Piers Ploughman," called "Piers Ploughman's Crede," and levelled with much bitterness of feeling against all orders of friars. In this poem an ignorant man who had learned his Paternoster and Ave Mary wished to be taught his creed, and, after seeking knowledge in vain of the friars, met with a common ploughman, who explained to him that the friars, although their orders were founded by good men, had become children of the devil, reminded him how they persecuted Wiclif, and himself gave the instruction sought. The ploughman in the poem was simply a poor rustic. There was no high allegory, as in the "Vision," and the antagonism to church corruption was that of a lower and a harsher mind. The poem was written in or about the year 1394, and the author of it seems to have been the author of "The Ploughman's Tale."

3. While these great poets of South Britain were thus putting their earnestness and their mirth into song, in North Britain was another poet of kindred spirit, **John Barbour**, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, who uttered in memorable verse the best thought and the noblest passion of the Scottish people.

He was born, perhaps in 1316, possibly as late as 1330; was made Archdeacon of Aberdeen in 1357, and so remained until his death in 1396. He wrote "A History of Scottish Kings," which is lost; also many thousand lines of "Lives of Saints," which have been lately found; but his most important work is "Bruce," a romance in rhyming verse of more than 13,000 lines. In this poem, the hero, Robert Bruce, who had died less than fifty years before Barbour sang, came to life again as a knightly hero, able to defend a pass against three hundred men of Galloway; and the true course of his story was followed faithfully, though rather with the freedom of a poet than the literalness of a chronicler. The poem as a whole represented the bright spirit of liberty maintained by that Scottish war of independence (A.D. 1294–1324) which had produced in the days of Edward I. a Wallace, in the days of Edward II. a Bruce, and in the days of Edward III. a poet in John Barbour, who, as he turned Bruce into a hero of romance, wrote with full heart:

"Ah, Freedom is a noble thing!
Freedom makes man to have liking;
Freedom all solace to man gives:
He lives at ease that freely lives."

4. Passing to the prose-writers, we encounter, first, **Sir John Mandeville.** This man represented in the reign of Edward III. the English spirit of adventure, and was doubtless the oldest of all the writers, in prose or verse, whom we are grouping around the splendid name of Chaucer. He was born at St. Albans, about 1300; and it was in the reign of Edward II., on Michaelmas Day, 1322, that he set out upon his travels. Five years later, when Edward III. became king, Sir John Mandeville was still abroad. He tells us that he visited Tartary, Persia, Armenia, Libya, Chaldæa, and a great part of Ethiopia, Amazonia, India the Less and the Greater, and isles that are about India. For more than thirty years he had been absent, when he came home, as he said, in spite of himself, to rest; "for rheumatic gouts that distress me fix the end of my labor against my will (God knoweth)." On his way home he showed to the Pope what he had written in French about the marvels and customs he had seen or heard of. The Pope showed the book to his council, and it was approved. After his return home, his book was translated, by writers now unknown, from the French into English and into Latin; and, especially in its English version, it reached a popularity during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries unsurpassed by any other work of those times. It was first published in 1356, and was dedicated to Edward III., at a time when Chaucer, at court, had perhaps done little more than translate "Le Roman de la Rose," and write his "Court of Love;" when Gower might have written a balade or two; and Wiclif and Langland, one at Oxford, and the other possibly at Malvern, were two young and earnest men, with the chief labors of their lives before them.

Mandeville's book was planned with distinct reference to the wants of pilgrims to Jerusalem, and contrived to subordinate accounts of the remotest travel to the form of what we might call a traveller's guide to Jerusalem by four routes, with a handbook to the holy places. The wonderful things told do not in themselves convict Mandeville of any wilful untruth. He tells of what was seen by him as matter of knowledge; in the miracles narrated to him he put faith; and all other marvels of which he heard he tells only as matter of hearsay. Mandeville died at Liege, in 1371.

5. **John Wiclif**, born in Yorkshire about 1324, was in 1361 master of Balliol College, Oxford, and was in that year presented by his college to the rectory of Fylingham, in Lincolnshire. Soon afterwards he resigned his mastership, and went to reside on his living. He was presently made doctor of divinity. He had a quick mind in a spare, frail body; and at the time when William Langland was writing in like spirit his "Vision of Piers Ploughman," Wiclif was showing his pure desire to restore a spiritual church. John of Gaunt was then ready, as head of the feudal party at court, to humble the pride of the prelates who claimed temporal power. He welcomed, therefore, the most innocent and self-denying Wiclif as a fellow-combatant; and when, in 1376, at the close of the reign of Edward III., Wiclif was cited as a heretic to appear at St. Paul's before the appointed ecclesiastical judges, he went thither with John of Gaunt, and Percy, the Earl Marshal of England, as supporters. This led to a brawl. The populace judged Wiclif by his companions, and saw in him one of the people's enemies. Yet he was already quietly engaged with others upon that "Translation of the Bible" which was not completed until after the death of Edward III. As nothing came of the proceedings at St. Paul's, the monks, who also looked on Wiclif as their enemy, obtained the Pope's injunction to the prelates and the university to renew process against him; but before the Pope's bulls could reach England Edward III.

was dead, and the next following changes were in Wiclif's favor.

In the year 1360 the English people had in their own current language no part of the Bible but the Psalter. Twenty years afterwards, in 1380, the devoted labor of Wiclif and his fellow-workers had produced a complete English Bible, including the Apocrypha. Wiclif began with comments on the Gospels, and in the prologue to the Gospel by Matthew strongly urged that the whole Scripture ought to be translated for the use of the laity. It was while finishing his translation, that Wiclif, whose chief work had been a Latin one, "De Dominio Divino," began to forsake the use of Latin, and wrote English tracts. In 1381 he issued a paper of twelve propositions against transubstantiation. In 1382 the Dominicans, or Black Friars, who were the custodians of orthodoxy, had in their house at London a council at which twenty-four conclusions selected from Wiclif's writings were condemned. He was banished from the university. In 1384 Wiclif was summoned to appear before the Pope; but he was then dying from paralysis, and on the last day of that year he obeyed his summons to appear before a higher judgment-seat.

6. **John Trevisa** was a Cornishman, educated at Oxford, who became vicar of Berkeley, in Gloucestershire, and chaplain to Thomas, fourth Lord Berkeley. Afterwards he was canon of the collegiate church of Westbury. As a clergyman he was no friend to the monks. In the course of his life he had been to Germany and Italy; but he spent most of his days in Gloucestershire, where he occupied his leisure in translation of useful books out of Latin into his mother-tongue. He is said to have died in 1412. His most important work was his "Translation of Higden's Polychronicon," completed in 1387, and made especially for his patron, Lord Berkeley. It was prefaced by Trevisa's own "Dialogue on Translation between a Lord and a Clerk;" that is to say, his patron and himself. Moreover, Trevisa, who was a shrewd man, added a few short explanatory notes to his translation of the "Polychronicon;" and these notes, together with the "Dialogue," are of special

interest as very primitive examples of original prose in Early Modern English.

7. A writer of this period, **Ralph Strode,** has an undying name only because Chaucer has mentioned him. There is reason to think that he taught one of Chaucer's sons. He was a Dominican of Jedburgh Abbey, who had sought knowledge in France, Germany, and Italy, had visited the Holy Land, and was in highest credit as a theologian and philosopher about the year 1370. He wrote verse also, both Latin and English. Some of his books have been printed in Germany, but none in England.

ENGLISH LITERATURE.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

POETS.

John Lydgate.
Thomas Occleve.
James I. of Scotland.
Benedict Burgh.
John Harding.
Andrew of Wyntoun.
Juliana Berners.
Thomas Chestre.
Blind Harry.
Robert Henryson.
Authors of Ballads.

PROSE-WRITERS.

Reginald Pecock.
Sir John Fortescue.
William Caxton.
Sir Thomas Malory.
John Tiptoft.
Anthony Woodville.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY: POETS.

1. Intellectual Character of the Fifteenth Century.—2. Development of the English Language and of English Style; Reserved Energies.—3. John Lydgate.—4. Thomas Occleve.—5. James I. of Scotland.—6. Minor Poets.—7. Ballads.

1. It is usual for literary historians to speak of the fifteenth century as a dismal one in the annals of English letters,—as an epoch of intellectual relapse and of literary barrenness. Even beyond the borders of England there was, during this period, a dearth of important literary works: according to Hallam, no great literary masterpiece was produced in the fifteenth century anywhere in Europe. Certainly, in England, during all that time, there was no literary genius of the highest order, such as the fourteenth century had in Chaucer, such as the sixteenth century had in Spenser and in Shakespeare.

In studying the English literature of the fifteenth century, it will be best for us, first, to group together the principal facts in the outward and inward life of that century, that helped or hindered the progress of literature.

(*a*) It was in England a century of turbulence; of popular convulsion; of bloody strife between rival families of the royalty and nobility. Not a king sat on the throne whose right to sit there was not in dispute. It was the century of the insurrection of Jack Cade, and the Wars of the Roses.

(*b*) The claim of the King of England to the crown of France kept both countries, during the first half of the century, in a state of constant war, or of the expectation of war.

(*c*) Greater restraints were put upon the action of the human mind than had ever before been done in England. In 1401 an English statute was confirmed, by which it was settled that every sheriff in taking the oath of his office must swear to redress all errors and heresies; and also that heretics might be dealt with at their own discretion, provided always that the proceedings against any heretic should be publicly and judicially ended within three months. In that very year, William Sawtree, the first English martyr for heresy, was burned alive in Smithfield; and the light of such fires was kept up in England for more than a century.

(*d*) In spite of such perils, bitter theological controversy raged in England, diverting many minds from the temper that is favorable to literary studies, yet educating many minds to think keenly on the most difficult problems.

(*e*) It was in this century that the future influence of every wise thought was enlarged by the invention of printing, made by John Gutenberg in 1438, and introduced into England by William Caxton about 1475.

(*f*) For a hundred years and more before the fifteenth century, the impulse had been growing in Europe, to turn away from the tasteless mass of mediæval literature to the study of the Roman and Greek classics. This impulse was advancing under great disadvantages, the principal one being the lack of Greek books and of Greek teachers. In 1453, about the time that the art of printing was perfected by Gutenberg, Constantinople, then a vast Greek city, was captured by the Turks; and multitudes of the finest Greek scholars, carrying with them copies of the best Greek classics, were turned adrift upon Western Europe to gain a livelihood by teaching Greek. They and their books were everywhere welcomed with unspeakable homage; and the push they gave to the revival of ancient learning can hardly be overstated. England, as the westernmost barrier of Europe, was of course the last to be reached by this new light shining out of the East; but it was reached in due time, and that, too, before the end of the fifteenth century.

(*g*) Two other great events occurred in that period, which greatly stimulated mental activity and widened the range of human thought in all European countries, and especially in England: these events were the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope in 1486, and the discovery of America in 1492.

(*h*) During the fifteenth century, extraordinary zeal was shown in England for the foundation and improvement of colleges. Then it was, that, at Oxford, Lincoln College was founded, besides All Souls, and Magdalene; then it was that at Cambridge was erected a building for a library and divinity school,—"the most magnificent structure of which the university yet had to boast;" then it was that Eton College was founded; and in Scotland, the first of her universities, that of St. Andrews, and the second, that of Glasgow.

(*i*) There were likewise then in England several influential noblemen and statesmen who loved letters, were themselves considerable scholars, and by founding libraries, protecting authors, and themselves becoming authors, at once gave a new dignity to scholarly pursuits, and a new impulse to English literature. Such were John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester; Duke Humphrey; Earl Rivers; and Sir John Fortescue.

2. Besides these facts bearing in a general and sometimes indirect way upon the progress of English literature in the fifteenth century, we ought to take note of the great progress then made, not only in the literary use of English in preference to Latin and French, but especially in the quality of the English that was then used. The language underwent during that century a constant and rapid amelioration; it grew in smoothness, copiousness, and expressiveness. It is the opinion of George P. Marsh, that, in ecclesiastical prose, the fifteenth century "made a considerable advance upon Wiclif in vocabulary, and more especially in the logical structure of period;" and that the two most eminent poets of the fifteenth century, Lydgate and King James I., "exhibit . . . increased affluence and polish of diction as compared with Chaucer." Indeed, so rapid were the improvements which then went forward in our language, that the writings of the latter part of the fourteenth century seemed to readers in the latter part of the fifteenth century to be marred by uncouth and obsolete words. For instance, William Caxton printed in 1482 that English translation of Higden's "Polychronicon" which had been finished by John Trevisa in 1387; but in his preface, Caxton thought it necessary to insert this explanation: "I, William Caxton, a simple person, have endeavored me to write, first over, all the said book of 'Polychronicon,' and somewhat have changed the rude and old English, that is to wit, certain words which in these days be neither used ne understood." The space between Trevisa and Caxton was no greater than that between Cowper or Burke, and writers of the present day; yet in the former case the language had so rapidly developed that some of the diction of Trevisa seemed "rude" to Caxton, and to be in his days "neither used ne understood."

If the fifteenth century did not add to our literature a single masterpiece, at least it fed with its very mists the great streams of the future. Scattered personal interest sped over the scene as a wild mass of clouds, and rolled at times into a tempest to which mists of darkness seemed to be reserved forever. But in the clods of the earth — among its unconsidered people — there lay forces to which even mist and storm gave energy; and still over all there shone the light of Him whose strength is in the clouds. The vigor of a nation lies, at all times, in the character and action of the common body of its people. The highest genius, which implies good sense, true insight, and quick sympathy, must draw its sustenance from the surrounding world of man and nature. When it mistakes, if it ever can mistake, the conventional life of a court for the soul of a nation, seeking to strike root down into that only and draw support from that, it must be as good seed fallen among stones. When it mistakes, if it ever can mistake, the mere dust of the highroad, the day's fashions blown about by every wind, for source of life, it dies under the feet of the next-comer. The good soil is everywhere in the minds of men. Culture may be confined to a few patches, but everywhere in the common ground lies that of which fruit shall come.

3. Let us study, first, the poets of this century, and afterward the prose-writers. Of poets, there were only three of much mark, — John Lydgate, Thomas Occleve, and James I. of Scotland. In the latter part of the century, there arose two other prominent poets, — John Skelton and William Dunbar; but their principal activity lay in the sixteenth century, and we shall defer our account of them until we come to deal with the sixteenth century.

The three poets first named were alike in this, that they avowed themselves as the poetic children of Chaucer, and were content to be merely his imitators. This, of course, deprives them of all claim to be regarded as original or independent forces in our literature.

John Lydgate was born not later than 1370, at the village of Lydgate, in Suffolk. In the Benedictine monastery of Bury St. Edmunds he was ordained subdeacon in 1389, deacon in 1393, and priest in 1397. After studying at Oxford, Paris, and Padua, he opened a school of rhetoric at his monastery of Bury St. Edmunds, where Dan (that is Dominus) John Lydgate, the monk of Bury, became a famous teacher of literature and the art of versifying. He was well read in ancient lore; mathematician also, and astronomer, as well as orator and poet; a bright, pleasant, and earnest man, who wrote clear fluent verse in any style then reputable, but who was most apt at the telling of such moral stories as his public liked. He preferred to take his heroes and heroines out of the Martyrology, and he could write pleasantly to order for the library of any monastery the legend of its patron saint. Since he wrote so much (there are not less than two hundred and fifty works bearing his name), and almost always as a story-teller, he found many readers, and his rhyming supplied some of the favorite tales of his time. Lydgate wrote for Henry V. "The Life of Our Lady;" he sang the tale of St. Alban, the English proto-martyr, of his own St. Edmund, and of many a saint more. He could catch the strain of popular song, and satirize the licking up of money which leaves the poor man hopeless of justice, in his "London Lickpenny," whereof the measure is enlivened with the street-cries of his time. He could write morality in the old court allegorical style; he could kneel at the foot of the cross, and offer to his God the sacrifice of a true outburst of such song as there was in him. John Lydgate was not a poet of great genius, but he was a man with music in his life. He was full of a harmony of something more than words, not more diffuse than his age liked him to be, and therefore, with good reason, popular and honored among English readers in the fifteenth century.

He is to be remembered for three great poems which constitute his chief works. First is his "Falls of Princes," a long poem in Chaucer's seven-lined stanza, founded upon Boccaccio's Latin prose-work in nine books, "De Casibus Illustrium Virorum;" but Lydgate said that he followed Boccaccio through the version of a Frenchman, Laurent, that is Laurent de Premierfait, who translated also the "Decameron" for Jeanne, Queen of Navarre. Lydgate interspersed his work with occasional prologues and balades of his own, while he retold the stories, not as a mere rhyming translator, but as a man who had an honest gift of song and felt their poetry. There passes through the reader's mind a funeral pomp of men who have been carried high on Fortune's wheel, and then been bruised to death by its descending stroke. The poem warns the mighty to be humble, and the lowly to be well content.

"The Story of Thebes" is told by Lydgate as another "Canterbury Tale." After a sickness he went in a black cope, "on palfrey slender, long, and lean," with rusty bridle, and his man before him carrying an empty pack, to the shrine at Canterbury, and by accident put up there at the inn where Chaucer's pilgrims were assembled. There he saw the host of the Tabard, who thought him lean for a monk, prescribed nut-brown ale after supper, with anise, cumin, or coriander-seed at bedtime. But the best medicine was cheerful company. So Dan John supped with the pilgrims, went home with them next day, and helped to amuse them with the story of the "Thebaid" of Statius, as it had been manipulated by the romancers of the middle ages.

Lydgate's "Troy Book" is a metrical version from a French translation of the "Historia Trojana" of Guido della Colonna, a Sicilian poet and lawyer of Messina, who came to England in 1287 with Edward I.

4. Thomas Occleve, the other chief poet of the generation after Chaucer, was of the same age as Lydgate, and, like Lydgate, about thirty years old when Chaucer died. He was a Londoner, and knew Chaucer; evidently he refers to a personal relation between them when he speaks of himself as Chaucer's disciple. In his earlier years he lived in the Strand, at Chester's Inn, one of the buildings pulled down for the site of

Somerset House. He says that his life was ill regulated in his youth, but says this in a poem designed for moral counsel to young men — "La Male Regle de T. Hoccleve" — of which the purpose doubtless led to a half-artistic exaggeration of self-censure. We know Occleve tolerably well through his chief poem; for the long original introduction to his version of "De Regimine Principum," or "The Governail of Princes," consists wholly of moral reflections on the manners of his time, interspersed with references to his own position in a government office as clerk of the privy seal. He was married, had a household to provide for, and could not get his salary paid, or an annuity for life of twenty marks which had been nominally granted him. Therefore he took a melancholy morning walk and met an old man, who asked what was his trouble. A lively dialogue followed on that, giving occasion for earnest words upon all evils of the time, from the self-seeking churchmen to the length of side sleeves. The old man's advice was that Occleve should write to the prince something in English, but "write to him no thing that sowneth to vice," and show himself to be a man who deserved payment of arrears of salary. In obedience to this counsel, he translated for Henry V. the book "De Regimine Principum," digested into practical counsel, not without reminder of the unpaid annuity, and towards the end with deprecation of the wars between the kings of France and England, and an invocation of peace for the land. "Let Christian kings," he says, "war only on the enemies of Christ."

Were they the men accused of heresy? Occleve — earnest and liberal in many things, and in this lighter poem, written in English and in Chaucer's stanza, seeking to find out the wrong and get it undone, with as much earnestness as Gower in his "Vox Clamantis," while he pointed to the corruption of the clergy — was, like Gower, an orthodox maintainer of church doctrine. We find, therefore, that he assented to the new endeavor to save, as it was thought, many from the everlasting fire by giving some to be burned publicly in this world.

5. **James I. of Scotland** was considerably younger than the two poets with whom his name is here associated; he was

born in 1394. In 1405, being a boy of eleven, he set out upon a voyage to France, whither he was being sent for education. Upon this voyage he was captured by an English armed ship, and taken as a prisoner to Windsor Castle. In the following year, his father, King Robert III., died, and the lad became nominal king of Scotland. But James's uncle, the unscrupulous Duke of Albany, had long held all power in Scotland in his own hands; and, having a son of his own to succeed him, he willingly suffered the boy-king to remain a prisoner in the hands of the English, where he continued for nineteen years. In many respects, this proved a great blessing to James. He received a careful and refined education at the English court; was well educated in English laws and customs; and was to be released when further bound by marriage with a lady of the royal family of England. Nature assisted Henry's policy, for a true affection sprang up between King James and the Lady Jane Beaufort, daughter of the Earl of Somerset, niece to King Henry IV., and first cousin to Henry V. The love was celebrated in a poem known as "The King's Quair," that is, "The King's Little Book." This is a graceful piece of court poetry, inspired by love and a study of Chaucer, and written in Chaucer's own seven-lined stanza, which long remained a favorite with his successors, and has been called rhyme royal, because this particular disciple used it. An epilogue, or "excusation of the author," represents James, king though he be, acknowledging his "masters" in three poets, whose royalty was more than the inheritance of worldly rank, — Gower and Chaucer, and next to these John Lydgate, who, when the young king wrote his poem, was first in repute among men of the generation after Chaucer.

In 1424, King James was permitted to go home to Scotland. His love was first crowned by marriage to Jane Beaufort, in royal state; and then he was crowned at Scone, King of Scotland. He sought to maintain peace and order in his kingdom; endeavored to bring law and justice within reach of the poor; regulated weights and measures; established a survey of property with a view to justice in taxation; and made careful inquiry into titles. He tried to suppress with a strong hand the violence of faction. But the enlarged liberties of the people pressed on the feudal rights of the nobles. Many a rough-handed chief looked also with concern at the inquiry into titles. Sir Robert Graham, who had denounced the king as a tyrant for his encroachment on the nobles, at last broke in upon him with three hundred Highlanders, at Christmas time in 1436, caught him unarmed, and killed him. He defended himself bravely, and his wife, Jane, who sought to shelter him, was wounded in the struggle. He had written of her truly in "The King's Quair:"

> "And thus this floure . . .
> So hertly has unto my help attendit,
> That from the deth hir man sche has defendit."

Some writers ascribe to James I. of Scotland two humorous old Scottish poems describing the rough holiday-life of the people. They are called "Peeblis to the Play," and "Christis Kirk of the Grene." If they were really his, he must have had a range of power that would place him first among the poets of his time.

6. **Benedict Burgh**, Archdeacon of Colchester, who died in 1483, translated into English verse Cato's "Morals;" and is said, also, to have finished a metrical version, left incomplete by Lydgate, of "De Regimine Principum." **John Harding** was born in 1378; entered as a lad the service of Sir Henry Percy, known as Hotspur, and fought under him at Homildon; was a fighter in the battle of Agincourt; was constable of one of the castles of Sir Robert Umfraville; and wrote an English "Chronicle" in rhyme. So, also, **Andrew of Wyntoun**, a regular canon of St. Andrews, wrote "The Oryginale Cronykil of Scotland," in nine books of octosyllabic rhymed verses. Dame **Juliana Berners**, lady prioress of the nunnery of Sopwell, near St. Albans, who was living in 1460, wrote in English verse a "Book of Hunting," and in English prose "The Art of Hawking" and "The Laws of Arms."

Thomas Chestre, who wrote for the minstrels in the reign of Henry VI., Englished "The Lay of Sir Launfal;" but the most famous minstrel of this time was a Scottish rustic, blind from birth, known as Henry the Minstrel, or **Blind Harry**, who obtained food and clothing by recitation of stories before men of the highest rank. He was one of an order of men who sang or chanted tales to the harp, in verses often of their own composing, enlivened with mimicry and action. Blind Harry, who understood Latin and French, produced a long poem on his nation's hero, "Wallace," in or about the year 1461. He was the first who followed Chaucer in use of the heroic couplet; and he calls his poem a chronicle derived chiefly from the Latin of John Blair, who had been Wallace's school-fellow.

During the latter part of the fifteenth century, English poetical literature was most vigorous in the north. Besides Blind Harry and William Dunbar and a number of other Scottish singers who are named by Dunbar in his "Lament for the Makers," was **Robert Henryson**, schoolmaster of Dunfermline, who turned into Chaucer's stanza "The Moral Fables of Æsop the Phrygian." There are thirteen fables here versified, including one that has once or twice since taken a place of note in literature, the fable of "The Town and Country Mouse," or, as Henryson had it, "The Taill of the Uponlandis Mous and the Burges Mous." Another fable, of "The Dog, the Wolf, and the Sheep," is treated as an exposure of the abuses in procedure of the ecclesiastical courts. Henryson wrote a prologue to the collection, and another to the fable of "The Lion and the Mouse," which represents himself wandering into a wood on a June morning, sleeping under a hawthorn, and visited in dream by "Maister Esope, poet laureate," who says that he is of gentle blood, and that his "natal land is Rome withouttin nay." His original poems are "Testament of Cresseid," an impressive moral sequel to Chaucer's "Troilus and Cressida;" "Robene and Makyne," our first pastoral poem, a work that has much natural and simple beauty; and "The Bludy Serk," a good example both of his own religious earnestness and of the continuance of the old taste for allegory.

7. To the close of the fifteenth century belong also the earliest remaining traces of old English ballad literature. Wynken de Worde, who came to England with Caxton, and succeeded him in his printing-office, published a collection of Robin Hood ballads called "A Lytel Geste of Robyn Hode." There are manuscripts also of the ballads of "Robin Hood and the Potter" and "Robin Hood and the Monk," not older than the last years of the fifteenth century. The ballads and tales that made Robin Hood representative of English popular feeling, not only ascribed to him courage and good-humor, and connected his name with the maintenance of archery for national defence, but also gave him Friar Tuck for chaplain, and blended in him religious feeling with resistance to oppression:

"A good maner then had Robyn
In londe where that he were,
Every daye ere he wolde dine
Three masses wolde he hear."

His religion took especially the form, once dear to the people, of that worship of the Virgin which softened the harsh temper of mediæval doctrine:

"Robyn loved our dere lady;
For doute of dedely synne,
Wolde he never do company harme
That ony woman was ynne."

Maid Marian being added to his company, fidelity to her would express English domestic feeling; while the same battle against corrupt luxury in the church which had been represented for the educated courtier by Walter Map's Golias poetry was rudely expressed to the people in Robin Hood's injunction to his men:

"These byshoppes and these archebyshoppes,
Ye shall them bete and bynde."

Robin Hood pitied the poor, and gave them part in the wealth stripped from those who lived in sensual excess. The chief representative of rich ecclesiastics in the Robin Hood ballads was the Abbot of St. Mary's at York; and the oppressions of secular authority were especially defied in the person of the Sheriff of Nottingham. Robin Hood is said to have escaped all perils of his way of life, and to have been more than eighty years old when he went to his aunt, the prioress of Kirklees Nunnery, in Yorkshire, to be bled. She treacherously let him bleed to death. As he was thus dying, Robin bethought him of his bugle-horn, and "blew out weak blasts three." Little

John came to his rescue, and asked leave to burn the nunnery; but Robin said:

> "I never hurt fair maid in all my time,
> Nor at my end shall it be."

He asked only to shoot an arrow from the window, that he might be buried where the arrow fell; and so, says tradition, he was buried on a height that overlooks the valley of the Calder, at the distance of a mighty bow-shot from Kirklees.

To the end of the fifteenth century belongs the charming dialogue-ballad of "The Nut Brown Maid;" likewise the famous ballads of "The Battle of Otterburn" and "Chevy Chase;" although of the last two there remains no copy written so early as the fifteenth century. The ballad literature to which these poems belong came into strong life in Europe during the thirteenth, and especially the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the thirteenth century Spain uttered through national ballads the soul of freedom in her struggle against the Moors. Our English ballads are akin to those which also among the Scandinavians became a familiar social amusement of the people. They were recited by one of a company with animation and with varying expression, while the rest kept time, often with joined hands forming a circle, advancing, retiring, balancing, sometimes remaining still, and, by various movements and gestures, followed the changes of emotion in the story. From this manner of enjoying them the ballads took their name. *Ballare* is a middle Latin word, meaning to incline to this side and that, with which the Italians associate their name for dancing, and we the word "ball" for the name of a dancing-party. There is some reason to think that educated gentlewomen were often the unknown writers of the ballads of England and the North of Europe.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY: PROSE-WRITERS.

1. Literary Use of Latin.—2. Reginald Pecock.—3. Sir John Fortescue.—4. William Caxton.—5. Sir Thomas Malory.—6. John Tiptoft; Anthony Woodville.

1. The literary use of Latin in preference to English, on the part of Englishmen, still continued in the fifteenth century, although the custom was steadily declining.

Among English writers of Latin books may be mentioned Henry Knighton, who wrote a chronicle of events in England from King Edgar to Richard II.; John of Bromyard, who taught theology at Cambridge, and wrote, as his great work, "Summa Predicantium," an earnest, erudite, and interesting mass of mediæval practical theology; William Lindwood, a professor of theology at Oxford, who wrote "Constitutiones Provinciales Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ;" Thomas Netter, who wrote numerous theological books, especially against Wiclif; Sir John Fortescue, who wrote "De Laudibus Legum Angliæ;" and Thomas Walsingham, whose principal work was a chronicle entitled "Historia Anglicana."

2. The most important writers in English prose during the fifteenth century were these four,—Reginald Pecock, Sir John Fortescue, William Caxton, and Sir Thomas Malory.

Reginald Pecock, probably a Welshman, was born towards the end of the fourteenth century, studied at Oxford, and was admitted to priest's orders in 1421. Being a man of great learning, piety, and eloquence, he soon became distinguished, especially for the defence of orthodoxy in arguments addressed to the reason. In 1444, he was made Bishop of St. Asaph; and in 1449, Bishop of Chichester. About this time, he was engaged upon his principal work,—the most important English prose-work produced in the first half of the fifteenth century,—"The Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy." In this book, he attempted to justify six of the practices for which the clergy incurred blame among the people: these were, the use of images; the going on pilgrimages; the holding of landed possessions by the clergy; the various ranks of the hierarchy; the framing of church laws by papal and episcopal authority; and the institution of the religious orders. Upon the topics it discussed, the book was a repertory of fifteenth-century argument. Although sincerely meant as a defence of the clergy against the Bible-men, this book greatly increased the hostility of his own order against him, — an hostility that had been growing for many years. His offence was that the whole subject was argued out in homely English for discussion by the English people; for while Pecock exalted the Pope's supremacy, he conceded to his opponents that in Scripture was the only rule of faith, and urged that doctrine should be proved therefrom by reason. This, however, he did while opposing the demand of the Lollards — Puritans of the fifteenth century — for authority of Scripture in less important matters of usage, lay or clerical. There could be no real conflict between reason and Scripture, Pecock taught; and the clergy, he said, shall be condemned at the last day "if by clear wit they draw not men into consent of true faith otherwise than by fire, sword, and hangment; although I will not deny these second means to be lawful, provided the former be first used." A bishop who thought for himself after this fashion — denying to the Lollards that deductions from their reading of the Bible were infallible, denying also to his brethren of the hierarchy the right to claim an uninquiring faith in dogmas of the church — opposed himself to the passions of the combatants on either side, and had no partisans. In 1457 a council was held at Westminster, in which all temporal lords refused to speak till Pecock had been expelled from it. The divines at this council appointed four and twenty doctors to examine Pecock's books. The books were reported against, Pecock was declared a sickly sheep, and called upon to abjure or be burnt. He had admitted the right of the church thus to compel opinion, and he submitted. The executioner burnt, instead of the bishop, his works in three folios and eleven quartos, including a copy of that "Repressor" of his, a piece of natural fifteenth-century English, which yet survives as one of the best and most considerable specimens of early prose among the treasures of our literature. After some months Bishop Pecock was deprived of his see, and secluded in the Abbey of Thorney in Cambridgeshire, where he was confined to a private room within sight of an altar, was forbidden ever again to put pen to paper, and was to have access to no books but a breviary, a mass-book, a psalter, a legend, and a Bible. The doors of Thorney Abbey closed on him, and he was heard of no more.

3. Even when distracted by contending factions, England was advancing towards freedom. The laws of the country were not based like those of France upon the will of the monarch, but upon the will of the people through their representatives. An English lawyer, **Sir John Fortescue**, who was born in Devonshire, was chief justice of the King's Bench from 1442 to 1460, and lived, it is said, to the age of ninety, wrote in the latter part of his life a strong and noble book on the "Difference between Absolute and Limited Monarchy," his chief object being to show the superiority of a constitutional over a despotic government. The strength of constitutional feeling in this chief English lawyer of the fifteenth century may be inferred from his manner of dating the absolute regal dominion from Nimrod, who "first acquired to himself a kingdom, though he is not called a king in the Scripture, but a mighty hunter before the Lord. For," says Fortescue, "as a hunter behaves towards beasts, which are naturally wild and free; so did he oblige mankind to be in servitude and to obey him." He went back even to the mythical time for the free spirit of the English body politic. "The kingdom of England," he says, "had its original from Brut and the Trojans who attended him from Italy and Greece, and became a mixed kind of government, compounded of the regal and political." Going as far back as he could, he was unable to find or conceive an English people passively obedient to any one irresponsible master. The nation was advancing slowly in his days; there was social confusion, and intellectual life seemed to be numbed, while events of great moment were happening abroad. But if there was no guiding light of genius, there was the sense of God and duty in the people which enabled them to find their own way till the next guides came.

4. **William Caxton,** born about 1422, in the Weald of Kent, was apprenticed to a wealthy London mercer. After his master's death, in 1441, he lived chiefly in Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zealand, for thirty years and more. In 1464 he was employed by Edward IV. as one of two commissioners for the settlement of a treaty of commerce with Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. Afterward, Caxton was in the service of Edward IV.'s sister Margaret, who married Charles the Bold. In 1469, he began to translate from French into English the "Histories of Troy," and finished it in 1471. Having done this, he says that he "practised and learnt at great charge and expense" the art of printing, to enable him to strike off in one day many copies. He seems to have learnt the art at Cologne, of Conrad Winters, who had set up his press there in 1470.

The first book printed by him was his translation, also from the French, of a moral treatise, "The Game and Play of the Chess." Of this there are two editions, the first said to have been finished on the last day of March, 1474. It is assumed to be the first book printed in England. Perhaps it was; but there is no evidence that Caxton did not print it at Cologne. It is to the printed copy of the translation of "Les Dictes Moraux des Philosophes," as "The Dictes and Sayings of Philosophers," by Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, that Caxton first added, "imprynted by me, William Caxton, at Westmynstre;" and the date of it is 1477. A book of 1480 specifies the Abbey as the place where Caxton had his press. Resort to the Abbey scriptorium for copies of books had led to a settlement of copyists within the Abbey precints. The new-born giant was in its mother's lap when Caxton, who had learnt the new art as a business speculation, worked his press at Westminster Abbey among the professional transcribers whom he found there busy with their pens. From the beginning until his death in 1492, Caxton worked with astonishing industry, both as a printer and as a writer. Though already stricken in years, he published, in all, sixty-four volumes, and himself translated into English not fewer than five thousand closely printed folio pages. His is one of the worthiest names in English literature.

5. The most delightful example of English prose produced in

this century is "The Byrth, Lif, and Actes of Kyng Arthur," printed by Caxton in 1485, and frequently reprinted since then. The book is often entitled "Morte d'Arthur." Of its author, **Sir Thomas Malory**, almost nothing is now known. Some suppose him to have been a Welsh priest; also, that he died a little before his book passed through Caxton's press. At any rate, the book itself is a storehouse of racy English words, and for delight of reading is still one of the most exquisite books in our literature. It is a felicitous selection, chiefly from French romances, of the best legends concerning King Arthur, and the knights and ladies of his court. Few books equal it in simplicity and sweetness of phrase, in poetic and dramatic vividness, in the grace of chivalric feeling. Sir Walter Scott pronounced it "indisputably the best prose romance the language can boast;" and Robert Southey said of it, that "there was no book, except 'The Faery Queen,'" which, in his boyhood, he "perused so often or with such deep contentment."

6. **John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester**, who was beheaded on Tower Hill in 1470, translated into English Cicero's "De Amicitiâ." **Anthony Woodville, Lord Rivers**, translated, from the French, "Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers," the first book upon which Caxton put his imprint.

ENGLISH LITERATURE.

FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

PROSE-WRITERS.

Sir Thomas More.
Henry VIII.
Hugh Latimer.
William Tyndal.
John Bellenden.
Robert Fabyan.
Edward Hall.
Lord Berners.
John Leland.
Sir Thomas Elyot.

POETS.

John Skelton.
William Dunbar.
Gavin Douglas.
Sir David Lindsay.
Sir Thomas Wyatt.
Earl of Surrey.
Alexander Barclay.
Stephen Hawes.
William Roy.

DRAMATIC WRITERS.

John Skelton.
Sir David Lindsay.
Nicholas Udall.
John Heywood.

CHAPTER V.

FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: PROSE-WRITERS.

1. Characters of the English Monarchs. — 2. The New Learning and its Chief Promoters. — 3. Sir Thomas More. — 4. Henry VIII. as an Author. — 5. Hugh Latimer. — 6. William Tyndal. — 7. Other English Translators of the Bible. — 8. Chroniclers in Latin. — 9. Chroniclers in English; John Bellenden; Robert Fabyan; Edward Hall; Lord Berners's Froissart. — 10. John Leland. — 11. Sir Thomas Elyot.

1. At the opening of the sixteenth century, Henry VII. was King of England. In 1509, he was succeeded by his son, Henry VIII., who reigned until 1547; in which year Edward VI. came to the throne, and reigned until 1553. The intellectual character of the time was affected by the personal characters of these monarchs. Henry VII., whose nature was cold, greedy, jealous, despotic, but essentially commonplace, "looked with dread and suspicion on the one movement which broke the apathy of his reign, the great intellectual revolution which bears the name of the Revival of Letters." Henry VIII., on the other hand, though equally despotic and far more violent and dangerous, was "from the first openly on the side of the new learning," and was not only a fair scholar and a wit, but a lover of scholars and of wits. Edward VI., who was but a boy of sixteen when he died, was of saintly disposition, in favor of the Protestant Reformation, and fond of learning, but was controlled by the two powerful noblemen, Somerset and Northumberland, who in succession were the real kings.

2. The most remarkable feature of this portion of the sixteenth century is the energy with which "the new learning" was both cultivated and resisted in England. In the year 1500, there lived six Englishmen who were then the chief promoters of the new English scholarship: Grocyn, fifty-eight years old; Linacre, about forty; John Fisher, forty-one; John Colet, thirty-four; William Lily, about thirty-two; and Thomas More, twenty. Often at a distance from these men, but in full sympathy with them, and ready to help them at any moment by his learning, his eloquence, and his wit, was the renowned scholar Erasmus, who had taught Greek at Oxford. The eldest of these men, **William Grocyn,** was born in 1442; and after obtaining all the learning that England could give him, he went to Italy and learned Greek. In 1491, he settled at Exeter College, Oxford, as the first teacher of that language in England, having at one time Erasmus among his pupils. He died in 1522, being then master of All Hallow's College at Maidstone.

Next comes **Thomas Linacre,** a physician, about eighteen years younger than Grocyn, and fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. Early in the reign of Henry VII., he was sent on a mission to the court of Rome, and staid by the way at Florence to learn Greek. On his return to Oxford, he gave lectures on medicine, and taught Greek and Latin. He was chief founder of the Royal College of Physicians; he did much for Latin scholarship in England; and died in 1524.

Next in this group of scholars is **John Fisher,** Bishop of Rochester, of about the same age as Linacre. He invited Erasmus to Cambridge, and supported him in the endeavor to teach Greek there.

John Colet, born in 1466, was the son of Sir Henry Colet, a wealthy knight of London, and twice its Lord Mayor. After seven years at Oxford, he studied in Paris, and then went to Italy and learned Greek. In 1505, he became Dean of St. Paul's. In 1510, the death of his father gave him a large inheritance, with a part of which he founded St. Paul's School, — at once a flourishing seat of the new scholarship. He died, after a noble and most useful life, in 1519.

When John Colet founded St. Paul's School, he appointed as its head master his friend **William Lily,** an excellent Greek scholar, a man about two years younger than himself. His most famous book was the "Latin Grammar," which Henry VIII. sanctioned so vigorously, that he declared it penal publicly to teach any other, and which continued to be in use in England for many generations.

3. The youngest and the most brilliant man in this group of scholars who early in the sixteenth century, against formidable opposition, gave to English thought and English literature the awakening that came with the new scholarship, was **Thomas More**. He was born in 1480, the son of Sir John More, a justice of the King's Bench. While still a lad, Thomas More became an inmate of the household of the powerful Cardinal John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor.

Morton had been one of the foremost of Oxford scholars when William Grocyn was a child. He was Doctor of Laws and Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1446. He practised law, and obtained many church benefices; was Master of the Rolls in 1472, Bishop of Ely in 1478, — the same Bishop of Ely of whom the Protector Richard, about to seize the crown, said:

"My Lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn,
I saw good strawberries in your garden there;
I do beseech you send for some of them;"

an hour before he sent him to the Tower. When afterwards released, and transferred to the custody of the Duke of Buckingham, Morton helped to organize the insurrection which cost Buckingham his head; and, being himself safe in Flanders, was thenceforth busy as a negotiator on the side that triumphed at Bosworth Field. Thus Morton became the trusted friend of Henry VII., who at the beginning of his reign made him, in 1486, Lord Chancellor of England, and nine months afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. While upholding the sovereignty of the archbishop in spiritual things, Morton, as Henry VII.'s chief adviser, maintained in temporal affairs the absolute sovereignty of the king. He greatly enriched himself, but was liberal with his wealth. He helped the king, more narrowly avaricious, to draw money, by benevolences or otherwise, from his subjects; and he shared the king's unpopularity.

Morton was a vigorous old man of between seventy and eighty, whose life was blended with the history of half a century, when young Thomas More was placed in his household, and found him a generous patron and appreciative friend. A son of one of lower rank was often received of old into a great man's house. He wore there his lord's livery, but had it of more costly materials than were used for the footmen, and was the immediate attendant of his patron, who was expected to give him a start in life when he came of age. When at Christmas time a Latin play was acted, young Thomas More could step in at will among the players, and extemporize a comic part. "Whoever liveth to try it," Morton would say, "shall see this child here waiting at table prove a notable and rare man." Dean Colet used to say, "There is but one wit in England, and that is young Thomas More." About the year 1497 the archbishop sent the youth to Oxford, where he was entered to Canterbury College, now included in Christ Church. There he learned Greek of Linacre and Grocyn. In 1499 he removed thence to London, and proceeded to study law at Lincoln's Inn. In 1500 Archbishop Morton died.

While studying law, More, who was earnestly religious, tried on himself for a time the experiment of monastic discipline; wore a hair shirt, took a log for a pillow, whipped himself on Fridays. At the age of twenty-one he entered Parliament, and soon after he had been called to the bar he was made an Under-Sheriff of London. In 1503 he opposed in the House of Commons Henry VII.'s proposal for a subsidy on account of the marriage-portion of his daughter Margaret; and he opposed with so much energy, that the House refused to grant it. One went and told the king that a beardless boy had disappointed all his expectations. During the last years, therefore, of Henry VII., More was under the displeasure of the king, and had thoughts of leaving the country. But in the first years of the reign of Henry VIII. he was rising to large practice in the law courts, where it is said he refused to plead in cases which he thought unjust, and took no fees from widows, orphans, or the poor. He would have preferred marrying the second daughter of John Colt, of New Hall, in Essex, but chose her elder sister, that he might not subject her to the discredit of being passed over. In 1513, Thomas More, then under-sheriff of London, is said to have written his "History of the Life and Death of King Edward V., and of the Usurpation of Richard III.," first printed in 1557, from a MS. in his writing. The work comes down to us both in Latin and in English; and although More's son-in-law, who first printed it, believed it to have been written by More, there is some reason to think that the Latin original was the work of Cardinal Morton, and the English version only the work of More. If the book was wholly More's, it must have been written from information chiefly derived from his old patron, Morton.

In 1515, two years after Thomas More is supposed to have written the book just mentioned, he was sent by the king on an embassy into Flanders, "for the debatement and determination" of matters in dispute between Henry VIII. and Charles V. In 1516, he was again sent thither on the same business. During these visits in Flanders, More was much with his friend Erasmus, and found also a new friend, Peter Giles, a scholarly and courteous young man who was secretary to the municipality of Antwerp. It was in these two years that Thomas More wrote his celebrated book "Utopia," — the most significant literary production of this period, and one of the most notable productions in English literature. It was written in Latin, and first printed at Louvain in 1516. It was afterward reprinted at Basle, at Paris, and at Vienna, but never in England during More's lifetime. Its first publication in England was in 1551, in the delightful English translation made by Ralph Robinson; which translation was revised and republished in 1556.

More's "Utopia" has given an adjective to our language, — we call an impracticable scheme Utopian. Yet, under the veil of a playful fiction, the talk is intensely earnest, and abounds in practical suggestion. It is the work of a scholarly and witty Englishman, who attacks in his own way the chief political and social evils of his time. Having commended the book in a witty letter to his friend Giles, More tells in the first part how he was sent into Flanders with Cuthbert Tunstal, "whom the king's majesty of late, to the great rejoicing of all men, did prefer to the office of Master of the Rolls;" how the commissioners of Charles met them at Bruges, and presently returned to Brussels for instructions; and how More then went to Antwerp, where he found a pleasure in the society of Peter Giles, which soothed his desire to see again his wife and children, from whom he had been four months away. One day, when he came from the service in Antwerp Cathedral, More fables that he saw his friend Giles talking to "a certain stranger, a man well stricken in age, with a black sunburnt face, a long beard, and a cloak cast homely about his shoulders," whom More judged to be a mariner. Peter Giles introduced him to his friend as Raphael Hythloday (the name, from the Greek *ὕθλος* and *δάιος*, means "knowing in trifles"), a man learned in Latin and profound in Greek, a Portuguese wholly given to philosophy, who left his patrimony to his brethren, and, desiring to know far countries, went with Amerigo Vespucci in the three last of the voyages of which an account had been printed in 1507. From the last voyage he did not return with Vespucci, but got leave to be one of the twenty-four men left in Gulike. Then he travelled on until having reached Calicut he found there one of the ships of his own country to take him home. So it was that in the course of travel Raphael Hythloday had visited the Island of Utopia, unknown to other men; had dwelt there for five years, and had become familiar with its customs. More's book, which expresses much of the new energy of independent thought, was thus associated with the fresh discovery of the New World.

After the greeting in the street, Raphael Hythloday and Peter Giles went with More to his house; "and there," says More, "in my garden, upon a bench covered with green torves, we sat down talking together." The talk was of the customs among men, and of the government of princes. Why would not Hythloday give his experience as counsellor of some great prince, since "from the prince, as from a perpetual well-spring, cometh among the people the flood of all that is good or evil"? Thomas More had withheld himself from such service; and he put two reasons for doing so into the mouth of Hythloday. First, that "most princes have more delight in war (the knowledge of which I neither have nor desire) than in the good feats of peace, and employ much more study how by right or wrong to enlarge their dominions than how well and peaceably to rule and govern that they have already." Secondly, because "every king's counsellor is so wise in his own eyes, that he will not allow another man's counsel, if it be not shameful, flattering assent." More had in mind the supreme counsels of Wolsey, abetting Henry VIII.'s war policy, and doing little to secure peace and well-being for the English. When Raphael Hythloday's talk in the garden had excited curiosity by its frequent reference to the way things were done in Utopia, he was persuaded to give an account of that wonderful island. His description forms the second part of the little book. It is designedly fantastic in suggestion of details, the work of a scholar who had read Plato's "Republic," and had his fancy quickened after reading Plutarch's account of Spartan life under Lycurgus. But never was there a more direct upholding of the duty of a king in his relation to the country governed than in Thomas More's "Utopia." Beneath the veil of an ideal communism, into which there has been worked some witty extravagance, there lies a noble English argument. Sometimes More puts the case as of France when he means England. Sometimes there is ironical praise of the good faith of Christian kings, saving the book from censure as a political attack upon the policy of Henry VIII. Thus protected, More could declare boldly that it were best for the king "to content himself with his own kingdom, to make much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as flourishing as he could, to endeavor himself to love his subjects, and again to be beloved by them, willingly to live with them, peaceably to govern them, and with other kingdoms not to meddle, seeing that which he hath already is even enough for him, yea, and more than he can well turn him to." But

Hythloday added, "'This mine advice, Master More, how think you it would be heard and taken?' 'So, God help me, not very thankfully, quod I.'" The prince's office, in More's "Utopia," "continueth all his lifetime, unless he be deposed or put down for suspicion of tyranny." In the chapter on the religions in Utopia, More wrote of King Utopus, who conquered the country because it was distracted with quarrels about religion, that "first of all he made a decree that it should be lawful for every man to favor and follow what religion he would, and that he might do the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that he did it peaceably, gently, quietly, and soberly, without hasty and contentious rebuking and inveighing against each other. If he could not by fair and gentle speech induce them unto his opinion, yet he should use no kind of violence, and refrain from displeasant and seditious words. To him that would vehemently and fervently in this cause strive and contend was decreed banishment and bondage. This law did King Utopus make, not only for the maintenance of peace, which he saw through continual contention and mortal hatred utterly extinguished, but also because he thought this decree would work for the furtherance of religion."

The subsequent writings of Thomas More are of but little interest to the student of literature, being entirely devoted to theological controversy, and written in the coarse and rancorous style then thought to be necessary in all controversy. In 1520, four years after the first publication of his "Utopia," he was made Treasurer of the Exchequer; in 1521, he was made Sir Thomas; in 1523, he was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons; in 1529, he became Lord High Chancellor, and remained so for three years; and in 1535, having given offence to Henry VIII. by his resignation of that office, and by his refusal to attend the coronation of Anne Boleyn, he was found guilty of treason, and beheaded on Tower Hill. Before the troubles connected with the king's divorce, Henry VIII. had delighted in his society, and would pay him unceremonious visits in the house at Chelsea to which he had removed from Bucklersbury. "Great honor," said one of his family, "was this to him." "Yes," answered More, "the king is my very good master; but if my head would win his Majesty a castle in France, it would not fail to be struck off my shoulders."

Sir Thomas More has been accused of using the power of his great office as Lord High Chancellor in the infliction of bodily cruelties upon persons suspected of heresy. This accusation is undoubtedly groundless. Nevertheless, in his controversial writings, he was at times false to the liberal principles laid down in his "Utopia" and illustrated by the main course of his life. He was not himself a persecutor, but he was defending his own church at a time when it believed that thousands might be saved from everlasting fire by terror of the burning of a few. He flinched from the practical enforcement of that doctrine when he himself wielded the terrors of the law. But abroad and at home it was enforced by governments, when, in reply to Tyndal's sentence, "If our shepherds had been as willing to feed as to shear, we had needed no such dispicience, nor they to have burnt so many as they have," More admitted that there would have been less heresy if there had been more diligence in preaching, and said, "Sure if the prelates had taken as good heed in time as they should have done, there should peradventure at length fewer have been burned thereby. But there should have been more burned by a great many than there have been within this seven year last past; the lack whereof, I fear me, will make more burned within this seven year next coming than else should have needed to have been burned in sevenscore." Let us be just to More, without forgetting that he has left this sentence, written in 1532, to be quoted against him. He did support in controversy — and that not in a single passage — the fierce policy of persecution. If he did not himself light martyr fires, he at least publicly assented to the argument by which they were sustained. By zeal for his church, when days of conflict came, More's calm philosophy was passed as through a furnace, and did not come out unsinged.

4. Besides the "Utopia" — which was not in English — there was not produced by any Englishman, during the first half of the sixteenth century, any original prose-work of great power. The most characteristic expression of the time is in religious and theological literature, often bitterly controversial.

In this department, **King Henry VIII.** distinguished himself; publishing in 1521, against Luther, "the arch-heretic," a Latin treatise on "The Seven Sacraments." For this book, Pope Leo X. conferred on the monarch of England the title of "Defender of the Faith." Luther replied to the king in two letters; and in December, 1526, appeared, in Latin, King Henry's answer to Luther, printed with Luther's letter and an address to the pious reader. At the beginning of 1527 there was published also in English "A Copy of the Letters wherin the most Redoubted and Mighty Prince our Soverayne Lorde Kynge Henry the Eight, Kynge of Englande and of France, Defensor of the Faith, and Lorde of Ireland, made Answer unto a certayne Letter of Martyn Luther," etc.

5. One of the most racy and vigorous of these religious writers was **Hugh Latimer**, born about 1491, the son of a yeoman in Leicestershire. At the age of thirty, he graduated Bachelor of Divinity at Cambridge, where he had already taken his master's degree and held a fellowship. Though at first opposed to the Protestant Reformation, he soon changed his opinion. Gaining the favor of Henry VIII., and having the friendship of Archbishop Cranmer, Latimer was, in 1535, made Bishop of Worcester. In the controversies of the times he took a bold part; he was an energetic and popular preacher; and after many vicissitudes, he and Ridley were burned at Oxford in 1555. When the lighted fagot was placed at the feet of Ridley, Latimer exclaimed, "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

His sermons, many of which were printed in his own time, form, in the modern edition of them, two volumes. His preaching was essentially English; homely, practical, and straight to its purpose. There was no speculative refinement, but a simple sense of duty to be done for love of God. He pointed distinctly to the wrongs he preached against. After three of his Lent sermons before the king, three hundred and seventy-three pounds retained dishonestly were restored to the state by certain of the king's officers. He enlivened his admonition with shrewd sayings, recollections of life, genial humor. In many respects Latimer personified the spiritual life of the work-a-day Englishman. In his fifth sermon on the Lord's Prayer, when he was arguing that the true religious houses had not been pulled down, he said, "I read once a story of a holy man, some say it was St. Anthony, which had been a long season in the wilderness, eating nor drinking nothing but bread and water; at the length, he thought himself so holy that there should be nobody like unto him. Therefore, he desired of God to know who should be his fellow in heaven. God made him answer, and commanded him to go to Alexandria, there he should find a cobbler which should be his fellow in heaven. So he went thither and sought him out, and fell acquainted with him, and tarried with him three or four days to see his conversation. In the morning his wife and he prayed together, then they went to their business, he in his shop, and she about her housewifery. At dinner-time they had bread and cheese, wherewith they were well content, and took it thankfully. Their children were well taught to fear God, and to say their Paternoster, and the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, and so he spent his time in doing his duty truly. I warrant you he did not so many false stitches as cobblers do nowadays. St. Anthony, perceiving that, came to the knowledge of himself, and laid away all pride and presumption. By this example you may learn that honest conversation and godly living is much regarded before God, insomuch that this poor cobbler, doing his duty diligently, was made St. Anthony's fellow."

6. Another strong writer of the time was **William Tyndal,** born in Gloucestershire, probably in 1484. After graduating at Oxford, and spending some years at Cambridge, he became, about 1519, tutor in the family of a Gloucestershire gentleman, Sir John Walsh, of Little Sodbury. He translated into English the Enchiridion of Erasmus, which argues that Christian life is a warfare against evil, sustained rather by obeying Christ than by faith in scholastic dogmas. As the controversy about Luther gathered strength, Tyndal supported Luther's cause so earnestly that he was cited before the Chancellor of the diocese of Worcester, and warned. In dispute afterwards with a Worcestershire divine, he said, "If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scriptures than thou dost." Afterward going to London, he was received into the house of Humphrey Monmouth, a rich draper, liberal of mind and purse. There

he was for about half a year, and, as Monmouth said afterwards, when in trouble for his own opinions, "he lived like a good priest, as methought. He studied most part of the day and of the night at his book, and he would eat but sodden meat by his good will, nor drink but small-beer." Tyndal was a small and thin man, who lived sparely, and studied without stint. He must have been already at work in Monmouth's house on his translation of the New Testament from Greek into English. Finding, as he said afterwards of himself, "nót only that there was no room in my Lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England," Tyndal left England for Hamburg, where he increased his knowledge of Hebrew. He was skilled in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, in Italian, Spanish, French, and German. Although no copies of such an edition are now extant, there is reason to believe that Tyndal at once printed, somewhere on the Continent, his translation into English of two of the Gospels, those of Matthew and Mark. He then, in 1525, secretly printed, beginning to print at Cologne and finishing at Worms, three thousand copies of his translation of the New Testament into English, in a quarto edition, of which only one fragment remains. There was added to it immediately a second edition of three thousand copies in octavo, printed at Worms. This was three years after Luther's publication, in September, 1522, of his translation of the New Testament into German; and Luther's version was freely used by Tyndal in his own work. It was asserted also, by the English bishops, that there were three thousand errors in Tyndal's translation; of which, Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, bought up and destroyed all the copies he could find. Five years afterward, in 1530, Tyndal printed in Hesse his translation of the Pentateuch. In 1535, he was arrested at Antwerp; and in the following year, at Vilvoorden, he was strangled and burnt; his last words being, "Lord, open the king of England's eyes."

Of his translation of the New Testament, George P. Marsh says that it "is the most important philological monument of the first half of the sixteenth century, perhaps I should say of the whole period between Chaucer and Shakespeare, both as an historical relic, and as having more than any thing else contributed to shape and fix the sacred dialect, and establish the form which the Bible must permanently assume in an English dress."

Tyndal's original writings are numerous, consisting of expositions of Scripture, theological treatises, and an answer to Sir Thomas More's "Dialogue."

7. The invention of printing had caused a wide diffusion of the Bible in the received Latin version, known as the Vulgate. Between the years 1462 and 1500, eighty editions of it were printed. In 1516, Erasmus published a corrected edition of the New Testament both in Greek and in Latin; and in the Introduction, he said that the Scriptures addressed all, adapted themselves even to the understanding of children, and that it were well if they could be read by all people in all languages; that none could reasonably be cut off from a blessing as much meant for all as baptism and the other sacraments. Erasmus only expressed a demand which the people of many countries were anxious to utter for themselves; and for the English people, the attempt to satisfy this demand was made by other men as well as by Tyndal.

In 1535, at Zurich, was printed for the first time a complete translation of the Bible into English; the translator being **Miles Coverdale**, an Augustine monk of Cambridge, who had adopted the principles of the Reformation, and had assisted Tyndal in his partial version. In the same year, Thomas Cromwell, Secretary of State to Henry VIII., was in search of an English Bible which might go among the people and escape the charge of containing heresies. Coverdale's translation was submitted to the English bishops, who said that it had many faults. "But," said the king, "are there any heresies maintained thereby?" And when they said that they had found none, he answered, "Then, in God's name, let it go among the people." The royal license was obtained; but the introduction of Coverdale's translation, printed in 1535, was delayed by the necessity of striking out the name of the king's "most dearest, just wife, Anne," which stood with his own in the dedication. The first printed copies of the whole Bible were admitted into

England in 1536, the year of the burning of Tyndal, the year also in which Tyndal's New Testament was first printed in England. Coverdale's translation was described on the title-page as having been made from the German and Latin,—"faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latin into English." He said that he had five several translations by him, and followed his interpreters. A new edition, revised and corrected, appeared in 1537, printed in England.

In July of the same year, there was published abroad a complete Bible in folio, professing to be "truly and purely translated into English by Thomas Matthew." This was formed out of the translations of Tyndal and Coverdale, under the superintendence of **John Rogers**, who was afterwards famous as a martyr, and who for this translation assumed the name of Matthew. His Bible, known as "Matthew's Bible," included all that had been done by Tyndal, namely his Pentateuch, followed by other translations of his down to the end of the Second Book of Chronicles, and his New Testament. The other canonical books Rogers gave in a strict revision of Coverdale's translation, and the Apocrypha he gave in a translation of his own.

In 1538, Thomas Cromwell, who had become Lord Cromwell, planned a republication at Paris of Tyndal's translation, in a form that would adapt it for free use; and for this purpose he sent Miles Coverdale to Paris to superintend the printing. Being there in some peril from the Inquisition, the work was transferred to London, where, in 1539, appeared Coverdale's revision of Tyndal's work and his own, in the folio known both as "Cromwell's Bible," and as "The Great Bible."

In the same year was published a careful revision of "Matthew's Bible," made, under the patronage of Cromwell, by **Richard Taverner**, an Oxford Reformer, then attached to the court. This edition was called "Taverner's Bible."

Finally, in 1540, appeared the most authoritative of the versions made in Henry VIII.'s reign. It was a revision of "The Great Bible," planned by Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury, and made by direct collation with the Hebrew and Greek texts. It was first published in April, 1540, with a prologue by Cranmer; and, besides retaining the name of "The Great Bible," was also called "Cranmer's Bible." This became, and remained till 1568, the translation appointed to be read in churches. Its version of the Psalms is retained to this day by the Church of England in its Book of Common Prayer.

8. The treatment of historical events in England was still in the hands of chroniclers; and, even during the first half of the sixteenth century, several of the chroniclers wrote in Latin in preference to English.

Of the Latin chroniclers, we first encounter **Bernard André**, born at Toulouse, an Austin friar, who was present at Henry VII.'s entry into London after Bosworth Field. He was blind; he was a scholar, and wrote verses; and having gained favor at court, he became tutor to Arthur, Prince of Wales, and styled himself Henry VII.'s poet laureate. In 1500, having retired from court, he began to work at his Latin "Life of Henry VII.," finished in 1502; as well as to compile yearly accounts of the chief events of his time. There remain, however, his records of only four years, the latest being 1521. This blind French poet and historiographer, naturalized in England, although no genius, had much repute in his own day.

Polydore Vergil, born at Urbino, had won fame in Italy before he came to England for Peter's Pence, and was there made Archdeacon of Wells. He returned to Italy, and died there in 1555. Among his works, all written in Latin, is an "English Chronicle," in twenty-seven books, begun by him in the latter years of Henry VII., and finished in the earlier years of the reign of Henry VIII.

John Mair (Latinized Major), a Scotchman, born in 1469, a famous theologian of his day, having been professor of divinity both at the Sorbonne and at St. Andrews, and having had both Knox and Buchanan among his pupils, wrote in Latin theological and moral treatises, and a "History of Great Britain," in six books, which joined the Chronicles of England and Scotland, and was published at Paris in 1521, the year in which Luther appeared at the Diet of Worms. This book, by a Scottish doctor of the Sorbonne, was not sparing in condemnation of the corruptions of the clergy and the usurpations of the court of Rome. For each period Mair gave first the English history, and then the Scottish. For its free speech, Mair's History was placed by the orthodox abroad below its author's scholastic writings. Mair died in 1550.

Another Scottish chronicler was **Hector Boece** (Boyce), professor of the College of Montacute, who published at Paris, in 1526, his Latin "History of the Scots," in nineteen books. Boece was born at Dundee about 1465, educated at Aberdeen and Paris, where he taught philosophy, and afterwards was principal of King's College, Aberdeen. Erasmus corresponded with him, and the King of Scotland pensioned him. He died about 1536.

9. But the most memorable chroniclers during this time were those who wrote in English. The Latin chronicle last mentioned was translated into English, and published at Edinburgh in 1536, under the title of the "History and Chroniklis of Scotland," forming one of the most important pieces of old Scottish prose. The translator was **John Bellenden**, who matriculated as a student of St. Andrews in 1508. He was liberally educated, and obtained much credit as a poet at the court of James V., in whose service he had been from the time of the king's infancy. His translation of Boece was made at request of this king, for whom also he began a translation of Livy, of which he completed only the first five books. Bellenden, when he published his translation of Boece, was a doctor in the Church, Archdeacon of Moray, and Canon of Ross; but he added to his translation an earnest letter to James V. on the miseries of wicked princes and the duty of a king. Bellenden's chief poem was a "Proheme of the Cosmographé," written for the king's instruction. He died at Rome, in 1550, an earnest honest man, and stout opponent of the Reformation.

Robert Fabyan, an opulent citizen and politician of London, who died in 1512, wrote, partly in verse and partly in prose, his "Concordance of Histories," afterwards called "New Chronicles of England and France, in Two Parts." The work opened with a prologue in Chaucer's stanza, which represented its author as one who prepared material for the skilled artist or historian who should come after him to perfect what he had rudely shaped. The prologue ended with an invocation to the Virgin for help; and the seven parts of the chronicle, which brought the history from Brut to the year 1504, ended with seven metrical epilogues, entitled "The Seven Joys of the Blessed Virgin." The chronicle itself was in prose, with translation into English verse of any Latin verses that were cited. A notable example of this was Fabyan's English version of the Latin verses said to have been made by Edward II. in his imprisonment. Though Fabyan was not credulous of miracles and marvels, he was a zealous churchman, and, in using monkish chronicles as material for his own compilation of history, was a devout adopter of the censures of all kings who were enemies to religious places. Of Becket he spoke as a "glorious martyr" and a "blessed saint;" of Henry II. as a "hammer of Holy Church."

With the name of Fabyan as a chronicler is associated that of **Edward Hall**, who was born in Shropshire at the end of the fifteenth century. He was in 1514 scholar of King's College, Cambridge, but removed to Oxford; about 1518, he entered at Gray's Inn, was called to the bar, became common sergeant and under-sheriff, and in 1540 one of the judges of the sheriff's court. His career belonged entirely to the reign of Henry VIII., and he died in 1547. His history of "The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancastre and Yorke," commonly called Hall's "Chronicle," ended with the year 1532. It was first published in 1548, after its author's death, by Richard Grafton, who said that "Hall dying, and being in his latter time not so painful and studious as he ought to have been," Grafton himself undertook the completion of it. This was a forbidden book under Philip and Mary.

Of this branch of literature, the most agreeable specimen produced in the first half of the sixteenth century, was the English translation of Froissart's "Chronicle," made by **Lord Berners**, and published in 1523. Lord Berners was educated at Oxford, travelled abroad, earned the favor of Henry VII., and was made by Henry VIII. his Chancellor of the Exchequer for life. He translated the "Golden Book" of Marcus Aurelius, and other works, and wrote also a Latin sacred play, "Ite in Vineam Meam," which was acted in church at Calais after vespers. His translation of Froissart is among the best prose English of his time.

10. Closely allied to these English chronicles is the famous "Itinerary" of **John Leland**, who was born in London about 1506. He was one of the boys under William Lily at St. Paul's School. Thence he proceeded to Christ's College, Cambridge. He took his degree of B.A. early in 1522, went then to Oxford, thence to the University of Paris. He became chaplain and librarian to Henry VIII., who gave him, in June, 1530, the rectory of Poppeling, in the Marches of Calais. About 1533 he obtained the title of King's Antiquary; three years later he had special license to keep a curate at Poppeling, and work in England. Then he was for six years, by royal commission, travelling over England, taking a particular account of the cities, towns, and villages of each county; describing also the situation, soil, course of the rivers, and number of miles from place to place. He set down the several castles, religious houses, and other public and private buildings, with account of the families of best note resident therein. He recorded windows and monuments of antiquity belonging to the several cathedrals, monasteries, etc. He inspected also their libraries, took exact catalogues of books, even made transcripts of matter useful to his purpose of setting forth a trustworthy account of the history and antiquities of the kingdom. Leland, although a church reformer, lamented the havoc made of valuable libraries at the dissolution of the monasteries, and he did what he could to bring into safe keeping the treasures of literature that he found. Upon his return to London, he settled down to arrange for the press his vast accumulations; but after the excessive labor of several years, his brain gave way, about 1550, and in that condition he died in 1552. During his lifetime, he had won distinction by publishing minor Latin poems; but at his death, the great mass of his writings were still unpublished. Many of these were pilfered, and in a garbled form appeared on the pages of other antiquaries. It was not until more than a century and a half after his death, that his manuscripts were published. In 1709, his "Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis," edited by Anthony Hall, was published in two volumes; and in 1715, his "Collectanea de Rebus Britannicis," edited by Thomas Hearne, was published in six volumes. These are in Latin. His most celebrated work is in English, the "Itinerary," likewise edited by Hearne, which was published in 1710–1712, in nine volumes. Some of his writings still remain in manuscript.

11. A memorable piece of English writing in this time is "The Governor," by **Sir Thomas Elyot**, published in 1531,—

a prose treatise on education, generous and wise in its tone, and strongly opposing the custom of ill-treating schoolboys. Elyot was a graduate of Cambridge; was knighted by Henry VIII., in whose service he was much employed in foreign embassies; and died in 1546. Although his book on education is the one for which he is chiefly remembered, he wrote several other books, particularly "The Castle of Health," published in 1533; a "Latin and English Dictionary," in 1538, the first ever published in England; and a "Defence or Apology of Good Women," in 1545.

CHAPTER VI.

FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: POETRY AND THE DRAMA.

1. John Skelton. — 2. William Dunbar. — 3. Gavin Douglas. — 4. Sir David Lindsay of the Mount. — 5. Sir Thomas Wyatt. — 6. Earl of Surrey. — 7. Alexander Barclay. — 8. Stephen Hawes. — 9. William Roy. — 10. Scottish Hymns. — 11. The Drama; the Morality-Play. — 12. Skelton's "Magnificence." — 13. Lindsay's Satire on the Three Estates. — 14. Rise of the Modern Drama. — 15. The First Comedy; Nicholas Udall. — 16. Masques. — 17. Interludes; John Heywood.

1. DURING this period, six poets came into especial prominence, three of them being Scotsmen: John Skelton, William Dunbar, Gavin Douglas, Sir David Lindsay, Sir Thomas Wyatt, and the Earl of Surrey. These poets we shall first study in the order named; then we shall deal with a few poets of less note; and finally we shall examine the progress made up to 1550 in the development of the English drama.

John Skelton was born either in Cumberland or in Norfolk, and not before the year 1460. He took his Master's degree at Cambridge in 1484; and in 1490 he was spoken of by Caxton as "late created poet laureate" at Oxford. Several years later, he was admitted to the same title at Louvain and at Cambridge. The degree of poet laureate was then a recognized degree in grammar and rhetoric with versification. A wreath of laurel was presented to each new "poeta laureatus;" and if this graduated grammarian obtained also a license to teach boys, he was publicly presented in the Convocation House with a rod and ferule. If he served a king, he might call himself the king's humble poet laureate; as John Kay, of whom no verse remains, was, as far as we know, first to do, in calling himself poet laureate to Edward IV. Before obtaining this degree the candidate would be required to write a hundred Latin verses on the glory of the University, or some other accepted subject.

In 1498, Skelton took orders, and became afterwards rector of Diss, Norfolk; at which time, he was likewise tutor to Prince Henry, afterward King Henry VIII. During the earlier days of Cardinal Wolsey, Skelton was his friend; but from about the year 1519, when Wolsey's oppressions of the clergy and the people became more severe, Skelton turned against him, and in his fearless and savage satires braved the great prelate's wrath. Against that wrath, the poet had finally to protect himself by taking the sanctuary of Westminster Abbey, where he was safely sheltered until his death, in 1529. He never ceased to be nominal rector of Diss; though he is said to have been suspended from his functions by Dr. Richard Nix, his diocesan, for inclination towards the opinions of the reformers. The particular offence said to have been charged against John Skelton by the Dominicans was that he had violated the rule of celibacy, by secret marriage to the mother of his children.

The student who glances at the most popular of Skelton's poems, written in the coarse and artless verse which has been named "Skeltonical," and which at first seems to be mere doggerel, will be in danger of concluding that Skelton himself was not a man of much learning or literary cultivation. In reality, however, he was both. That he had many university honors, that he was a tutor in the royal family, and that he wrote Latin verses, and a prose treatise in Latin called "Speculum Principis," is proof of his learning; while his literary cultivation was something for which he was distinguished in his own day. Caxton publicly appealed to him as an arbiter in matters of scholarship, saying that Skelton had translated from the Latin, "not in rude and olde langage, but in polysshed and ornate termes craftely, as he that hath redde Vyrgyle, Ovyde, Tullye, and all the other noble poets and oratours, to me unknowen. And also he hath redde the nine muses, and understande theyr musicalle scyences, and to whom of theym eche scyence is appropred. I suppose he hath dronken of Elycon's well." At the end of the fifteenth century, when Prince Henry was nine years old, Erasmus, in dedicating to the boy a Latin ode in "Praise of Britain, King Henry VII., and the royal children," congratulated him on being housed with Skelton, a special light and ornament of British literature ("unum Britannicarum literarum lumen et decus"), who could not only kindle his desire for study, but secure its consummation. In the ode itself Erasmus again spoke of Skelton as Prince Henry's guide to the sacred sources of learning.

While Skelton was still a student at Cambridge, he appears to have written a poem "On the Death of King Edward IV." Like one of the old metrical tragedies of men fallen from high estate, it tells — the dead king speaking — how the days of power, of wealth wrung from the commonalty, of costly works under a rule pleasing to some, to others displeasing, are at an end:

> "Mercy I ask of my misdoing;
> What availeth it, friends, to be my foe,
> Sith I cannot resist nor amend your complaining?
> *Quid, ecce, nunc in pulvere dormio.*"

The last line, suggesting royal pomp asleep in dust, is the refrain to every stanza. In 1489 Skelton wrote, in Chaucer's stanza, an "Elegy upon the Death of the Earl of Northumberland," who was killed by an insurgent populace in Yorkshire. During the latter part of the reign of Henry VII., probably, Skelton wrote his "Bowge of Court." It was an allegorical court poem against court follies and vices.

Bowge is the French *bouche* (the mouth); and bowge of court was the old technical name for the right to feed at a king's table. Skelton here told, in Chaucer's stanza, how in autumn he thought of the craft of old poets who

> "Under as coverte termës as could be
> Can touche a trouth, and cloke it subtylly
> With fresshe utteraunce full sentencyously."

Weary with much thinking, he slept at the port of Harwich in mine host's house called "Power's Keye;" and it seemed to him that he saw sail into harbor a goodly ship, which cast anchor, and was boarded by traders who found royal merchandise in her. The poet also went on board, where he found no acquaintance, and there was much noise, until one commanded all to hold their peace, and said that the ship was the "Bowge of Court," owned by the Dame Saunce-pere (Peerless); that her merchandise was called Favor, and who would have it must pay dear. The poet found that there were seven subtle persons in the ship:

"The first was Favell, full of flatery,
With fables false that well coude fayne a tale;
The seconde was Suspecte, which that dayly
Mysdempte eche man, with face deedly and pale;
And Harry Hafter, that well coude picke a male;
With other foure of theyr affynite,
Dysdayne, Ryotte, Dyssymuler, Subtylte."

These seven sins of the court had for their friend Fortune, who often danced with them; but they had no love for the new-comer, Dread, the name of the poet. Favell cloaked his ill-will with sugared speech. Dread thanked him, and was then addressed in turn by the other vices, each in his own fashion; and at last Dread, the poet, was about to jump out of the ship to avoid being slain, when he awoke, "caught penne and ynke, and wrote this lytyll boke."

But Skelton's fame does not rest upon good thought put into this conventional disguise. He felt with the people; and in the reign of Henry VIII. we shall find him speaking with them, and for them, by putting bold words of his own upon the life of his own day into a form of verse borrowed from nobody. This form of verse, which has been called Skeltonical, appeared in the delicately playful "Boke of Phyllyp Sparowe," the lament of a maid over the death of a pet sparrow. The lament ended with a Latin epitaph to the bird, and it was followed by dainty commendations of its mistress. This poem, suggested no doubt by the Sparrow of Catullus, was written by Skelton before the end of 1508.

During the earlier years of the reign of Henry VIII., Skelton was in high favor with his old pupil; and later in the poet's life, it must have been in part the consciousness of the king's friendship for him that emboldened him to make his tremendous assaults on Cardinal Wolsey. His favorite manner became satiric, and even vituperative, animated by passionate indignation at the evils of the time, and by genuine sympathy with the discontent of the people. The least creditable of his writings in this satiric vein are four minor poems, personally abusive of Sir Christopher Garnesche, gentleman usher to Henry VIII., with whom Skelton had a "flyting," — a contest of metrical scolding in billingsgate, for the diversion of the king and his court. This metrical scolding-match belongs to a form of literature descended from the "tenson" or "jeu parti" of early

Provençal poetry. The "tenson" was a song in dialogue of contention which found its way into European literature from wit-combats of the Arabs on nice points of love and philosophy. But the fifteenth century advanced by many ways to a rough heartiness in dealing with realities of life. Thus, in a flyting, which takes its name from our old name for contention, "flít," the two poets, who, if they had lived some centuries earlier, would, through a "tenson," have been attacking and defending castles in the air, were down upon earth belaboring each other with the pen as heartily as if they had come into the tilt-yard, and the pens were lances with which they were engaged, each in the playful endeavor to knock down his friend. Of course, such performance was a degradation of the character of poet and man of letters; and in Skelton's case, as in that of every other satiric poet, satire does not deserve respect until it rises above personal petulance, and is inspired by wrath at great public wrongs, and by compassion for those who suffer such wrongs.

The first of Skelton's great satires is "Speak, Parrot," written, not in his own peculiar verse, but in Chaucer's seven-lined stanza. It was written about 1523, at the height of Wolsey's power. This man, then supreme minister, was housed luxuriously in his palace at Hampton Court; the English people suffered from his exactions, and he was daily pointed at by church reformers, who inveighed against the "pomp and pride" of a high clergy, more ready to shear than feed their sheep. Then it was that John Skelton, who felt with the people, poured upon Wolsey from the voice of one the wrath of many. In his poem of "Speak, Parrot," he uttered satire through a medley of apt sayings, jumbled together and pleasantly blended with scraps from the parrot's feast of languages. The parrot appeared frequently as a court bird, in the European literature of these times; and although parrots had been brought into Europe by the followers of Alexander the Great many centuries before, their diffusion in the earlier years of the sixteenth century was due to the followers of Columbus, for it was one of the smaller results of the discovery of the New World. Skelton's Parrot was gayly painted as a ladies' pet, and a philologist who picked up phrases in all tongues, and also, as he said

"Such shredis of sentence, strowed in the shop
Of auncyent Aristippus and such other mo
I gader tögyther and close in my crop."

Whatever else may be obscure in his whimsically disjointed oracles, it is clear that he meant Henry VIII. and Wolsey by the dogs Bo-ho and Hough-ho (Bow-wow and Wow-wow), when he said:

"Bo-ho doth bark well, but Hough-ho he ruleth the ring;
From Scarpary to Tartary renown therein doth spring,
With, He said, and We said, I wot now what I wot,
Quod magnus est dominus Judas Scarioth."

Elsewhere Wolsey was he who makes men to jumble, to stumble, to tumble down like fools, to lower, to drop, to kneel, to stoop, and to play couch-quail. "He carrieth a king in his sleeve, if all the world fail." Since Deucalion's flood, spoke the Parrot, there were never seen "so many noble bodies under one daw's head; so many thieves hanged and thieves never the less; so much prisonment for matters not worth an haw; so bold a bragging butcher, and flesh sold so dear; so many plucked partridges, and so fat quails; so mangy a mastiff cur the great greyhound's peer; so fat a maggot bred of a flesh-fly; was never such a filthy Gorgon, nor such an epicure, since Deucalion's flood I make thee fast and sure."

The second of his great satires is "Why Come ye Not to Court?" in which the same public scorn of Wolsey is poured forth in Skelton's own verse; a form of verse that was itself popular, — earnest, whimsical, with torrents of rhyme added to short lines kindred in accent and alliteration to the old national form of verse.

All was wrong in the land; the English nobles were extinguished under the red hat. "Our barons be so bold, into a mouse-hole they would run away and creep, like a mayny of sheep; dare not look out at door, for dread of the mastiff cur, for dread of the butcher's dog would worry them like an hog." "I pray God save the king," says Skelton, "wherever he go or ride, I pray God be his guide." But "once yet again of you I would frayne (ask), Why come ye not to Court? To which court? To the King's Court, or to Hampton Court? Nay, to the King's Court: the King's Court should have the excellence. But Hampton Court hath the pre-eminence, and Yorkës Place with my lordës grace, to whose magnificence is all the confluence, suits, and supplications, embassades of all nations. A straw for law, it shall be as he will. He regardeth lordes no more than potshordes; he is in such elation of his exaltation, and the supportation of our sovereign lord, that, God to record, he ruleth all at will without reason or skill. Howbeit the primordial of his wretched original, and his base progeny, and his greasy genealogy, he came of the sang-royal that was cast out of a butcher's stall." In more than twelve hundred of such short lines Skelton's "Why Come ye Not to Court?" poured out the anger of the people against Wolsey:

"He maketh so proude pretens
That in his equipolens
He jugyth him equivalent
With God omnipotent:
But yet beware the rod,
And the stroke of God."

Skelton felt deeply, or he could not, even with the king's secret favor, have braved Wolsey in his day of power with so bold a satire. In this poem he painted the condition of the court.

There was yet a third great satire, his "Colin Clout," which also denounced Wolsey, but of which the main purpose was to paint the condition of the country. Colin Clout represented in his poem the poor Englishman of the day, rustic or town-bred. The name blends the two forms of life: Colin is from "colonus" (tiller of the soil), whence clown; Clout, or Patch, sign of a sedentary calling, stands for the town mechanic, such as Bottom the Weaver, and his "crew of patches, base mechanicals." In Skeltonic verses, about equal in number to those of "Why Come ye Not to Court?" Colin Clout uttered his simple thought upon the troubles of the church, and all the evil that had come of the corruption of the bishops and high-churchmen. "That the people talk this, somewhat there is amiss," said Skelton. In this poem the reference to Wolsey was only incidental, and the desire was to sustain the church by showing what reform of discipline it needed if it was to "let Colin Clout have none manner of cause to moan." While bishops' mules eat gold, "their neighbors die for meat." Heresies multiply:

"Men hurt their souls.
Alas, for Goddes will,
Why sit ye, prelates, still,
And suffer all this ill?
Ye bishops of estates
Should open the broad gates

Of your spiritual charge
And come forth at large,
Like lanterns of light,
In the people's sight,
In pulpits awtentyke
For the weal publyke
Of priesthood in this case."

Colin Clout closed his rhyming with a prayer to Christ:

"Such grace that He us send
To rectify and amend
Things that are amiss
When that His pleasure is. Amen."

Among Skelton's other poems two have yet to be named. One of these was a coarse humorous piece upon the brewing or "Tunnyng of Elynour Rummyng," who kept an ale-house on a hill by Leatherhead, and became known to the courtiers of Henry VIII. when the court was at Nonsuch, about six miles off. The other poem was a morality play called "Magnificence."

2. For the next three poets of power in English literature, we pass from England to Scotland; and the first and greatest of these, **William Dunbar,** was an exact contemporary of Skelton. He was born at Lothian about the year 1460; and took his degree in arts at St. Andrews, in 1479. For a time he was a Franciscan or Grey Friar, and preached in England and in Picardy. In 1491 he was one of an embassy to France, a lettered priest acting as secretary under the Earl of Bothwell. After this he was abroad for some years in the King of Scotland's service, and then returned home and resided at the court of James IV., having a small pension of ten pounds Scots. He died in Scotland about 1530.

Dunbar was a small man, and was jested at in controversy as a dwarf. On one occasion, he seems to have accepted the degrading task of engaging in a word-battle with a fellow-poet, Walter Kennedy, for the amusement of lookers-on. The contest is commemorated in "The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy." But such work is altogether pitiful, and was unworthy to express the humanity and the noble genius of a great poet like William Dunbar, whom both Sir Walter Scott and George

Ellis placed at the head of Scottish poets. In the writings of Dunbar humor abounded, but it was the humor of a man essentially earnest. No poet from Chaucer till his own time equalled Dunbar in the range of genius. He could pass from broad jest to a pathos truer for its homeliness; he had a play of fancy reaching to the nobler heights of thought, a delicacy joined with a terse vigor of expression in short poems that put the grace of God into their worldly wisdom.

Of Dunbar's principal poems, the first is "The Golden Terge," written, probably, before the beginning of the sixteenth century. It is in stanzas of nine ten-syllabled lines, forming a peculiar measure allied to that of the balade, each stanza having a musical cadence of two rhymes thus interlaced, —a a b a a b b a b.

This poem also begins with the conventional May morning. The poet rose with the sun, saw the dew on the flowers, heard the songs of the birds, while a brook rushed, over pebbles and little waterfalls, among the bushes. The sound of the stream and song of the birds caused him to sleep on the flowers. In dream he then saw the river, over which there came swiftly towards him a sail, white as blossom, on a mast of gold, bright as the sun. A hundred ladies in green kirtles landed from the ship. Among them were Nature and Queen Venus, Aurora, Flora, and many more. May walked up and down in the garden between her sisters April and June, and Nature gave her a rich, painted gown. The ladies saluted Flora, and sang of love. Cupid and Mars, Saturn, Mercury, and other gods, were there, also playing and singing, all arrayed in green. The poet crept through the leaves to draw nearer, was spied by love's queen, and arrested. Then the ladies let fall their green mantles, and were armed against him with bows, but looked too pleasant to be terrible. Dame Beauty came against him, followed by the damsels Fair Having, Fine Portraiture, Pleasaunce, and Lusty Cheer. Then came Reason in plate and mail, as Mars armipotent, with the Golden Targe, or shield, to be his defender. Youth, Innocence, and other maids did no harm to the shield of Reason. Sweet Womanhood, with all her good company, Nurture and Loveliness, Patience, Good Fame and Steadfastness, Benign Look, Mild Cheer, Soberness, and others, found their darts powerless against the Golden Targe. High Degree failed also; Estate and Dignity, Riches, and others, loosed against him in vain a cloud of arrows. Venus then brought in allegorical recruits, and re-arranged her forces. But reason, with the Shield of Gold, sustained the shock, till Presence threw a powder in his eyes that blinded him. Then Reason was jested at, and banished into the greenwood. The poet was wounded nearly to the death, and in a moment was Dame Beauty's prisoner. Fair Calling smiled upon him: Cherishing fed him with fair words: Danger came to him, and delivered him to Heaviness. But then the wind began to blow, and all, flying to the ship, departed. As they went they fired guns, by which the poet was awakened to the renewed sense of the fresh May morning. This kind of invention is as old as "The Romaunt of the Rose," and Dunbar took it from Chaucer. Though Chaucer had been dead a hundred years, no poet had yet succeeded to his throne. The land was still "full filled with his songs." Gower and Lydgate were still named after him in courtly verse as the two other chief poets of the past: but of Chaucer men thought as Dunbar wrote in one of the closing stanzas of his "Golden Terge:"

> "O reverend Chaucer! rose of rhetoris all;
> As in our tongue ane flower imperial,
>   That raise in Britain ever who reads richt,
> Thou bears of makars the triúmph riall;
> Thy fresh enamellit termes celical
>   This matter could illuminat have full bricht:
>   Was thou nocht of our English all the licht,
> Surmounting every tongue terrestrial
>   Als far as Mayes morrow does midnicht."

In Dunbar's second great poem, "The Thistle and the Rose," he was still a follower of Chaucer, constructing his own work on a time-honored model. It was written in 1503, to celebrate the marriage which took place that year between King James IV. of Scotland and Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII. of England. It is essentially a court poem, in Chaucer's stanza, and planned to a form that had already become traditional in Chaucer's time.

Here, again, we have the May morning, and the poet sleeping in his bed, when Aurora looked in at his window, with a pale green face, and on her hand a lark, whose song bade lovers wake from slumber. Fresh May stood then before his bed, and bade the sluggard rise and write something in her honor. Why should he rise, he asked, for few birds sang, and May brought only cold and wind that caused him to forbear walking among her boughs? She smiled, and yet bade him rise to keep his promise that he would describe "the rose of most pleasaunce." So she departed into a fair garden: and it seemed to him that he went hastily after her, among the flowers, under the bright sunrise, where the birds sang for comfort of the light. They sang Hail to the May, Hail to the Morning, Hail to Princess Nature, before whom birds, beasts, flowers, and herbs were about to appear, "as they had wont in May from year to year," and pay due reverence. First of the beasts came the Lion, whom Dunbar's description pleasantly associated with the lion on the arms of Scotland. Nature, while crowning him, gave him a lesson in just rule. A like lesson she gave to the Eagle, when she crowned him King of Birds; and to the Thistle, who personified King James of Scotland, when she crowned him with ruby, and bade him defend all others in the field. Then came the poet's welcome of the Tudor Margaret, when Nature glorified her as the Rose, the freshest Queen of Flowers; and the poem closed with a song of hail and welcome to her from the merle, the lark, the nightingale; and from the common voice of the small birds, who, by their shrill chorus, woke the poet from his dream.

Thus far in Dunbar's work, we trace the tokens of his conscious apprenticeship to Chaucer; but in all his work after this point, we see proof that he has fully mastered his craft, and that he utters what is within him in a manner of his own. With vigorous homeliness in poetry, a certain coarseness was then often associated — coarseness which was not immorality, but consisted in plain utterance of truths belonging to the grosser side of life. This was common in Dunbar's humorous poetry. It was used with noble purpose in his third great poem, — "The Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins," written in 1507, a piece in which new life was given to the old forms of allegorical poetry by the genius of a master. On the festival night before Lent, Dunbar saw heaven and hell, in a trance; and it seemed to him that Mahoun called for a dance among the fiends. As the Seven Deadly Sins joined in the dancing, the allegorical description of each one became vivid with intensity of life, and was realized to the imaginations of the people by a profound earnestness expressed with playful humor. This poem was followed by one purely humorous, which described another of the sports called for by Mahoun, "The Joust between the Tailor and the Soutar" (shoemaker). And this, again, was followed by an ironical "Amends to the Tailors and Soutars," with the refrain, "Tailors and soutars, blest be ye!" which was but a new form of flyting. You tailors and soutars can shape anew a misfashioned man, cover with crafts a broken back, mend ill-made feet:

"In erd ye kyth sic miracles here
In heaven ye sall be sancts full clear,
Though ye be knaves in this countrie:
Tailors and soutars, blest be ye!"

To the same year, 1507, in which "The Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins" was written, belongs his "Lament for the Makars" (poets), written when the author lay dangerously ill. It is in musical four-lined stanzas, each ending with the refrain, "Timor mortis conturbat me" ("The fear of death disquiets me"). Warm with religious feeling and a sense of human fellowship, speaking high thought in homely phrase, with a true poet's blending of pathos and good-humor, it bows to the supremacy of death while Dunbar joins lament with kindly memories of poets who have died before him:

"And he has now ta'en last of aw
Gude gentle Stobo, and Quintine Schaw,
Of whom all wichtis has pitie:
Timor mortis conturbat me.

"Gude Maister Walter Kennedy
In point of deid lies verily;
Great ruth it were that so suld be:
Timor mortis conturbat me.

"Sen he has all my brether ta'en
He will not let me live alane:
On forse I maun his next prey be:
Timor mortis conturbat me.

"Sen for the death remeid is none,
Best is that we for death dispone,
After our death that live may we:
Timor mortis conturbat me."

3. Gavin Douglas, another Scottish poet, was somewhat younger than Dunbar. He was born about the year 1474, son of that Archibald, Earl of Angus, who was known as Bell-the-Cat. He was educated in Scotland and in France; he took holy orders, and in 1509 was made rector of Hawick; afterward, he became provost of St. Giles in Edinburgh. In 1513 he was nominated by Queen Margaret as Archbishop of St. Andrews. He took possession of the archbishop's palace, and was besieged in it by one of the other claimants; but a third claimant obtained the Pope's grant of the see, and Douglas yielded. The remaining disputants opposed armed followings to one another in the cathedral, but came to a compromise. In 1515 the bishopric of Dunkeld became vacant, and Queen and Pope both nominated Gavin Douglas to the see; but he was accused of procuring bulls from Rome, and was made to feel the authority of his old rival at St. Andrews, who imprisoned him for about a year. He was released when the Duke of Albany became regent; and he got his bishopric by David Beaton's mediation, although Andrew Steward did hold out against him, and fire on him from palace and cathedral. The new bishop carried his cathedral, like a fort, by force of arms, but without serious bloodshed. In 1521 the strife of parties compelled Gavin Douglas to take refuge in England. He was well received, and pensioned at the court of Henry VIII. In February, 1522, he was in Scotland declared a traitor. The revenues of his see were sequestrated, and the Pope was appealed to lest by chance there might be given to Douglas the archbishopric of St. Andrew's then again vacant. The office was given to some one else; and in the same year, 1522, Douglas died in London of the plague.

As a poet, Douglas is chiefly remembered for his English version of the "Æneid;" but he also wrote two original poems, "The Palace of Honor," and "King Hart." The former is a court poem dedicated to James IV.; is in the measure adopted by Dunbar in "The Golden Terge;" and is an allegory imitated in the usual way from poems that remained in fashion. On a May morning the poet entered a garden, swooned, and dreamed of a procession of Minerva and her court, Diana and her followers, Venus and all her train, with the court of the Muses, to the Palace of Honor. The palace was built on a high slippery rock with many paths, and but one leading to the summit. After much detail, classical and allegorical, after seeing the Muses cull flowers of rhetoric, Gavin Douglas awoke, wrote a lay in praise of Honor, and dedicated his poem to the king. Steady maintenance of right and duty, which runs through the literature of our country, is here, no doubt. We find it also in Gavin Douglas's better poem of "King Hart," an allegory of life, the Heart personified as Man.

It was in July, 1513, about two months before the battle of Flodden, in which the poet lost his two elder brothers, that he finished his complete "Translation of the Æneid" into heroic couplet. This is our earliest translation of the "Æneid," or of any Latin classic, into verse. It gave all the twelve books of Virgil, and joined to them a version of the supplementary thirteenth book added by Maphæus Vegius, a pious and clever author, native of Lodi, who died a canon of St. Peter's at Rome, in 1458. Gavin Douglas showed himself a poet with fresh energy, not only in his translation, which has the strength of simplicity, but also in original prologues that introduce the several books. He was ready also, even out of season, to mind his office as a clergyman, as when he translated the sybil into a nun who advised Æneas, the Trojan baron, to persevere in counting his beads.

4. **David Lindsay** was born about 1490, and inherited from his father an estate called "The Mount," in Fifeshire. He was four years at the University of St. Andrews; after study of books came, perhaps, study of men by travel; but Lindsay was soon in service at the Scottish court. When, on the 12th of April, 1512, the prince who became James V. was born, on the same day David Lindsay, aged about twenty-two, was one of those appointed to attend upon him. That appointment gave direction to the whole after-life of the poet. He devoted himself to the young prince through his infancy and childhood; and when the latter, as James V., aged sixteen years, succeeded in becoming his own master, Lindsay was by his side, and stood by him always as a faithful counsellor. In 1530 the poet was knighted, and made Lion King-at-Arms; and during the remainder of his life, which is supposed to have lasted until 1567, he bore a prominent part, in his sacred office as herald, in the chief transactions of the Scottish court, both at home and abroad; and was especially active, both by his writings and by his personal influence, in bringing about the Reformation in Scotland. His fame in our time has been quickened by the glowing description of him in Marmion:

"He was a man of middle age;
In aspect manly, grave, and sage,

As on king's errand come;
But in the glances of his eye,
A penetrating, keen, and sly
Expression found its home;
The flash of that satiric rage,
Which, bursting on the early stage,
Branded the vices of the age,
And broke the keys of Rome.

. . . . . .

Still is thy name in high account.
And still thy verse has charms,
Sir David Lindsay of the Mount,
Lord Lion King-at-Arms."

Never had king a poet-friend who preached to him more indefatigably than Lindsay preached to James V. He sought incessantly to use his genius as a poet and his influence as a friend, for the benefit alike of his king and his country. First, there was "Lindsay's Dream," the earliest of his longer works, written apparently in 1528, the first year of the king's independent rule. It contains 1,134 lines, and is throughout in Chaucer's stanza. In a prefatory epistle to the king, he reminded his master how

"Quhen thou wes young, I bure ye in myne arm,
Full tenderlie, tyll thou begouth to gang,
And in thy bed oft happit thee full warme;"

how he had been his playfellow in childhood, and had told him in his youth "of antique stories and deeds martial;" but now, he said, with the support of the King of Glory, he would tell a story altogether new. He told, in a prologue of the usual fashion, how, after he had lain sleepless in bed, he rose and went out, on a January morning, to the seashore, there climbed into a little cave high in a rock, and sat with pen and paper, meaning rhyme. But instead of rhyming, he wrapped himself well up, and after a wakeful night, was lulled to sleep by the sound of the waves, which he had been comparing to this false world's instability. "Heir endis the prolong, and followis the dreme."

In his dream, he was taken by a guide, Dame Remembrance, first to hell, and then to heaven; and on his return toward earth, he asked about Paradise, and passed, with a significant transition, from Paradise to Scotland. Scotland, at his request, was shown to him by Dame Remembrance, and when he saw that it was a fair country, he says, "I did propone ane lytill questioun:

> 'Quhat is the cause our boundës ben so bair?'
> Quod I; 'or quhate does mufe our miserie;
> Or quareof does proceëd our pourtie?'"

Scotland had natural wealth, and a people both ingenious and strong to endure. Lindsay asked, therefore, to be told "the principal cause wherefore we are so poor." The answer to this question brought him to the purpose of his poem, as a warning to James V., now master of his realm. Remembrance said, "The fault is not—I dare well take on hand—nother in to the peple nor the land. The want is of justice, policy, and peace." "Why then," asked Lindsay, "do we want justice and policy more than they are wanted by France, Italy, or England?" "Quod sche: 'I fynd the falt in to the heid. For they in whom does lie our whole relief, I find them root and ground of all our grief.'" "The poverty of the nation comes," said Remembrance, "from the negligence and insolence of infatuate chiefs,

> "Hauand small ee unto the common weill,
> Bot to thare singulare proffect euerilk deill."

As Lindsay and his guide thus talked, there came a lean and ragged man, with scrip on hip and pikestaff in his hand, as one who is leaving home. This was the well-being of Scotland, John the Common Weal. Few cared for him, he said, in Scotland; the spiritual estate never paid heed to his complaint, and among the laity there was nought else but each man for himself; so John the Common Weal must leave the land. "But when will you come back again?" asked Lindsay.

> "'That questionn, it sall be sone desydit,'
> Quod he: 'there sall na Scot have comfortying
> Off me, tyll that I see the countre gydit
> Be wysedome of ane gude auld prudent kyng,
> Quhilk sall delyte him maist, above all thyng,
> To put justice tyll executioun,
> And on strang traitouris mak puneisioun.
> Als yit to the I say ane uther thyng:
> I se, rycht weill, that prouerbe is full trew:
> Wo to the realme that hes ouër young ane kyng.'"

Lindsay's next poem was "The Complaint," also addressed to the king, and written probably in 1529, the year of Skelton's death, soon after James escaped from thraldom. It is in 510 lines of octosyllabic rhyme, and professed to complain, that, now the king was his own master, greedy men sought and had gifts from him, while his old friend "Da Lyn" was overlooked. He again reminded the king of his own early and affectionate devotion to him:

"How as ane chapman beris his pack
I bure thy grace upon my back,
And sumtymes stridlingis on my nek,
Dansand with money bend and bek;
The first sillabis that thou did mute
Was 'Pa—Da—Lyn.' Upon the lute
Then playit I twenty springis perqueir
Quhilk was great plesour for to heir;
Fra play thou leit me never rest,
But 'Gynkertoun' thou luffit ay best;
And ay, quhen thow come fra the scuel
Then I behaffit to play the fule."

In this poem, Lindsay chiefly recalled with strong censure the history of the "erection" of the young king at the age of twelve by new rulers, "for commoun weill makand no cair," and what Lindsay regarded as the wilful endeavor of those who then possessed him to corrupt and cheat him by base flatteries and allurements to a self-indulgence that would make him weakly subject to their will. The prelates who then ruled should have shamed to take the name of spiritual priests:

"For Esyas in to his wark
Calles thame lyke doggis that can nocht bark,
That callit ar preistis, and can nocht preche,
Nor Christis law to the people teche.
Geve for to preche bene thare professioun,
Quhy sulde thay mell with court or sessioun,
Except it war in spirituall thyngis."

There was discord among great lords, till suddenly the king escaped:

'Then rais ane reik, or ever I wyste,
The quhilk gart all thare bandës bryste:
Than thay allone quhilk had the gyding,
Thay could nocht keip thare feit frome slyding;
Bot of thare lyffës thay had sic dreid,
That thay war faine tyll trott over Tweid."

John Upland was blithe, said Lindsay, to see order restored; but it had yet to be restored in the spiritualty. The king was admonished, therefore, to have an eye to the clergy, and make their lives better conform to their vocation, make them preach earnestly, and leave their vain traditions, which deceived the simple sheep for whom Christ shed his blood,

> "As superstitious pylgramagis
> Prayand to gravin ymagis,
> Expres againis the Lordis command."

Sir David Lindsay has been rightly called the poet of the Scottish Reformation; but the reformation sought by him in the most active years of his life was far more social than doctrinal. He had bitter cause to direct the king's attention to the pride of prelates who, in the year of the king's escape from the hands of Angus, first lighted a martyr fire in Scotland. It was rare in Scotland to hear any preaching, except from the Black and Gray Friars. George Crichton, who succeeded the scholar and poet, Gavin Douglas, as Bishop of Dunkeld, once thanked God that he knew neither the Old Testament nor the New, but only his breviary and his pontifical. For this he passed into a proverb with the people, who would say, "Ye are like the Bishop of Dunkeld, that knew neither the new law nor the old." But when Tyndal's New Testament was ready, traders from Leith, Dundee, and Montrose, smuggled copies of it into Scotland; Lutheran opinions spread; and on the 29th of February, 1528, young Patrick Hamilton, not twenty-five years old, born of a good Scottish house, an abbot and a scholar, who had learned to think in Paris and in Germany, was burnt for his religion at St. Andrews. In the midst of the flames he was called upon by some spectator, if he still held to his faith, to give a last sign of his constancy. At once he raised three fingers of his half-burnt hand, and held them raised until he died. Each fagot kindled a new fire of zeal. "Gif ye burn more," said a friend to one of the bishops, "let them be burnt in the cellars, for the reik of Mr. Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it did blow upon." Calvin was then only nineteen years old, John Knox but three and twenty.

Lindsay's "Complaint" was followed, in 1530, by "The Testament of the Papingo," or Popinjay, in 1,183 lines of Chaucer's stanza, a Scottish "Speak, Parrot." In 1535, Lindsay produced in the play-field at Cupar the most interesting of his works, the morality-play called "A Satire of the Three Estates." In 1536, he wrote for the king two little pieces. One was in "Answer to the King's Flyting," a playful warning answer to the king's attack on his strict preaching of continence. The other was a "Complaint and Public Confession of the King's Old Hound, Bagsche." Within the next three or four years, he wrote "The Deploration of Queen Magdalene;" "The Jousting of James Watson and John Barbour;" also a satire on the long trains worn by ladies, "Ane Supplicatioun against Side Taillis;" and "Kittie's Confession," an attack on the confessional. Its doctrine is:

> "To the great God omnipotent
> Confess thy sin, and sore repent,
> And trust in Christ, as writis Paul,
> Who shed His blood to save thy soul;
> For none can thee absolve but He,
> Nor take away thy sin from thee."

In 1546, he wrote a poem on the murder of Cardinal Beaton; at about the same time, also, his "History of Squire William Meldrum,"—the best of his lighter strains; and in 1553, he finished his last and longest work, and one supremely grave—"The Monarchie; a Dialogue betwixt Experience and a Courtier, of the Miserable Estate of the World." The first line of its Epistle to the Reader called it a "lytil quair of mater miserabyll." There was, alas, no king to dedicate it to; but it was submitted to the rulers and priests, praying them to Christianize the laws, and remember that Scotland suffered war, famine, and pestilence, for sin. The Word of God must be taught, and the people repent of sin, before their enemies could have no might against the Christian banner. He divided his poem into a prologue and four books.

David Lindsay was a poet of the same national type as John Gower. He had not the artistic genius of Dunbar, as Gower had not the artistic genius of Chaucer; but Gower and Lindsay had a like sense of God and duty, a depth of earnestness that was itself a power, a practical aim, and a directness in pursuit of it, that caused each in didactic poetry to "write the ills he saw." The points of difference are manifest; especially there was in Lindsay a vein of humor, which also belongs to the people whom he represented, but of which Gower seems to have had less than his share.

5. A writer on English poetry, in 1589, says that in the latter end of Henry VIII.'s reign "sprang up a new company of courtly makers, of whom Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, and Henry Earl of Surrey, were the two chieftains; who, having travelled into Italy, and there tasted the sweet and stately measures and style of the Italian poesy, as novices newly crept out of the schools of Dante, Ariosto, and Petrarch, they greatly polished our rude and homely manner of vulgar poesy" — i.e., poetry in the language of the people — "from that it had been before, and for that cause may justly be said to be the first reformers of our English metre and style."

Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder was born in 1503, at Allington Castle, in Kent, son of Sir Henry Wyatt, who was high in the king's favor, and who died in 1538. Thomas Wyatt entered St. John's College, Cambridge, at the age of twelve; took his Bachelor of Arts degree at fifteen; and was Master of Arts at seventeen. He became a gentleman of the king's bedchamber, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Brook of Cobham. In 1533, he was ewerer at the coronation of his friend, Anne Boleyn. In 1537 he was knighted. He was tall and handsome; his friend Surrey praised his form as one where "force and beauty met." He was skilled in exercise of arms, spoke French, Italian, and Spanish, was apt at kindly repartee, played on the lute, and at the age of five and twenty had been honored by Leland as the most accomplished poet of his time. The king found pleasure in his conversation. Soon after a short imprisonment in the Tower during the king's pleasure, Sir Thomas Wyatt was sent as ambassador to the Emperor Charles, in Spain, and did not obtain until April, 1539, the recall he wished for. He had to deal with the personal questions between the two sovereigns arising out of the divorce of Queen Katherine; the position of her daughter, the Princess Mary; and the birth of Jane Seymour's son, Edward, afterwards King Edward VI., in the autumn of 1537. There was also the argument of the King of England's next marriage after the death of Jane Seymour. There was also the war between Charles V. and Francis I., closed by the Peace of Nice, in 1538, during Wyatt's tenure of office as English ambassador in Spain.

Wyatt followed the emperor, posted to England, was wise and active, but too good a man for diplomatic work in which he was not free to be true.

From Spain, Wyatt wrote earnest letters to his son, on the model of Seneca's epistles. Here are a few sentences from them: "Make God and goodness your foundations. Make your examples of wise and honest men; shoot at that mark. Be no mocker; mocks follow them that delight therein. He shall be sure of shame that feeleth no grief in other men's shames. Have your friends in a reverence; and think unkindness to be the greatest offence, and least punished, among men; but so much the more to be dread, for God is justicer upon that alone. . . . If you will seem honest, be honest; or else seem as you are."

In 1540, Wyatt had returned to his home at Allington. In that year came the fall of Thomas Cromwell, and after this Sir Thomas Wyatt, who had been one of Cromwell's friends, was sent in the winter of 1540–41 to the Tower, charged with disrespect to the king, and traitorous correspondence with Cardinal Pole. There he wrote:

> "Sighs are my food; my drink they are my tears;
>   Clinking of fetters such music would crave;
> Stink and close air away my life wears;
>   Innocency is all the hope I have.
> Rain, wind, or weather I judge by mine ears;
>   Malice assaults that righteousness should have.
> Sure I am, Bryan, this wound shall heal again;
> But yet, alas! the scar shall still remain."

About June, 1541, Wyatt was tried and acquitted. In July the king made some amends to him by a grant of lands in Lambeth, and he showed him afterwards substantial kindness. Sir Thomas Wyatt went again to Allington, attended personally to the education of a nephew, wrote a rhymed "Paraphrase of the Seven Penitential Psalms," with a prologue of his own before each of them, and wrote also, in terza rima, three noble satires, two imitated from Persius and Horace, and one freely translated from the Italian. The first and second were addressed to his friend, John Poyntz, (1.) "of the mean and sure estate,"—

a new elaboration from Horace (Sat. ii. 6) of the story of the town and country mouse; (2.) of the courtier's life, from the Italian of Alamanni; (3.) to Sir Francis Bryan, entitled, "How to Use the Court, and Himself Therein," a paraphrase of a satire of Horace (Sat. ii. 5), wherein, following Horace closely and bitterly, Wyatt applied to court life the principles of Macchiavelli:

> "Use virtue as it goeth nowadays
> In word alone, to make thy language sweet,
> And of thy deed yet do not as thou says,
> Else, be thou sure, thou shalt be far unmeet
> To get thy bread."

His second satire, a free translation from Alamanni, told his friend why he sought to fly the press of courts, and live at home:

> "My Poyntz, I cannot frame my tongue to feign—
> To cloke the truth for praise, without desart,
> Of them that lust all vices to retain.
> I cannot honour them that set their part
> With Venus and Bacchus all their life long;
> Nor hold my peace of them, although I smart.
> I cannot crouch or kneel to such a wrong,
> To worship them as God on earth alone
> That are like wolves these sely lambs among.
> I cannot with my words complain, and moan,
> And suffer nought; nor smart without complaint;
> Nor turn the word that from my mouth is gone.
> . . . .
> I am not he that can allow the state
> Of high Cæsar, and doom Cato to die,
> That by his death did scape out of the gate
> From Cæsar's hands, if Livy doth not lie,
> And would not live where liberty was lost:
> So did his heart the common weal apply."

In these adaptations from Italian and Latin, Wyatt unconsciously was summing up his life towards its close. In the autumn of 1542, Henry VIII. was plotting with Charles V. war against Francis I. Charles sent an ambassador to England. Sir Thomas Wyatt was ordered to meet him at Falmouth, and bring him to London. Wyatt rode fast in bad weather, was seized with a fever on his way, and died at Sherborne, only thirty-nine years old. His friend, John Leland, published Latin "Næniæ" (funeral songs) upon his death. His friend, the Earl of Surrey, then aged about twenty-five, mourned his loss in a little elegy, and drew his portrait, flattered, of course, but true to the main features, in a few stanzas, of which these are three:

> "A visage stern and mild; where both did grow
> Vice to contemn, in virtue to rejoice:
> Amid great storms, whom grace assured so,
> To live upright, and smile at Fortune's choice.
>
> . . . .
>
> "A tongue that served in foreign realms his king;
> Whose courteous talk to virtue did inflame
> Each noble heart; a worthy guide to bring
> Our English youth by travail unto fame.
>
> . . . .
>
> "A heart where dread was never so imprest
> To hide the thought that might the truth advance;
> In neither fortune loft nor yet represt,
> To swell in wealth or yield unto mischance."

Wyatt's songs and sonnets, balades, rondeaux, complaints, and other little poems, closely and delicately imitate, with great variety of music, the forms fashionable in his time among poets of Italy and France. His sonnets, accurate in their structure, are chiefly translated from Petrarch; many of his epigrams are borrowed from the "Strambotti" (fantastic conceits) of Serafino d'Aquila, a Neapolitan poet; and his three satires are in imitation of the satires, in terza rima, of Alamanni, a Florentine poet. The longest of Wyatt's amatory odes were taken from two canzoni of Petrarch. With all this, there is evidence in Wyatt's poetry of strain for ingenuity of word and phrase, for the *concetti* or ingenious conceits which had been developed in Italian literature by imitators of Petrarch, and which had even begun to form a part of polite conversation in the chief Italian cities. Wyatt is to be remembered as the introducer of the true sonnet into English literature. His friend and fellow-poet, the Earl of Surrey, is generally spoken of as sharing with him in this service; but the credit of it is due especially to Wyatt, not only as the elder man and earlier writer, but as the one of the two who alone gave accurate models of the structure of that form of poem. Surrey did not take the trouble to observe the rule of rhyming in the octave of two quatrains and the sestette of two terzettes which constitute the typical Italian sonnet; and his rhymes do not once accord with the system from which Petrarch hardly more than once departed, even in a slight degree. The true sonnet consists of two quatrains and two terzettes. In the two quatrains forming the first eight lines there are only two rhymes, with their order fixed for the first quatrain, where it is a b b a, but not for the second. These quatrains open the subject. The expression of the thought for which the sonnet is written falls within the two terzettes: here vigor of expression is less cramped by restriction in the rhyming; while there are but six lines there are three rhymes, and they may be arranged at the discretion of the poet, energy of expression being at its height in the last line. Although Surrey's sonnets are in fourteen lines, and closely imitate Petrarch's forms of thought, yet as to their mechanism they are all at fault. Wyatt studied the form of the verse before he imitated, and the true sonnet was introduced into our literature by him alone.

6. **Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey,** born about 1517, was eldest son of the Duke of Norfolk. He was cupbearer to the king in 1526; and in 1533, when Wyatt, aged thirty, served as ewerer at the coronation of Anne Boleyn, the Earl of Surrey, aged about sixteen, carried one of the swords before the king. Early in 1532 he had been contracted in marriage to the Lady Frances Vere, daughter to John, Earl of Oxford. He was married to her in 1535, at the age of about eighteen. Early in 1542, Queen Catherine Howard, a cousin of Surrey's, whom the king married within a fortnight after his divorce from Anne of Cleves, was executed in the Tower; but on the following St. George's Day, Surrey was made a Knight of the Garter. In July of the same year, the Earl of Surrey was imprisoned in the Fleet for seeking fight with a gentleman of Middlesex, an offence which he admitted, and ascribed to "the fury of reckless youth." He was released early in August, and crossed the border with his father, who had command of that expedition against Scotland which clouded with disaster the last hours of the Scottish James V.

In 1543, after his return from that expedition, Surrey was summoned before the Privy Council on a charge laid against him by the mayor, recorder, and corporation of London, for going about the streets at midnight in unseemly manner, with two companions, breaking windows of the citizens with stonebows. He pleaded guilty, and was sent to the Fleet Prison. There he wrote a whimsical little "Satire against the Citizens of London," arguing that his object was to warn them of their sins, and, since preaching failed,

"By unknown means it likëd me
My hidden burthen to express,
Whereby it might appear to thee
  That secret sin hath secret spite;
From justice' rod no fault is free,
  But that all such as work unright
In most quiet are next ill rest:
  In secret silence of the night
This made me with a reckless breast
To wake thy sluggards with my bow."

After a sufficient penance in the Fleet, he was during the following two years much engaged in military service on the Continent; finally, on the 12th of December, 1546, both he and his father were arrested, and sent, one by land, the other by water, to the Tower. They were of royal blood, and could be ruined easily by the suggestion to King Henry of any shadow of suspicion that after his death they might aspire to the throne during the minority of his son Edward. Mainly upon a question of the royal quartering in his arms, as he had borne them for years with assent of the heralds, the Earl of Surrey was condemned to death as a traitor. His death-warrant was nearly the last signed by Henry VIII.; signed with a stamp, since the dying king was himself become unable to write. Surrey was but thirty years old when he was beheaded on Tower Hill, on the 21st of January, 1547, and the king died within a week, leaving the Duke of Norfolk's death-warrant unsigned.

Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, was impetuous and lively, less inclined than Sir Thomas Wyatt to side with the church reformers, but liberal of mind, bold, frank, incapable of subterfuge or falsehood. His "Paraphrases" of the first five chapters of Ecclesiastes, and of the eighth, fifty-fifth, seventy-third, and eighty-eighth Psalms, show the religious side of his English character. The paraphrases of the Psalms were made, as a little poem tells, when justice had impressed him with some error of his reckless youth, and

> "Began to work despair of liberty,
> Had not David the perfect warrior taught
> That of my fault thus pardon should be sought."

Surrey's complaints, sonnets, and other poems in the Italian manner, all of love, are more various in their interest but less various in their music than those of Wyatt, and contain a few touches of mirth, as in the pleasant poem of "A Careless Man Scorning and Describing the Subtle Usage of Women towards their Lovers," which ends thus:

> "Lord! what abuse is this; who can such women praise,
> That for their glory do devise to use such crafty ways?
> I that among the rest do sit and mark the row,
> Find that in her is greater craft than is in twenty mo';
> Whose tender years, alas! with wiles so well are sped,
> What will she do when hoary hairs are powdered in her head?"

Surrey's special distinction in our literature is as the introducer of English blank verse. He translated two books of the "Æneid," the second and fourth, into ten-syllabled lines of metre without rhyme, and this experiment was founded upon one of the new fashions in Italian literature. The taste for unrhymed verses, called "versi sciolti" (untied or free verses) was new even in Italy. In Tuscan literature, unrhymed verse existed, indeed, at the outset. It has been said that the prose of Boccaccio in the "Decameron" was largely intermixed with "versi sciolti," not distinguished from prose in the writing, or afterwards in the printing. But the Tuscans had almost ceased to use it, when, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, it re-appeared with the new birth of the drama. It was used by Ariosto in his comedies; by Trissino, in his tragedy of "Sofonisba;" by Alamanni, in his elegies; and particularly by the Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, in his version of the same two books of Virgil that were translated by Surrey.

All this was known to Surrey, as a reader of the best Italian literature of his time. In his translation there are passages which seem to show that he was acquainted with Gavin Douglas's version of the "Æneid" into heroic couplet, although that work was not printed till 1553. Nor were any of the poems of Wyatt or Surrey printed before the death of Henry VIII. They were handed about and read in written copies. The first collection of them in print was made, we shall find, with verse of other poets of less mark, in 1557.

7. We have now to pay some attention to the poets of less note, who belong to the first half of the sixteenth century.

One of these, **Alexander Barclay**, whose place and date of birth are unknown, was of Oriel College, Oxford. After leaving college he travelled abroad, and then became one of the priests of the College of St. Mary Ottery, in Devonshire. He was afterwards a Benedictine monk of Ely, then among the Franciscans of Canterbury. In 1546 he obtained the livings of Baddow Magna, in Essex, and of Wokey, in Somersetshire; and he had also the living of All Saints, in Lombard Street, when he died, an old man, at Croydon, in 1552. He translated from some of the best authors of the Continent; and the most famous of his translations was that of Sebastian Brandt's "Narrenschiff," done into Chaucer's stanza, with an occasional variation, and published in 1508, with some additional home-thrusts of his own, as Barclay's "Ship of Fools." Brandt called his book "The Ship of Fools" because no cart or coach was big enough to hold them all. The ship once ready, there was a great thronging for berths in her; but nobody was admitted who had sense enough to call himself a fool. Whoever set up for a wit was welcome. One hundred and thirteen forms of folly were at last entered, with Brandt himself for their leader, as the Bookish Fool, who had many books, and was continually buying others, which he neither read nor understood. Various forms of human folly, among misers and spendthrifts, laborers, gamblers, beggars, huntsmen, cooks, etc., were passed in good-humored satirical review, with incidental bits of counsel upon the training of children and other subjects. The book was rhymed with homely vigor, and many a proverbial phrase in the Alsatian dialect; it had, therefore, wide currency as a picture of manners, and a wholesome satire on the follies of the day. It went through many editions; was translated into French in 1497; and, while still in the first flush of its fame, was also translated into English as "The Ship of Fools" by Alexander Barclay, then signing himself priest and chaplain in the College of St. Mary Ottery.

Other writings of Barclay's are his "Egloges," being moral and satirical rather than bucolic; and "A Ryght Fruteful Treatyse intituled the Mirror of Good Maners," being translated from a Latin poem by Mancini.

8. Another English poet of the reign of Henry VII. was **Stephen Hawes**, a Suffolk man. Like Barclay, he was educated at Oxford, and then travelled. He was well read in the poets of England, France, and Italy; could repeat much of the verse of Lydgate, whom he called especially his master; and, perhaps for his good knowledge of French, was made by Henry VII. groom of the privy chamber. Like Barclay, Stephen Hawes was a poet without independent genius, a clever man who took delight in literature, and was active with his pen. In 1500 his "Temple of Glass," an imitation of Chaucer's "House of Fame," was printed by Wynken de Worde. His chief work, finished in 1506, was "The Pastime of Pleasure; or, the History of Graund Amoure and La Bel Pucell: containing the Knowledge of the Seven Sciences and the Course of Man's Life in this World. Invented by Stephen Hawes, groom of King Henry VII. his chamber." It is an allegory of the old form, chiefly in Chaucer's stanza.

Among the other books by Stephen Hawes was a "Conversion of Swearers," printed in 1509. He wrote also in verse, "A Joyful Meditation of All England," on the coronation of King Henry VIII.

9. William Roy, a Minorite friar educated at Cambridge, who had aided Tyndal in his translation of the New Testament, published at Strasburg, in 1528, a satire in verse known as "The Burying of the Mass," with "Rede me and be not wroth" for the first words upon its titlepage, and a woodcut of a satirical shield of arms with two fiends as supporters, for Wolsey, who is styled "the vile butcher's son" and "the proud cardinal." It contains axes to signify cruelty, bulls' heads for sturdy furiousness, a club for tyranny, and in the centre a figure described as

"The mastiff cur bred in Ipswich town
Gnawing with his teeth a kingës crown."

The arms have this couplet above them, signifying Wolsey's pride:

"I will ascend, making my state so high
That my pompous honor shall never die;"

and these below:

"O caitiff, when thou thinkest least of all,
With confusion thou shalt have a fall."

10. Near the middle of the sixteenth century, the Scottish reformers completed "A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs, collected out of sundrie parts of Scripture, with sundrie of other ballates changed out of prophaine sangis," and set the best of the gay tunes to new words, breathing love of God or defiance of the Pope, in this fashion:

"The paip, that pagane full of pryd,
Hee hes us blinded lang;
For where the blind the blind doe gyde,
No wonder both goe wrang.
Of all iniquitie,
Like prince and king, hee led the ring.
Hay trix, trim goe trix, under the greenwode tree."

11. We have already traced the introduction of miracle-plays, first in Latin, then in English. We must now attend to a new kind of play called the "**Morality-Play,**" first performed in England during the first half of the fifteenth century, but not rendered thoroughly popular there until the period now under consideration.

The morality-play does not represent a transition from the miracle-play to the true drama. Miracle-plays remained miracle-plays, and were still acted. The morality-play was simply an additional form of dramatic writing and acting. Its peculiarity is this; while the characters in the miracle-play are real persons, as God, Angels, Satan, Adam, Eve, Noah, Peter, and so forth, the characters in the morality-play are allegorical persons, — that is, moral qualities personified, — as Faith, Hope, Charity, Conceit, Sober Sadness, Magnificence, and so forth.

The best examples of the morality-play belong to the reign of Henry VIII., and are the "Magnificence" by John Skelton, and "A Satire of the Three Estates" by Sir David Lindsay. In those days, morality-plays were planned by men who sought the reformation of abuses; they helped them to express or form opinions of the people. Their personification of the virtues and vices in action could be used for an appeal to the people on great public questions in debate among them.

12. Of the two morality-plays just mentioned as the best of their kind, that by **Skelton** is in verse both humorous and earnest. It showed how Felicity argued with Liberty, who was over-impatient of restraint; how Measure, entering, set forth that "Liberty without Measure proveth a thing of nought;" how wealthful Felicity and Liberty allowed Measure to guide them, and resolved that

> "There is no prince but he hath need of us three, —
> Wealth, with Measure, and pleasant Liberty."

Magnificence then entered, and took them discreetly for companions, but was presently beguiled by the vice Fancy, and practised upon by Fancy himself, under the name of the virtue Largeness, and by the vices Counterfeit Countenance, Crafty Conveyance, Cloaked Collusion, Courtly Abusion, and Folly, under the names of Good Demeanaunce, Surveyance, Sober Sadness, Pleasure, and Conceit. They separated Magnificence from Measure, Liberty, and Felicity; then left him to be beaten down by the blows of Adversity. He was next visited by Poverty, mocked by the vices that betrayed him, and left to give entrance to Despair. Upon Despair followed Mischief, and fallen Magnificence was about to slay himself, when Good Hope entering put to flight those tempters, arrested the sword, and told the sufferer that his physician is the Grace of God. Then came Redress and Sad Circumspection; and finally, by help of Perseverance, he rose to a higher than his old estate, after he had been taught

> "How suddenly worldly wealth doth decay;
> How wisdom, through wantonness, vanisheth away;
> How none estate living of himself can be sure,
> For the wealth of this world cannot endure."

13. Lindsay's morality-play, "A Satire of the Three Estates," is by far the more important. This was a public setting forth of the condition of the country, with distinct and practical suggestion of the reforms needed. On one occasion, in 1540, at the Feast of Epiphany, King James V. of Scotland had this play acted at Linlithgow, before himself and his queen, and the whole council, temporal and spiritual. At the end of the piece James warned some of the bishops who were present, that, if they did not take heed, he would send some of the proudest of them to be dealt with by his uncle of England.

14. The rise of the modern drama, however, was not from a modification either of the miracle-plays, or of the morality-plays, but came, with the revival of letters, almost everywhere from imitation of the Latin dramatists. First, they were imitations actually written in Latin; afterward, they were imitations written in the language of the people for whom they were intended. Such was the case with the rise of the drama in England; and there the first example of true dramatic writing in English was a comedy.

15. There can be no doubt that the first known English comedy, although not printed until 1566, was produced in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. Its author was **Nicholas Udall,** born in Hampshire, in 1505 or 1506. In 1520 he was admitted a scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he took his degree of M.A. in 1534. He became in succession master of Eton School, vicar of Braintree, prebendary of Windsor, and master of Westminster School; he wrote translations from Erasmus and Peter Martyr; he was at one time very active as a preacher; and he died in 1564.

He seems to have had a strong fondness for the writing of plays. In 1532, he assisted in writing "The Pageant" exhibited by the mayor and citizens of London when Anne Boleyn entered the city after her marriage. Udall was at that time a schoolmaster. In 1533 he published, and dedicated to his boys, "Floures for Latin Spekynge," selected and gathered out of Terence, and the same translated into English. The selections were made from the first three comedies of Terence. In 1534, Udall, who was highly esteemed for his scholarship, was made head master of Eton School; and in 1538 appeared a newly-corrected edition of his "Flowers for Latin Speaking," enlarged from 110 to 192 pages. It was the custom at Eton for the boys to act at Christmas some Latin stage-play, chosen or written for them by the master. Among the writings ascribed to Udall about the year 1540 were several Latin comedies, and a tragedy on the Papacy, written probably to be acted by his scholars. When it occurred to him to write for his boys an English comedy, wherein, as its Prologue says,

> "All scurrility we utterly refuse,
> Avoiding such mirth wherein is abuse,"

and avowedly following Plautus and Terence, "which among the learned at this day bears the bell," he produced what is, as far as we know, the first English comedy. Its name is "Ralph Roister Doister," and it professed to be a wholesome jest against vain-glory.

The name of this comedy is derived from its chief character, a swaggering simpleton, a feeble conceited fop of the days of Henry VIII., who is played upon and lived upon by Matthew Merrygreek, a needy humorist. The jest of the play was in the absurdities of Ralph's suit to Dame Christian Custance, "a widow with a thousand pound," already betrothed to a merchant, Gavin Goodluck, away at sea. The play, in lively rhyming couplets, interspersed with a few merry songs, was written with so good a sense of the reverence due to boys that it may be read by boys of the present day. The incidents provided good matter for merry acting, with an occasional burst of active fun, as in a brisk battle lost by Ralph and his men to Custance and her women, armed with broomsticks. The comedy showed also its origin in a schoolmaster, by including a good lesson on the importance of right pauses in reading. A love-letter sent by Ralph to Dame Christian Custance was read to her, with its sense reversed by putting the stops in the wrong places, thus:

> "Now by these presents I do you advertise
> That I am minded to marry you in no wise.
> For your goods and substance I could be content
> To take you as ye are. If ye mind to be my wife,
> Ye shall be assured for the time of my life

I will keep ye right well from good raiment and fare;
Ye shall not be kept but in sorrow and care.
Ye shall in no wise live at your own liberty;
Do and say what ye lust, ye shall never please me;
But when ye are merry, I will be all sad;
When ye are sorry, I will be very glad;
When ye seek your heart's ease, I will be unkind;
At no time in me shall ye much gentleness find;"

and so forth, all reversible by change of punctuation.

16. Early in the reign of Henry VIII. was introduced a splendid and courtly dramatic entertainment, called the "**Masque,**" which, a hundred years later, under Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones, reached great perfection, and an extraordinary favor among the nobility and royal family of England.

Even so early as the reign of Edward III. a dramatic entertainment called a "Disguising" had formed part of the pleasures of the court. In a "Disguising," the performers wore merely peculiar costume; in a "Masque," besides that, they also covered the face.

The Masque was introduced from Italy; its characters were taken by lords and ladies; and from the time of Henry VIII. to that of Charles I., it was an important feature in court entertainments. The chronicler Edward Hall has recorded that, at Greenwich, in 1512, "on the day of the Epiphany at night, the king, with eleven others, was disguised after the manner of Italy, called a Masque, a thing not seen before in England; they were apparelled in garments long and broad, wrought all with gold, with visors and caps of gold. And after the banquet done, these masquers came in with six gentlemen disguised in silk, bearing staff torches, and desired the ladies to dance; some were content, and some refused; and after they had danced and communed together, as the fashion of the Masque is, they took their leave, and departed." Holinshed has described a Masque at Greenwich in Henry VIII.'s time, with mechanical contrivances, and action in dumb show. A castle was built in the hall of the palace, with towers, gates, battlements, and mimic preparations for a siege. It was inscribed on the front "Le Fortresse Dangereux." Six ladies, clothed in russet satin overlaid with leaves of gold, and with gold coifs and caps, looked from the castle windows. The castle was so made that it could be moved about the hall for admiration by the company. Then entered the king with five knights in embroidered vestments, spangled and plaited with gold. They besieged the castle until the ladies surrendered, and came out to dance with them. The ladies then led the knights into the castle, which immediately vanished, and the company retired.

17. Another form of entertainment, "after banquet done," or between meat and the banquet or dessert, was the "**Interlude.**" This was satire in dialogue, ingeniously written for the entertainment of the company, and spoken by persons who assumed different characters; but there was no working out of a dramatic fable. This entertainment had long been popular in Spain, in Italy, and in France: and in the latter country it had been freely used for political and social satire.

In England it appears first to have come into vogue in the time of Henry VIII., when **John Heywood** acquired considerable distinction as a writer of Interludes. He was born perhaps at North Mims, in Hertfordshire, where afterwards he certainly had a home. He was opposed to Lutheranism; and his friendship for Sir Thomas More having brought him into the king's favor, he retained it by his wit. He remained at court when Edward VI. was king, and under Queen Mary, for whom, when a young princess, he had shown a particular respect: but on the accession of Elizabeth he went abroad, and died at Mechlin, in 1565. Besides his Interludes, John Heywood wrote six hundred epigrams.

Of the Interludes written by him and performed at the court of Henry VIII., two were printed in 1532: "The Play of Love; or, a New and a very Mery Enterlude of all Maner Weathers;" and "A Mery Play between the Pardoner and the Frere, the Curate and Neybour Pratte." One published in 1535 was called "Of Gentylnes and Nobylyte: a Dyaloge between the Marchaunt, the Knyght, and the Plowman, compiled in maner of an Enterlude, with divers Toys and Gestis added thereto to make Mery Pastyme and Disport." Of another, published without date, and called "The Foure P's: a very

Mery Enterlude of a Palmer, a Pardoner, a Potecary, and a Pedlar,'' the jest was, that after each had shown his humors — and here Heywood, although firm to the old Church, wrote as contemptuously as Sir David Lindsay of the Pardoner's traffic — first rank was to be adjudged by the Pedlar to whichever of his three companions excelled in lying, since that was, in the way of business, common to all. The Palmer won with this:

"And this I would ye should understand,
I have seen women five hundred thousand;
And oft with them have some time tarried.
Yet in all places where I have been,
Of all the women that I have seen,
I never saw nor knew, in my conscience,
Any one woman out of patience."

PART IV.

MODERN ENGLISH:

1550 to the Present.

ENGLISH LITERATURE.

SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

LATIN-WRITERS.

Sir John Cheke.
Sir Thomas Smith.
Matthew Parker.
John Jewel.
Gabriel Harvey.
George Buchanan.

TRANSLATORS.

Thomas Phaer.
Thomas Twyne.
Arthur Golding.
Arthur Brooke.
William Paynter.
Sir Thomas North.
Richard Stanihurst.
Arthur Hall.
Barnaby Googe.
John Florio.
Richard Carew.
Edward Fairfax.
Sir Henry Savile.
Joshua Sylvester.
William Whittingham.

RELIGIOUS WRITERS.

John Knox.
John Fox.
Stephen Gosson.
Philip Stubbes.
Richard Hooker.

WRITERS OF SECULAR PROSE.

Roger Ascham.
John Lyly.
Sir Philip Sidney.
John Bale.
William Webbe.
George Puttenham.
George Cavendish.
Richard Grafton.
John Stow.
Ralph Holinshed.
Richard Hakluyt.

POETS AND DRAMATISTS.

Thomas Tusser.
Thomas Sackville.
Thomas Grimald.
Thomas Churchyard.
George Turbervile.
George Gascoigne.
Edmund Spenser. +
Fulke Greville.
George Whetstone.
Thomas Watson.
William Warner.
Henry Constable.
Sir John Davies.
Richard Edwards.
Thomas Lodge.
Anthony Munday.
George Peele.
John Lyly.
Robert Greene. +
Henry Chettle.
Thomas Kyd.
Thomas Nash.
Christopher Marlowe.

CHAPTER I.

SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: ENGLISH WRITERS OF LATIN; ENGLISH TRANSLATORS; WRITERS OF RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL BOOKS.

1. Approach of the Elizabethan Era in Literature. — 2. Classical Study. — 3. Writers of Books in Latin; Sir John Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith. — 4. Other Writers in Latin. — 5. George Buchanan. — 6. The Translators from Greek, Latin, Italian, and French; Phaer; Twyne; Golding; Turbervile; Brooke; Paynter; North; Stanihurst; Hall; Googe; Florio; Harington; Carew; Fairfax; Savile; Sylvester. — 7. Religious Writings; Whittingham; the Geneva Bible; the Bishops' Bible. — 8. John Knox. — 9. John Fox. — 10. Stephen Gosson. — 11. Philip Stubbes. — 12. Richard Hooker.

1. In entering upon the second half of the sixteenth century, we approach the most powerful and brilliant era in English literature. At the beginning of this period, the youthful Edward VI. was on the throne of England. He died in 1553, and was succeeded by his half-sister, Mary, who reigned until her death in 1558. Then began the illustrious reign of Elizabeth, who ruled England until 1603. The literary splendor of the Elizabethan era did not begin, however, until the latter part of her reign, and it lasted through the reign of her successor. Most of the men who made the greatness and glory of Elizabethan literature were not born until about the time that Elizabeth ascended the throne, or afterward. Thus, Raleigh was born in 1552, Hooker, Lyly, and Spenser about 1553, Sidney in 1554, Chapman in 1557, Warner about 1558, Bacon in 1561, Daniel in 1562, Marlowe and Shakespeare in 1564, Middleton about 1570, Ben Jonson about 1574, Beaumont about 1586, Fletcher in 1576, and Massinger in 1584.

2. The great impulse given, during the previous hundred years, to the study of the ancient literatures, was still felt in many ways: — in the study of those literatures, not only by professional scholars, but by men and women of high rank; in the excessive use of the classic mythologies in fashionable entertainments, in painting, in tapestry, and even in ordinary conversation; in the continued use of Latin in the writing of books; in special honor paid to learned men; and, finally, in the multitude of English translations, in prose and verse, from Latin and Greek.

3. Two of the most famous scholars belonging to the earlier part of our present period are **Sir John Cheke** and **Sir Thomas Smith.** They were both born in 1514; both studied at Cambridge, Cheke at St. John's College, and Smith at Queen's; both became famous at the University as students, and, while still young men, as teachers of Greek. They worked together as reformers of the method of pronunciation, and excited a warm controversy on the subject. Greek, as received into England from the teaching of the learned refugees, was pronounced after their fashion; β was pronounced like our *v*, ε and αι were pronounced alike, and η, ι, υ had the same sound. Cheke and Smith declared this to be a modern Greek corruption of the ancient language, and proposed to give each letter value. They began by partial use of their new system of pronunciation in the course of lectures. When this had provoked question, each appointed a day for the explanation of his views, and both won followers. Students of Cambridge then acted the "Plutus" of Aristophanes pronounced in the new manner, and, six years later, when Dr. Ratcliff tried the old way he was hissed. He appealed to the Chancellor of the University. This was Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who addressed to Cheke an admonition that conceded high respect to him as a scholar, but condemned the youthful fervor with which he was spreading heresy against the established form of Greek pronunciation among students of the University. Gardiner then exercised his authority as Chancellor by issuing, in 1542, an edict settling the true faith in Greek vowels and diphthongs as absolutely as King Henry VIII. settled it for his subjects in all other matters. Cheke held his own, and replied with a treatise, "De Pronuntiatione Linguæ Græcæ," which was published afterwards in 1555. Smith wrote also a sensible letter on the subject, and the Chancellor's decrees were not obeyed.

At the age of two and twenty, Cheke had published an English tract, called "A Remedy for Sedition, wherein are contained many things concerning the true and loyal obeisance that Commons owe unto their Prince and Sovereign Lord the King." In later days his loyalty and his fame as a scholar caused him to be appointed tutor to Prince Edward. He was a great scholar himself, and a cause of scholarship in others who earned reputation and looked back to him with gratitude. He was knighted by King Edward, and had grants of land. He became also in this reign a privy councillor and secretary of state. Sir John Cheke drew force for the real work of life out of his studies. He was especially familiar with Demosthenes, and said that the study of him taught Englishmen how to speak their minds. At the death of Edward VI., he was one of those who sought to secure the succession of Lady Jane Grey. He was sent to the Tower, but for his learning his life was saved, and he was permitted to leave England. While abroad his estates were confiscated. He was seized by Philip at Brussels, and sent to England, where he escaped death by recantation. The queen then gave him means of life, but made life a torture by compelling him to sit on the bench at the judgment and condemnation of those heretics who did not faint in the trial of their faith. His age was but forty-three when he died, in September, 1557. He left many writings that have never been published; and those that he did publish are nearly all translations of Greek and of English into Latin.

The later career of Sir Thomas Smith was more fortunate than that of his friend. He had been travelling among the universities of France and Italy towards the close of Henry VIII.'s reign, and took the doctor's degree at Padua. After the accession of Edward VI., he was made provost of Eton; in 1548 he was knighted. Sir Thomas Smith became, like his friend Sir John Cheke, a secretary of state under Edward, and he was employed as an ambassador. Under Mary, he was deprived of all his offices, but had for his learning a pension of a hundred pounds. On the accession of Elizabeth, he rose to great honors, as ambassador and statesman, succeeding Burleigh as secretary of state, in which capacity he died in 1577. His principal publication was a Latin treatise, "De Republica Anglorum."

4. Other writers of books in Latin are the following: — **Archbishop Matthew Parker**, who published, in 1572, "De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ;" **John Fox**, the martyrologist, who wrote Latin plays on Scriptural subjects; **Bishop John Jewel**, who published, in 1562, "Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ;" **Gabriel Harvey**, who published Latin poems entitled "Smithus," and "Gratulationes Waldenses;" **Richard Stanihurst**, who published, in 1584, "De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis Libri IV.," and, in 1587, a Latin life of St. Patrick; above all, the Scottish historian and poet George Buchanan.

5. **George Buchanan** was born at Killearn, Lennoxshire, in 1506. His father died, leaving his mother almost destitute, with five boys and three girls; and George was sent by James Heriot, a brother of hers, to Paris for his education. There he already wrote much Latin verse. His uncle's death, two years afterwards, obliged him to come back without health or money. He made a campaign with French auxiliaries in sharp weather, lost health again, was in bed the rest of the winter, went to St. Andrews to study under old John Mair, with whom he went to

Paris. There he became Lutheran, was for two years very poor, then for two years and a half he taught grammar at the College of St. Barbe. He was then in France as tutor and companion for five years to the young Earl of Cassillis, and went back with him to Scotland. He there acted as tutor to the king's natural son, James, afterwards Earl of Moray. But he attacked the monks in Latin satires, especially in his "Franciscanus" and "Fratres Fraterrimi," was denounced by Beaton, and compelled to leave Scotland again. He went to England; but there, he says, he found Henry VIII. burning men of both parties, more intent on his own interests than on purity of religion. So being half at home in France — though Buchanan carried Scotland about with him wherever he went — he went to Paris, found his enemy Cardinal Beaton there also in his way, and was invited by a learned Portuguese, Andrew Goveanus, who resided at Bordeaux, to teach there. Thus he became professor of the Humanities at Bordeaux, where he had Montaigne in his class, and where he wrote two Latin tragedies of his own, on "Jephthah" and "John the Baptist," and translated into Latin the "Medea" and "Alcestis" of Euripides. These were written, year by year, as they were required — the translations first — to be acted, according to custom, by the students of Bordeaux. Goveanus was at last summoned to Portugal by his king, and invited to bring with him men learned in Greek and Latin, to join in the work of the newly-founded University of Coimbra. All Europe was involved in war. Buchanan was glad to find in Portugal a quiet corner. There he was very happy, with bright associates, and his brother Patrick among them, till the death of Goveanus. A persecution then began, some teachers were imprisoned; for a year and a half Buchanan was worried, and inquired into; and then he was confined for a few months in a monastery. There he occupied himself by making his famous poetical paraphrase of the Psalms into Latin verse — "Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis poetica" — first published at Paris in 1564. When he left Portugal, Buchanan came first to England — it was in the time of Edward VI. — then he went to France; then was called to Italy by Marshal de Brissac, and was for five years with the marshal's son, sometimes in France, sometimes in Italy. During that time he made a special study of the religious controversies of the day. In 1566, at the age of fifty, Buchanan was made principal of St. Leonard's College, in the University of St. Andrews. In the earliest childhood of James VI., Buchanan became his tutor. George Buchanan was the best Latin poet this country had produced. He would seek to instil scholarship and theology of the Reformed Church into the boy whose father was murdered, and whose mother was in England. Mary had escaped from Lochleven in 1568, nobles had gathered force to rally round her; they had been defeated at Langside by the Regent Moray, and the queen then fled across the border into England. There Elizabeth detained her. Mary's party and her cause were the party and cause of Catholicism. The Scottish Reformers under Moray's regency acted with Protestant England, and fell into disrepute even of subserviency to England. The question of Mary's complicity in the murder of Darnley was in agitation at Elizabeth's court, and in the case against her a chief part was played by eight letters and some verses cut into lengths of fourteen lines, and called sonnets of hers, said to have been found on the 20th of June, 1567, in a casket that Bothwell left behind him in Edinburgh. Then came, in 1572, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, to deepen the sense of danger from Catholicism. Sentence of death was resolved by Elizabeth's advisers upon Mary of Scotland, as a foremost cause of peril to the country. Elizabeth was not to be answerable for the act, but Mary was to be returned to Scotland with a secret understanding that she was returned for execution. Then it was that the Casket Letters were first published to the world. George Buchanan published anonymously, as an enforcement of the charges against Queen Mary, a Latin translation of the Casket Letters.

During the last twelve or fourteen years of his life, Buchanan employed his mastery of Latin, and his knowledge of events, in writing a history of Scotland — "Rerum Scoticarum Historia" — in twenty books. It connected with the past the life of his own day, gave unity to all, and placed at the head of it the sense of nationality. It was in his nature to care rather to mark the progress of a people than to celebrate the power of a chief. This was distinctly shown in a sort of Socratic dialogue, published by him in Latin, in 1579, on the law as it relates to government among the Scots — "Jus Regni apud Scotos" — which ends by replying to their neighbors who called the Scots seditious, "What is that to them? We make our tumults at our own peril. No people were ever less seditious, or more moderate in their seditions. They contend much about laws, royal rights, and duties of administration; not for destruction and hatred, but for love of country and defence of law." Buchanan's history was first published in 1582, the year of its author's death.

6. This period is distinguished for the multitude of works translated into English, especially from Latin and Greek, but likewise from the modern languages.

Thomas Phaer, who was born at Kilgarran, in Pembrokeshire, studied at Oxford and at Lincoln's Inn, became advocate for the marches of Wales, afterwards doctor of medicine at Oxford. In May, 1558, in the days of Philip and Mary, six months before Elizabeth's accession, there appeared, "The Seven First Books of the Eneidos of Virgil, converted in Englishe meter by Thos. Phaer, Esq., sollicitour to the King and Queenes Majesties, attending their honourable counsaile in the Marchies of Wales." He continued the work, and had begun the tenth book, when he died, in 1560, and was buried in Kilgarran Church. In 1562 there were published, dedicated to Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, Phaer's "Nyne First Books of the Eneidos." The translation was completed with less ability by **Thomas Twyne**, a Canterbury man, practising as a physician at Lewes, and published in 1573. Phaer, who was a fair poet, wrote also on law and medicine. His "Virgil" is in fourteen-syllabled rhyming measure.

The other chief translation from the Latin poets in the early part of Elizabeth's reign was Arthur Golding's "Ovid," also translated into fourteen-syllabled lines. **Arthur Golding** was a Londoner, of good family, and lived at the house of Sir William Cecil, in the Strand. He translated Justin's "History" in 1564, and "Cæsar's Commentaries" in 1565, which was the year of the publication of "The Fyrst Fower Bookes of the Metamorphoses, owte of Latin into English metre, by Arthur Golding, gentleman." Ten years later, when Shakespeare was eleven years old, Arthur Golding published his complete translation of "The XV. Bookes of P. Ovidius Naso, entytuled Metamorphoses," dedicated to Robert, Earl of Leicester. This was the book through which men read the "Metamorphoses" in English till the time of Charles I.

In 1587, he published a translation of "Du Plessis Mornay on The Truth of Christianity."

In 1567, **George Turbervile** published two translations—one of "The Heroical Epistles of Ovid," six of them translated into blank verse, and the others into four-lined stanzas; the other of the Latin Eclogues of Mantuan, an Italian poet, who had died in 1516. He also made versions from the Italian, notably ten "Tragical Tales translated by Turbervile, in Time of his Troubles, out of sundrie Italians, with the Argument and L'Envoye to each Tale," published in 1576.

From Italy, with French intervention, the story of "Romeo and Juliet" first came into English verse in 1562, two years before Shakespeare's birth, as "The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet, written first in Italian by Bandell, and now in English by Ar. Br.," that is, **Arthur Brooke**. Arthur Brooke took his poem from a French variation on the story by Bandello, himself altering and adding; and upon this tale as told by Arthur Brooke, Shakespeare afterwards founded his play.

William Paynter, clerk of the Office of Arms within the Tower of London, produced in 1566 the first volume of "The Palace of Pleasure," containing sixty novels translated from Boccaccio's "Decameron." In the following year he published, in a second volume, thirty-four more novels, partly taken from Bandello, whose tales first appeared at Lucca, in 1554. Among the novels included in Paynter's second volume was another English version of "Romeo and Juliet."

In 1579, when Shakespeare was fifteen years old, and Francis Bacon was eighteen, **Sir Thomas North** published his translation of "Plutarch's Lives." This was not from the original Greek, but from the delightful French translation of Plutarch, published in and after 1567 by Jacques Amyot, who was in those days the prince of French translators. Sir Thomas North was himself an active member of the English band of translators produced by the revival of letters. Among his other translations was, in 1570, one from the Italian version of a famous Arabian fable-book called "Calilah i Dumnah," as "The Morale Philosophie of Doni." But he is here named because it was chiefly in North's Plutarch that Shakespeare, as a playwright, learned his history of Rome.

Richard Stanihurst, who has been mentioned already as the writer of an Irish chronicle in Latin, published at Leyden, in 1583, a translation of the first four books of Virgil's "Æneid" into English hexameters. A small war against rhyme was then going on in England; and Stanihurst's attempt at an English "Virgil" in Virgil's own measure was praised by those who encouraged the experiment, attacked by others. Had Virgil himself written in English in 1583, he would hardly have expressed Jupiter's kiss to his daughter by saying, as Stanihurst made him say, that he "bussed his pretty prating parrot," or written hexameters of this sort to describe Laocoön's throwing his spear at the great wooden horse:

> "'My lief for an haulfpennie, Troians,
> Either heere ar couching soom troups of Greekish asemblie,
> Or to crush our bulwarcks this woorck is forged, al houses
> For to prie surmounting thee town: soom practis or oother
> Heere lurcks of coonning: trust not this treacherus ensigne;
> And for a ful reckning, I like not barrel or herring;
> Thee Greeks bestowing their presents Greekish I feare mee.'
> Thus said, he stout rested, with his chaapt staffe speedily running,
> Strong the steed he chargeth, thee planck ribs manfully riding.
> Then the iade, hit, shivered, thee vauts haulf shrillie rebounded
> With clush clash buzzing, with droomming clattered humming."

The first attempt at a translation of Homer into English Alexandrine verse was begun in 1563, and published in 1581. This appeared in "Ten Books of Homer's Iliades." It was not translated from the Greek direct, but chiefly through the French version of Hugues Salel, by **Arthur Hall**, of Grantham, a member of parliament. The fact that this is the first Englishing of Homer gives the book importance.

Barnaby Googe, born about 1540, at Alvingham, and son of the Recorder of Lincoln, was a translator from the moderns. In 1560 he issued the first three books, and in 1565 all twelve books of an English version of the Italian Manzolli's satirical invective against the Papacy, "The Zodiac of Life." In 1570, Googe published a translation of another Latin invective, written by Thomas Kirchmeyer, which he called "The Popish Kingdome; or, Reigne of Antichrist." In 1577 he published a translation from the Latin of the "Four Bokes of Husbandrie," by Conrad Heresbach. He also translated from the Spanish; and a little volume of his own verse, "Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes," was issued in 1563. Googe died in 1594.

A noted translator from the Italian and French was "Resolute **John Florio**" as he wrote himself. He was an active man of Italian descent, born in London in Henry VIII.'s reign, taught Italian and French at Oxford, and was in high repute at court. He published, in 1578, "Florio his First Fruites; which yeelde familiar speech, merie Prouerbes, wittie sentences, and golden sayings. Also, a perfect Introduction to the Italian and English Tongues." In 1591 followed "Florio's Second Frvtes. To which is annexed his Garden of Recreation, yeelding six thousand Italian Prouerbs." At the end of Elizabeth's reign, in 1603, appeared "The Essays of Michael, Lord of Montaigne, done into English by John Florio." Upon a copy of this book Shakespeare's autograph has been found, and Shakespeare's knowledge of Montaigne is shown in "The Tempest," where the ideal commonwealth of the old Lord Gonzalo (Act ii. sc. i.) corresponds closely, in word as well as in thought, with Florio's Montaigne.

The Italian poet Ariosto had an English translator in **Sir John Harington**, who was born at Helston, near Bath, in 1561, was educated at

Eton and Cambridge, and who published at the age of thirty, in 1591, "Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse."

Tasso had in Elizabeth's reign two English translators. The first was **Richard Carew**, whose "Godfrey of Bulloigne, or the Recouerie of Hierusalem," appeared in 1594; the second was **Edward Fairfax**, whose translation appeared with the same titles in 1600. It is in the octave rhyme of the original, one of the most musical and poetical of all English translations into verse. Fairfax was the second son of Sir Thomas Fairfax, of Denton, in Yorkshire. He lived as a retired scholar at Newhal. in Knaresborough Forest, and, later in life, educated with his own children those of his brother Ferdinand, Lord Fairfax. One of these nephews became famous as the Fairfax of the civil wars. Edward Fairfax himself lived into the reign of Charles I., and died in 1632.

In 1581, **Sir Henry Savile**, who had given lessons to Queen Elizabeth in Greek and mathematics, published at Oxford a translation of "The Ende of Nero and Beginning of Galba, Fower Bookes of the Histories of Cornelius Tacitus; The Life of Agricola."

A French poet of the sixteenth century, Du Bartas, had extraordinary repute in England not only as a writer according to the ephemeral taste of the time, but also as a French Huguenot for his accord with the religious feeling of the English people, and because his song was always upon sacred themes. In 1598, **Joshua Sylvester**, then thirty-five years old, translated into English the "Divine Weeks and Works" of Du Bartas. Sylvester had begun in 1590, by publishing a translation of the poem of Du Bartas upon the battle of Ivry, "A Canticle of the Victorie obtained by the French King Henrie the Fourth at Yvry. Translated by Josua Siluester, Marchant-aduenturer." He had added another piece to that in 1592. There had been other translators from the French poet. In 1584, Thomas Hudson had published at Edinburgh a translation of his "History of Judith," made by command of James VI. Another of these translators was William Lisle, of Wilbraham, who published a part of "The Second Week" of Du Bartas in 1596, dedicated to Lord Howard of Effingham, added the "Colonies" in 1598, and translated, in all, four books. Another of his translators, at the end of Elizabeth's reign and beginning of the reign of James in England, was Thomas Winter.

7. All writings during this period were pervaded by the spirit of theological and religious discussion, which itself entered into the most secular thought and conversation of the age. Some writings, however, were avowedly theological and religious.

At the head of these we may properly place the two English versions of the Bible which were produced early in the reign of Elizabeth, and which remained during the rest of her life commonly in use. These were the Geneva Bible, which appeared in 1560. and the Bishops' Bible. which appeared in 1568. "The Geneva Bible" was produced by the English congregation at Geneva during the reign of Mary. chiefly at the cost of John Bodley. the father of Sir Thomas Bodley. In 1557 the New Testament. translated by **William Whittingham**, Calvin's brother-in-law. was first published. It was translated from the Greek text as published by Erasmus. and revised from manuscripts collected by Genevan scholars. Calvin prefixed to it an "Epistle declaring that Christ is the End of the Law." Whittingham then. with the aid of fellow-exiles. Gilby, Sampson, and others. turned to the Hebrew text. and, instead of coming to England after the death of Mary. these laborers remained at Geneva to complete their work. Hebrew scholarship had advanced; and the Geneva Bible. completed in 1560. four years before the birth of Shakespeare. was as faithful as its translators could make it. Various readings were given in the margin. and there were notes on points not only of history and geography. but also of doctrine. which distinctly bound this version to the religious school of Calvin. In the Geneva Bible appeared. for the first time. as a plan to secure facility of reference. the now familiar division of the text into verses. This was the household Bible of those whom we may call — using the phrase in a broad sense — the Elizabethan Puritans. In the dedication of it to Queen Elizabeth. the zeal of the Genevan reformers was not less harsh than that from which they themselves had suffered in the reign of Mary. Elizabeth was reminded how the noble Josias "put to death the false prophets and sorcerers. to perform the words of the law of God. . . . Yea. and in the days of King Asa. it was enacted that whosoever would not seek the Lord God of Israel should be slain. whether he were small or great. man or woman."

In 1568. was published at London a translation of the Bible. made. under the direction of Archbishop Parker. by fifteen learned men. most of them bishops. This translation. from the number of bishops who took part in it. and from the fact that it became. for Elizabeth's reign. the authorized version for church use. was known as "The Bishops' Bible." It put aside. for example, Tyndal's word "congregation," against which More had contended, and which had remained in Cranmer's Bible, giving the word "Church," which Tyndal had avoided. But tendencies of thought are indicated by the fact, that, of eighty-five editions of the English Bible published in Elizabeth's reign, sixty were of the Geneva version.

8. John Knox was born in 1505, at Gifford, in East Lothian. He was educated in the grammar-school at Haddington, and in 1522 matriculated in St. Andrews University, which then had John Mair for its provost. He took priests' orders, but was drawn to the side of the reformers; and became the friend and follower of George Wishart, a Scottish schoolmaster, who, about 1536, began to preach as a reformer. Wishart went to England and recanted, but, recovering more than his old boldness, came back to Scotland in 1543, and, though of gentle character, preached with intense enthusiasm. Thus he stirred among the people violent antagonism to the practices that he denounced, so that they wept over them in themselves, and raged at them in others. John Knox, to protect his beloved preacher, whose assassination had been once attempted, waited upon him, bearing a two-handed sword. Flesh and blood went for little in the growing heat of spiritual conflict. When Wishart was seized as a heretic, Knox desired to share his fate; "Nay," said Wishart, "return to your bairns" (pupils), "and God bless you. One is enough for a sacrifice." Wishart's martyrdom, in March, 1546, witnessed by Beaton from his velvet cushions at a window of the Castle of St. Andrews, was followed in May, 1546, by the murder of Beaton. The next year, Knox's friends urged him to preach. He had renounced his priests' orders, and said he had no vocation; but it was urged on him that every congregation has an inherent right to call any qualified person to be its teacher. So Knox began his preaching. In August of the same year, he was captured by the French, and remained for two years a prisoner in the French galleys. From 1549 to 1555, he was preaching in various parts of England and of the Continent, when, in the latter year, after a short visit to Scotland, he became the pastor of an English congregation at Geneva. There he worked with Calvin, who had become supreme, and made the city what Knox took to be "the most perfect school of Christ that ever was on earth since the days of the Apostles." It was from Geneva, just before the accession of Elizabeth, that Knox issued, without his name, his "First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women." His wrath was against the rule of the three Marys,—Mary of Guise, queen-dowager and regent of Scotland, Mary Queen of Scots, and Queen Mary of England, and on behalf of "so many learned and men of grave judgment as this day by Jezebel are exiled." In his preface he said that men had offended "by error and ignorance, giving their suffrages, consent, and help to establish women in their kingdoms and empires, not understanding how abominable, odious, and detestable is all such usurped authority in the presence of God;" and he ended with this sentence: "My purpose is thrice to blow the trumpet in the same matter, if God so permit: twice I intend to do it without name, but at the last blast to take the blame upon myself, that all others may be purged." After such preface he began his book, a small quarto, about as big as a man's hand, with the assertion that "to promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion, or empire, above any realm, nation, or city, is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, a thing most contrarious to his revealed will and approved ordinance, and finally it is the subversion of good order, of all equity and justice." Women are not worthy to rule. "I exempt," said Knox, "such as God, by singular privilege, and for certain causes known only to himself, hath exempted from the common rank of women, and do speak of women as nature and experience do this day declare them. Nature, I say, doth paint them further to be weak, frail, impatient, feeble, and foolish; and experience hath declared them to be unconstant, variable, cruel, and lacking the spirit of counsel and regiment." "Let all men," he said at the end, "be advertised, for the trumpet hath once blown." Knox blew no other blast, and would have recalled this if he could, although he did state in advance that the argument of his "Second Blast" was well to proclaim how through one woman England had been betrayed to Spain, and Scotland to France through another. That the issuing of such a book should coincide in time with the accession of Queen

Elizabeth was unlucky for the argument of the reformer. Knox had cut off retreat from his position. He might rank Elizabeth with Deborah; but he had refused to clothe even Deborah with civil authority, not doubting that she had "no such empire as our monsters claim." Moreover, he had pledged himself to two more blasts from the same trumpet; and if his argument was good, the elevation of yet another woman to supremacy would make its enforcement only the more necessary.

In 1559, Knox returned to Scotland, and began his career there as an aggressive and destructive religious reformer, and as a patriotic statesman. He died in 1572. His "Historie of the Reformation of Religioun within the Realme of Scotland" first appeared twelve years after his death, in 1584, published in Edinburgh, but printed in London, and afterwards partly suppressed in 1587 by the seizure and destruction of copies, at the order of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The whole grim energy of Knox's character animates this recital of events in which and for which he lived.

9. In 1563, was published the book that has ever since been famous as "Fox's Book of Martyrs." The real title is as follows: "Acts and Monuments of these latter and perillous Dayes, touching matters of the Church, wherein are comprehended and described the great Persecutions and horrible Troubles that have been wrought and practised by the Romishe Prelates, especiallye in this Realme of England and Scotlande, from the Yeare of our Lorde a Thousande unto the Tyme now present. Gathered and collected according to the true Copies and Wrytinges certificatorie, as wel of the Parties themselves that suffered, as also out of the Bishops' Registers which were the doers thereof, by John Foxe." To a right student the value of such a book is rather increased than lessened by the inevitable bias of a writer who recorded incidents that had for him a deep, real, present interest, and who had his own part in the passion of the controversy he describes. It vividly represents one aspect of the strong life of the sixteenth century. The book, dedicated to the queen, was ordered to be set up in parish churches for the use of all the people, except in times of divine service. The author registered with controversial bitterness the pangs of martyrs, and believed all ill of the opponents of his faith, — putting into his book recklessly the most calumnious falsehoods. **John Fox** was born in 1517, at Boston, in Lincolnshire. He was educated at Brazenose College, Oxford, and became fellow of Magdalene. He wrote Latin plays on scriptural subjects before he devoted himself wholly to the great religious controversies of his day. Then he studied Hebrew, read the Greek and Latin Fathers, was accused in 1545 of heresy, and was expelled from college. He next lived with Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlcote, near Stratford-on-Avon, as tutor to his children; then he came to London, and, after the execution of the Earl of Surrey, John Fox was employed as tutor to his children. At the beginning of Mary's reign Fox was protected by the Duke of Norfolk, but he presently escaped to Basle, where he lived as corrector of the press for the printer Oporinus, and resolved to write his Martyrology. At this he proceeded to work, writing it then in Latin. The first sketch was published in octavo in 1554. John Aylmer, and more particularly Edmund Grindal, also exiles, aided Fox with information received out of England concerning the martyrs for their faith. At the accession of Elizabeth, Fox was in Basle with a wife and two children, poor, but with a more settled employment than he could afford immediately to leave. His friend Grindal went back to England, but Fox remained another year at Basle, and for a time suspended, as Grindal advised, the production of his enlarged history of troubles in the church, because new matter in abundance would now surely come to light. This enlarged book appeared, in its first Latin form, in folio, from the press of Oporinus, in August, 1559, and contained some facts that were omitted in the translations. In the following October, John Fox had returned to London, where he was housed by Aldgate at Christchurch, the manor-place of his old pupil the Duke of Norfolk. From Aldgate he went every Monday to the printing-office of John Day. He held a prebend at Salisbury, although he was opposed to the compromise with old forms in the ecclesiastical system of the church, and refused to subscribe to any thing but the Greek Testament. He preached at Paul's Cross and elsewhere; but his most important work was that done with John Day. Fox died in 1587.

10. In the religious writings of this time, one finds many traces of the rising hostility of Puritanism towards social amusements, and especially towards the drama. An example of this is **Stephen Gosson's** "School of Abuse." The author, born in 1555, and a graduate of Oxford, came to London in 1576, aged twenty-one, attached himself at once to the new theatres, and wrote plays, which are now lost,—"Catiline's Conspiracies;" "Captain Mario," a Comedy; "Praise at Parting," a Moral. Soon he was moved by the controversies of the time not only to abandon his new calling as a writer for the stage, but to join in attack upon the theatres. This he did in 1579, by publishing a short prose book called "The School of Abuse, containing a Pleasaunt Invective against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Jesters, and such-like Caterpillers of a Commonwelth; setting up the Flagge of Defiance to their mischievous exercise, and overthrowing their Bulwarkes, by Profane Writers, Naturall Reason, and Common Experience: a Discourse as pleasaunt for Gentlemen that favour Learning, as profitable for all that wyll follow Vertue." This was entered at Stationers' Hall in July, and was dedicated to Philip Sidney. But Philip Sidney, we learn, was ill pleased with the dedication to him of a book that set out with an attack on poetry; and Gosson's "School of Abuse" is believed to have prompted Sidney to the writing of his "Apology for Poetry. From the poets Gosson went on to the musicians, and then to the players. One passage in his attack upon them is worth notice. He said it might be urged that, whatever were the immoralities of ancient comedy, "the comedies that are exercised in our days are better sifted, they show no such bran." After comparing the immorality of the old plays with the morality of the new ones, he said, "Now are the abuses of the world revealed; every man in a play may see his own faults, and learn by this glass to amend his manners." But admitting this, he added, "If people will be instructed (God be thanked) we have divines enough to discharge that, and more by a great many than are well hearkened to." So that even in these days of its first infancy there was the earnest spirit of the time in the Elizabethan drama; the same earnest spirit that in another form labored for its destruction. Stephen Gosson having left the stage, added to his invective a short "Apology for the School of Abuse," and went into the country as a tutor. Considerable public controversy followed Gosson's attack on the stage. Early in 1582 the players defended their calling in their own way by acting "A Play of Plays." Gosson then produced at once a five-act answer, entitled, "Plays Confuted in Five Actions, etc., proving that they are not to be suffered in a Christian Commonwealth; by the way both the cavils of Thomas Lodge and the Play of Plays written in their defence, and other objections of Players' friends, are truly set down and directly answered."

In 1591, Gosson was made Rector of Great Wigborough, in Essex. In 1600, by an exchange of livings, he came to town, aged forty-five, as Rector of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, and there he officiated for nearly a quarter of a century, until his death in 1624.

11. But the Elizabethan time, like any other, had its surface follies and its varieties of fashion. In 1583 the Reverend **Philip Stubbes** published "The Anatomie of Abuses: conteyning a Discoverie or Briefe Summarie of such Notable Vices and Imperfections as now raigne in many Christian Countreyes of the World: but especialie in a very famous Ilande called Ailgna: Together with most fearful Examples of God's Judgementes executed vpon the wicked for the same as well in Ailgna of late, as in other places elsewhere." Ailgna, of course is Anglia, and a second part of "The Anatomie of Abuses" appeared in the same year. The book is in dialogue between Philoponus and Spudeus. Ailgna, says Stubbes, is a famous and pleasant land, with a great and heroic people, but they abound in abuses, chiefly those of pride; pride of heart, of mouth, of apparel. In pride of apparel they pane, cut, and drape out with costly ornaments the richest material, and spread out ruffs with supportasses — wires covered with gold or silk — and starch. Philip Stubbes denounced starch as "the devil's liquor," and told of a fair gentlewoman of Eprautna (Antwerp) upon whom a judgment had fallen for her vanity in starched ruffs, even so lately as the 27th of May, 1582. She was dressing to attend a wedding, and, falling in a passion with the starching of her ruffs, said what caused a handsome gentleman to come into the room, who set them up for her to perfection, charmed her, and strangled her. When she was being taken out for burial, the coffin was so heavy that four strong men could not lift it. It was opened. The body was gone; but a lean and deformed black cat was sitting in the coffin, "setting of great ruffs and frizzling of hair, to the great fear and wonder of all the beholders."

12. The literature of the Church of England was represented in the latter years of Elizabeth's reign by **Richard Hooker,** who was born at Heavitree, near Exeter, about 1553. He was to have been apprenticed to a trade, but his aptness for study caused him to be kept at school by his teacher, who persuaded young Richard Hooker's well-to-do uncle, John, then Chamberlain of Exeter, to put him to college for a year. John Hooker, a friend of Bishop Jewel's, introduced his nephew to that bishop, who, finding the boy able and his parents poor, sent him at the age of fifteen to Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Edwin Sandys, Bishop of London, heard from Jewel the praises of young Richard Hooker, and, though himself a Cambridge man, sent his son to Oxford that he might have Hooker, whose age then was nineteen, for tutor and friend. Other pupils came, and Hooker was on the most pleasant relations with them. In 1577 he became M.A. and Fellow of his college. In 1579, he was appointed to read the Hebrew lecture in his university, and did so for the next three years. He took holy orders, quitted Oxford, and married a scolding wife. He was shy and short-sighted, and had allowed her to be chosen for him. Of himself it is said that he never was seen to be angry. In 1584 Hooker was presented to the parsonage of Drayton-Beauchamp, near Aylesbury; and there he was found by his old pupil, Edwin Sandys, with Horace in his hand, relieving guard over his few sheep out of doors, and indoors called from his guests to rock the cradle. Sandys reported Hooker's condition to his father, who had become Archbishop of York. In 1585 the office of Master of the Temple became vacant, and Hooker, then thirty-two years old, was, through the archbishop's influence, called from his poor country parsonage to take it. There he became involved in a public discussion with an associate, Walter Travers, respecting the authority of the Established Church, Hooker's antagonist taking ground against it. This led Hooker's pure and quiet mind to the resolve that he would argue out in detail his own sense of right and justice in the Established Church system of his country, in "Eight Books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity." That he might do this he asked for removal to some office in which he might be at peace. He wrote to the archbishop: "My lord, when I lost the freedom of my cell, which was my college, yet I found some degree of it in my quiet country parsonage: but I am weary of the noise and oppositions of this place; and indeed, God and nature did not intend me for contentions, but for study and quietness. My lord, my particular contests with Mr. Travers here have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good man; and that belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions." Study had not only satisfied him, but he had "begun a treatise, in which I intend a justification of the laws of our ecclesiastical polity; in which design God and his holy angels shall at the last great day bear me that witness which my conscience now does, that my meaning is not to provoke any, but rather to satisfy all tender consciences; and I shall never be able to do this but where I may study, and pray for God's blessing upon my endeavors, and keep myself in peace and privacy, and behold God's blessings spring out of my mother-earth, and eat my own bread without oppositions; and, therefore, if your Grace can judge me worthy of such a favor, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun." Hooker accordingly was made, in 1591, Rector of Boscombe, in Wiltshire, a parish with few people in it, four miles from Amesbury, and was instituted also, as a step to better preferment, to a minor prebend of small value in Salisbury. At Boscombe, Hooker finished the "Four Books of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie," published in 1594, with "A Preface to them that Seeke (as they tearme it) the Reformation of the Lawes and Orders Ecclesiasticall in the Church of England."

These four books treated, 1. Of laws in general; 2. Of the use of divine law contained in Scripture, whether that be the only law which ought to serve for our direction in all things without exception; 3. Of laws concerning Ecclesiastical Polity, whether the form thereof be in Scripture so set down that no addition or change is lawful; and, 4. Of general exceptions taken against the Laws of the English Church Polity as being Popish, and banished out of certain reformed churches. What Hooker said of Travers, Travers had like reason to say of Hooker: for this was the work of a good man, in the eyes of thousands whom it may not have convinced on points of discipline; a work perfect in spirit, earnest, eloquent, closely reasoned, and in the best sense of the word religious. In 1595 Richard Hooker left Boscombe for the rectory of Bishopsbourne, three miles from Canterbury, where he spent the rest of his life. In 1597 appeared the fifth book of his "Ecclesiastical Polity," which was longer than all the other four together. He died in 1600, having, while his health failed, desired only to live till he had finished the remaining three books of the work, for which his life seemed to have been given him. His health suffered the more for his labor at them, but he did complete the remaining three books, though without the revision given to the preceding five; and they were published, two in 1648, and all in 1662.

CHAPTER II.

SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: ASCHAM, LYLY, SIDNEY, AND OTHER WRITERS OF SECULAR PROSE.

1. Roger Ascham. — 2. John Lyly. — 3. Sir Philip Sidney. — 4. Literary History and Criticism; John Bale; William Webbe; George Puttenham. — 5. Literary Anthologies; John Bodenham; Francis Meres. — 6. History and Biography; George Cavendish; Richard Grafton; John Stow; Ralph Holinshed. — 7. Books of Travel; Sir Humphrey Gilbert; Thomas Hariot; Richard Hakluyt.

1. THERE were during this period three great men of letters, whose writings are the most characteristic specimens of English literature, particularly in prose, for the second half of the sixteenth century, — Roger Ascham, John Lyly, and Sir Philip Sidney.

Roger Ascham was born about the year 1515, in Kirkby Wiske, in Yorkshire, his father being house-steward in the family of Lord Scrope. He was educated by Sir Humphrey Wingfield, of whom he said afterwards: "This worshipful man hath ever loved, and used to have many children brought up in learning in his house, among whom I myself was one, for whom at term-times he would bring down from London both bow and shafts. And when they should play he would go with them himself into the field, see them shoot; and he that shot fairest should have the best bow and shafts, and he that shot ill-favoredly should be mocked of his fellows till he shot better. Would to God all England had used or would use to lay the foundation of youth after the example of this worshipful man in bringing up children in the book and the bow; by which two things the whole commonwealth, both in peace and war, is chiefly valid and defended withal!" At fifteen Roger Ascham became a student at St. John's College, Cambridge. He took his B.A. in 1534; obtained a fellowship in his college; and in 1537 became a college lecturer on Greek. He was at home for a couple of years after 1540, during which time he obtained a pension of forty shillings from the Archbishop of York. It ceased at the archbishop's death, in 1544. In that year Ascham wrote "Toxophilus;" and in 1545, being then about twenty-nine years old, he presented "Toxophilus" to the king, at Greenwich, and was rewarded with a pension of ten pounds.

"Toxophilus" was a scholar's book, designed to encourage among all gentlemen and yeomen of England the practice of archery for defence of the realm. The treatise was divided into two books of dialogue between Philologus and Toxophilus; the first book containing general argument to commend shooting, the second a particular description of the art of shooting with the long-bow. Ascham argued for it as a worthy recreation — one very fit for scholars — that in peace excludes ignoble pastimes, and in war gives to a nation strength. Men should seek, he said, to excel in it, and make it a study. Then he proceeded in the second part of his work to treat it as a study. The book was published in 1545, with a dedication to Henry VIII., and a preface, in which Ascham justified his use of English. To have written in another tongue would, he said, have better advanced his studies and his credit; but he wished to be read by the gentlemen and yeomen of England. He could not surpass what others had done in Greek and Latin; while English had usually been written by ignorant men so meanly, both for the matter and handling, that no man could do worse. Ascham was, in his preface to "Toxophilus," the first to suggest that English prose might be written with the same scholarly care that would be required for choice and ordering of words if one wrote Latin. "He that will write well in any tongue," said Ascham, "must follow this counsel of Aristotle, to speak as the common people do, to think as wise men do; and so should every man understand him, and the judgment of wise men allow him. Many English writers have not done so, but using strange words, as Latin, French, and Italian, do make all things dark and hard." The manly simplicity of Ascham's own English is in good accord with his right doctrine. His Latin was so well esteemed that in the year after the appearance of "Toxophilus" he succeeded Cheke as public orator, and wrote the official letters of the University.

Ascham was famous also for his penmanship, and taught writing to the Prince who in 1547 became King Edward VI. Under Edward VI., Ascham had his pension confirmed and augmented. In 1548 he became tutor to the Princess Elizabeth, at Cheston; but he was annoyed by her steward, and had therefore returned to the University, when, in 1550, he was through Cheke's good offices appointed secretary to Sir Richard Morison, then going as ambassador to Charles V. He reached Augsburg in October, was away more than a year, and published in 1553 a "Report and Discourse written by Roger Ascham, of the Affairs and State of Germany and the Emperor Charles his Court, during certain years while the said Roger was there." Ascham, although a Protestant, had escaped persecution in the reign of Mary; his pension had been renewed, and in May, 1554, he had been appointed Latin secretary to the queen, with a salary of forty marks. In that year also he gave up his fellowship, and married Margaret Howe. By Queen Elizabeth, Roger Ascham, who had been one of her teachers in Greek, was still continued in his pension, and retained in his post of Latin secretary. In 1560 the queen gave him the prebend of Wetwang, in York Minster. The archbishop had given it to another, and Ascham did not get his dues without a lawsuit. In 1563, Ascham, as one in the queen's service, was dining with Sir William Cecil, when the conversation turned to the subject of education, from news of the running away of some boys from Eton, where there was much beating. Ascham argued that young children were sooner allured by love than driven by beating to obtain good learning. Sir Richard Sackville, father of Thomas Sackville, said nothing at the dinner-table, but he afterwards drew Ascham aside, agreed with his opinions, lamented his own past loss by a harsh schoolmaster, and said, Ascham tells us in the preface to his book, "'Seeing it is but in vain to lament things past, and also wisdom to look to things to come, surely, God willing, if God lend me life, I will make this, my mishap, some occasion of good hap to little Robert Sackville, my son's son. For whose bringing-up I would gladly, if it so please you, use specially your good advice. I hear say you have a son much of his age [Ascham had three little sons]; we will deal thus together. Point you out a schoolmaster who by your order shall teach my son and yours, and for all the rest I will provide, yea, though they three do cost me a couple of hundred pounds by year: and besides you shall find me as fast a friend to you and yours as perchance any you have.' Which promise the worthy gentleman surely kept with me until his dying day." The conversation went into particulars, and in the course of it Sir Richard drew from Ascham what he thought of the common going of Englishmen into Italy. All ended with a request that Ascham would "put in some order of writing the chief points of this our talk, concerning the right order of teaching and honesty of living, for the good bringing-up of children and young men." This was the origin of Ascham's book called "The Schoolmaster." Ascham wrote in Latin against the mass, and upon other subjects connected with religious controversy. His delicate health failed more and more, and he ended his pure life as a scholar in 1568, at the age of fifty-three. His "Schoolmaster" was left complete, and published in 1570 by his widow, with a dedication to Sir William Cecil. Beseeching him, she said, to take on him "the defence of the book, to avaunce the good that may come of it by your allowance and furtherance to publike use and benefite, and to accept the thankefull recognition of me and my poore children, trustyng of the continuance of your good memorie of M. Ascham and his, and dayly commendyng the prosperous estate of you and yours to God, whom you serve, and whose you are, I rest to trouble you. Your humble Margaret Ascham." The treatise is in two parts, one dealing with general principles, the other technical, as in "Toxophilus;" the first book teaching the bringing-up of youth, the second book teaching the ready way to the Latin tongue. Great stress is laid in Ascham's "Schoolmaster" on gentleness in teaching. As to the true notes of the best wit in a child, Ascham will take, he says, "the very judgment of him that was counted the best teacher and wisest man that learning maketh mention of, and that is Socrates in Plato, who expresseth orderly these seven plain notes to choose a good wit in a child for learning." He was to be (1) euphues; (2) of good memory; (3) attached to learning; (4) prepared for labor and pains; (5) glad to learn of another; (6) free in questioning; and (7) happy in well-earned applause.

The first of these qualities, Ascham describes at especial length: "Euphues is he that is apt by goodness of wit, and appliable by readiness of will, to learning, having all other qualities of the mind and parts of the body that must another day serve learning, not troubled, mangled, and halved, but sound, whole, full, and able to do their office: as a tongue not stammering, or over hardly drawing forth words, but plain and ready to deliver the meaning of the mind; a voice not soft, weak, piping, womanish, but audible, strong, and manlike; a countenance not werish and crabbed, but fair and comely; a personage not wretched and deformed, but tall and goodly,— for surely a comely countenance, with a goodly stature, giveth credit to learning, and authority to the person; otherwise, commonly, either open contempt or privy disfavor doth hurt or hinder both person and learning. And even as a fair stone requireth to be set in the finest gold, with the best workmanship, or else it loseth much of the grace and price, even so excellency in learning, and namely divinity, joined with a comely personage, is a marvellous jewel in the world. And how can a comely body be better employed than to serve the greatest exercise of God's greatest gift, and that is learning?"

In illustration of the force of gentleness in teaching, Ascham cited in "The Schoolmaster" his finding of Lady Jane Grey, when he called on her at Broadgate, in Leicestershire, before his going into Germany, reading Plato's "Phædo" in Greek, "and that with as much delight as some gentlemen would read a merry tale in Boccaccio." He asked her how that was; and she said it was because God had given her severe parents and a gentle schoolmaster. At home she was so continually under punishment and censure, that she longed for the time when she must go to Mr. Aylmer, "who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing whiles I am with him. And when I am called from him I fall on weeping, because whatsoever I do else but learning is full of grief, trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me."

2. The work by which **John Lyly** is best remembered, "Euphues," derived both its name and substance from Roger Ascham's "Schoolmaster." Lyly was born in the Weald of Kent, about 1553; became a student of Magdalene College, Oxford, in 1569; took his degree of B.A. in 1573, and of M.A. in 1575; and was incorporated as M.A. of Cambridge in 1579. It was in the spring of the year 1579 that he published "Euphues; or, the Anatomy of Wit." This earnest book, written at the age of five and twenty, made Lyly's reputation as a wit. Its form is that of an Italian story, its style a very skilful elaboration of that humor for conceits and verbal antitheses which had been coming in from Italy, and was developing itself into an outward fashion of our literature. In form and style, therefore, it sought to win a welcome from those fashionable people upon whose minds there was most need to enforce its substance. In substance it was the argument of Ascham's "Schoolmaster" repeated: corruption of English life by the much going of our young men to Italy; the right development of the young mind by education on just principles, to a worthy life and a true faith in God.

In the dedication of his "Euphues" to Lord de la Warre, Lyly suggests that there may be found in it "more speeches which for gravity will mislike the foolish than unseemly terms which for vanity may offend the wise." He anticipates some little disfavor from the "fine wits of the day;" and his allusions to "the dainty ear of the curious sifter," to the use of "superfluous eloquence," to the search after "those that sift the finest meal and bear the whitest mouths," sufficiently show that his own manner was formed on an existing fashion. "It is a world," he says, "to see how Englishmen desire to hear finer speech than the language will allow, to eat finer bread than is made of wheat, to wear finer cloth than is wrought of wool; but I let pass their fineness, which can no way excuse my folly." But Lyly being a master of the style he had adopted, his ingenious English was taken as the type of successful writing in the fashionable manner; and from the title of his novel, the name of "Euphuism" was derived for the quaint writing, rich in conceit, alliteration, and antithesis, which remained in favor till near the middle of the seventeenth century.

Lyly's novel itself was in design most serious. He represented Euphues as a young gentleman of Athens, who corresponded in his readiness of wit and perfectness of body to the quality called Euphues by Plato. He went to Italy, to Naples, "a place of more pleasure than profit, and yet of more profit than piety, the very walls and windows whereof showed it rather to be the tabernacle of Venus than the temple of Vesta. . . . a court more meet for an atheist than one of Athens." There he showed so pregnant a wit, that Eubulus, an old gentleman of the place, was impelled to warn him at length against the dangers of the city in words ending with the solemn admonition, "Serve God, love God, fear God, and God will so bless thee as either heart can wish or thy friends desire." Young Euphues disdained counsel of age, and bought experience in his own way, and at last came bitterly to regret that he had not followed the advice of Eubulus. Then he escaped from the wickedness of Italy to his home in Athens, whence he wrote earnest letters of admonition to the friend in Italy, Philautus, who had been his companion in evil-doing. Increasing in earnestness, the book then gave a systematic essay upon education, sound as Ascham's in its doctrine; dealing with the management of children from their birth, and advancing to the ideal of a university. Rising still in earnestness, as he showed his Euphues growing in wisdom, Lyly made a letter to the gentlemen scholars of Athens preface to a dialogue between Euphues and Atheos, which was an argument against the infidelity that had crept in from Italy. It is as earnest as if Latimer himself had preached it to the courtiers of King Edward. Euphues appeals solemnly to Scripture and the voice within ourselves. In citation from the sacred text consist almost his only illustrations; in this he abounds. Whole pages contain nothing but the words of Scripture.

This celebrated book, published in 1579, was followed in 1580 by a continuation, or second part, entitled "Euphues and his England." This was apparently designed to mitigate some of the severity of the first, which had given offence at Oxford, and indirectly to deprecate, in courtly fashion, a too ruinous interpretation of the author's meaning. In the first part Lyly satisfied his conscience; in the second part, but still without dishonesty, he satisfied the court.

He had ended the first part with an intimation that Euphues was about to visit England, and promised, within one summer, a report of what he saw. In his second part, therefore, Euphues, bringing Philautus with him, lands at Dover, after telling a long moral story on the sea. The two strangers pass through Canterbury, and are entertained in a roadside house by a retired courtier. This personage keeps bees, and philosophizes over them; from him we hear the lengthy story of his love, enriched with numerous conceited conversations. In London the travellers lodge with a merchant, and are admitted to the intimacy of a lady named Camilla, who is courted and who finally is married, though she be below his rank, by noble Surius. With Camilla and the ladies who are her friends, the strangers converse much in courtly fashion. Philautus of course falls in love with her, and worries her with letters; but he is at last led by Flavia, a prudent matron, to the possession of a wife in the young lady Violet. Every Englishwoman is fair, wise, and good. Nothing is wrong in England; or whatever is wrong, Lily satirizes with exaggerated praise. The story is full of covert satire, and contains much evidence of religious earnestness. It is designedly enriched with love-tales, letters between lovers, and ingenious examples of those fanciful conflicts of wit in argument upon some courtly theme, to which fine ladies and gentlemen of Elizabeth's court formally sat down as children now sit down to a round game of forfeits. Having saved to the last a panegyric upon Queen Elizabeth, which blends an ounce of flattery with certainly a pound of solid praise in its regard for her as the mainstay of the Protestant faith, Euphues retires to Athens, where, as he says, "Euphues is musing in the bottom of the mountain Silixsedra, Philautus is married in the Isle of England; two friends parted, the one living in the delights of his new wife, the other in contemplation of his old griefs."

The writing of these two books made Lyly famous, but not prosperous. He married, and settled in London; wrote a pamphlet of religious controversy; and was a diligent writer of plays, being among the playwrights who held the field before Shakespeare entered it. His misery was that he had depended on court patronage. In 1593 he wrote to Queen Elizabeth: "Thirteene years your highnes servant, but yet nothing; twenty freinds that though they saye they wil be sure, I find them sure to be slowe. A thousand hopes, but all nothing; a hundred promises, but yet nothing. Thus casting vpp the inventory of my freinds, hopes, promises, and tymes, the summa totalis amounteth to iust nothing. My last will is shorter than myne invencion; but three legacies, — patience to my creditors, melancholie without measure to my friends, and beggerie without shame to my family." He died in 1606.

3. Sir Philip Sidney was born at Penshurst in 1554, eldest child of Sir Henry Sidney and of Lady Mary Dudley, who was daughter to the Duke of Northumberland, and sister to the celebrated Earl of Leicester. A grave, studious boy. Philip Sidney went to Shrewsbury School, and in 1568 to Oxford, where he remained three years. He was for a time, probably, with his uncle Leicester at court; and in 1572 he attended an embassy to Paris, where he was on the 24th of August, during the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. After travel through Germany and Italy, Sidney returned to England in 1575. In 1577, though but twenty-two years old, he was sent as ambassador to the Emperor of Germany. He soon returned home; and in May, 1578, when the queen visited Leicester at Wanstead, Sidney contrived for her pleasure a masque called "The Lady of May."

In July, 1578, Philip Sidney was one of the men of mark who followed Queen Elizabeth to Audley End, and received honors of verse from Gabriel Harvey in the "Walden Gratulations." But Sidney was weary of idleness at court. His friend, Fulke Greville, returning from a foreign mission, received on his way from William of Orange a message for Elizabeth, craving leave of her freely to speak his knowledge and opinion of a fellow-servant of his who lived unemployed under her. He had had much experience, had seen various times and things and persons, but he protested that her Majesty had in Mr. Philip Sidney one of the ripest and greatest statesmen that he knew of in all Europe. If her Majesty would but try the young man, the prince would stake his own credit upon the issue of his friend's employment about any business, either with the allies or with the enemies of England. And this was said, not without reason, by William the Silent, of a young man of four and twenty, who seems to have been the type of what was noblest in the youth of England during times that could produce a Shakespeare.

At the beginning of 1580, Philip Sidney had addressed to the queen in writing a wise and earnest argument against the project of her marriage with the Duke of Anjou. His uncle, Leicester, whose secret marriage with Lettice, Countess of Essex, had become known, was already under the queen's displeasure; and Sidney, after writing this letter, found it best to withdraw from court. Towards the end of March, 1580, he went to stay at Wilton with his sister, the Countess of Pembroke, whom Spenser afterwards honored as

"The greatest shepherdess that lives this day,
And most resembling both in shape and spright
Her brother dear;"

and upon whose death, when her course was ended, Ben Jonson wrote:

"Underneath this sable hearse
Lies the subject of all verse,
Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother:
Death, ere thou hast slain another
Learn'd and fair and good as she,
Time shall throw a dart at thee."

Sidney remained there about seven months. Brother and sister worked together at that time upon a joint translation of "The Psalms of David" into English verse. It was then also that Sidney occupied hours of his forced idleness by beginning to write for the amusement of his sister a long pastoral romance, in prose mixed with verse, according to Italian fashion, with abundance of poetical conceits — his "Arcadia." It was done at his sister's wish, and as he wrote to her, "only for you, only to you. . . . For, indeed, for severer eyes it is not, being but a trifle, and that triflingly handled. Your dear self can best witness the manner, being done in loose sheets of paper, most of it in your presence, the rest by sheets sent unto you as fast as they were done." This romance was not published by Sidney. Not long before his death, he said that he wished it to be burned. But it belonged to his sister, who valued it, and by her it was, after his death, prepared for the press, and published in 1590. Much of it was written during the summer of 1580, and the rest chiefly or entirely in 1581. Though long, Sidney's "Arcadia" is unfinished except by the addition of a hurried close. It is a pastoral romance of the Italian school of Sanazzaro; but its intermixture of verse and prose develops more completely a romantic story, and it adds to the pastoral a new heroic element. This was suggested partly by the Spanish romances of "Amadis" and "Palmerin," partly by the "Æthiopian Historie" of Heliodorus, lately translated from the Greek by Thomas Underdown. In another book, Sidney said that "it is not rhyming and versing that maketh a poet, no more than a long gown maketh an advocate, who, though he pleaded in armor, should be an advocate, and no soldier." Sidney's "Arcadia" may be, in this sense, taken as all poet's work; giving a new point of departure for heroic romance grafted upon pastoral. As he was writing for his sister a romance after the fashion of his day, Sidney, in the "Arcadia," would amuse himself by showing how he also could be delicate and fine-conceited.

There is much difference between the style of Sidney's "Arcadia," and that of his "Apologie for Poetrie," written in 1581, although not published until 1595, when Sidney was dead. This little treatise, in simple English, maintains against such attacks as Gosson's the dignity of the best literature. The "Apologie for Poetrie" is the first piece of intellectual literary criticism in our language; it springs from a noble nature feeling what is noblest in the poet's art; is clear in its plan, terse in its English; and while all that it says is well said, it is wholly free from conceits. The conceited style, indeed, it explicitly condemns, as eloquence disguised in painted affectation: "one time, with so far-fetched words, they may seem monsters, but must seem strangers to any poor Englishman; another time, with coursing of a letter, as if they were bound to follow the method of a dictionary; at another time with figures and flowers extremely winter-starved. But I would this fault were only peculiar to versifiers, and had not as large possession among prose-printers; and (which is to be marvelled) among many scholars; and (which is to be pitied) among some preachers. . . . For now they cast sugar and spice upon every dish that is served to the table: like those Indians, not content to wear ear-rings at the fit and natural place of the ears, but they will thrust jewels through their nose and lips, because they will be sure to be fine."

Shortly after writing his "Apologie for Poetrie," Sidney wrote his sonnets, — "Passions" of the old conventional type, — meaning, as usual, to address them to some lady who deserved compliment, and of whom his conventional rhapsodies could not very well be taken seriously. As the Earl of Surrey addressed his love-exercises to a child for whom the court felt sympathy, Sidney paid the like compliment to an unhappy wife, Penelope Devereux, daughter of his old friend, the late Earl of Essex. Sidney gave her the place of honor in his sonnet-writing, wherein she was to be Stella ("the Star"), he Astrophel ("the Lover of the Star"); and certainly, as all the court knew, and as the forms of such ingenious love-poetry implied, so far as love in the material sense was concerned, with as much distance between them as if she had shone upon him from above the clouds. Sidney's "Astrophel and Stella" sonnets were being written at the time when he was about to marry Fanny Walsingham; and in those earnest Elizabethan days, at the fitfully strict court of Elizabeth, since the character of such poetical love-passions was then understood, they brought upon Sidney's credit not a breath of censure.

Philip Sidney, at court again, after the months of retirement at Wilton, during which he wrote "Arcadia," was knighted by Elizabeth in January, 1583, when his age was twenty-eight. In the following March he was married to Frances, eldest daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham. In 1584 the course of events led Sir Philip Sidney to advocate direct attack by sea upon the Spanish power. He would have Elizabeth come forward as Defendress of the Faith, at the head of a great Protestant league. He was a member of the Parliament that met in November, 1584; and in July, 1585, he was joined with the Earl of Warwick in the Mastership of the Ordnance. His strongest desires caused him to look in two directions for his course of action: he might aid in direct attack on the Spanish possessions, which, as source of treasure, were a source of power; he might aid in the rescue from Spain of the Netherlands. During a great part of the year 1585 his mind was very much with Drake and Raleigh. In November, 1585, Sidney went to the Netherlands to take part in the struggle of the people of that country against the oppression of Spain. In September of 1586, he was engaged in the investment of Zutphen. On the 22d of that month he received his death-wound in a gallant assault made by a few hundred English against a thousand cavalry, and under fire from walls and trenches. A musket-ball from one of the trenches shattered Sidney's thigh-bone. His horse took fright and galloped back, but the wounded man held to his seat. He was then carried to his uncle, asked for water, and, when it was given, saw a dying soldier carried past, who eyed it greedily. At once he gave the water to the soldier, saying, "Thy necessity is yet greater than mine." Sidney lived on, patient in suffering, until the 17th of October. When he was speechless before death, one who stood by asked Philip Sidney for a sign of his continued trust in God. He folded his hands as in prayer over his breast, and so they were become fixed and chill when the watchers placed them by his side; and in a few minutes the stainless representative of the young manhood of Elizabethan England passed away.

4. The development of English literature is seen, in this period, in the appearance of a history of itself, as well as in the production of several works of literary criticism and of a long series of literary anthologies. The first history of English literature was written in Latin, by **John Bale**, who was born in Suffolk in 1495, and educated among the Carmelites of Norwich, and then at Jesus College, Cambridge. He became a Protestant, and, during the last six years of Henry VIII.'s reign, he lived in Holland. In 1552 Edward VI. made him Bishop of Ossory; and he afterwards painted his difficulties with a flock of antagonist faith in a book called "The Vocation of John Bale to the Bishopric of Ossory in Ireland; his Persecutions in the same, and his final deliverance." After the accession of Mary, Bale escaped to Switzerland; but he came to England upon the accession of Elizabeth, obtained in 1560 a prebend in Canterbury Cathedral, and died in 1563. He was a writer of miracle-plays, of which he produced nineteen; and these were filled with thrusts of argument and satire against the Roman Catholics. But his most notable work is his account of English writers, — "Scriptorum Illustrium Majoris Britanniæ Catalogus," —

published in folio by Opoirnus, at Basle, in 1557 and 1559. Though inaccurate, and warped by the controversial heat of the time, it is important as an aid to the study of our early literature.

The days that were to produce great poets produced also discussions on the art of poetry. Young King James of Scotland had tried his 'prentice hand at this; Sidney had written "An Apologie for Poetrie." **William Webbe**, of whom little is known, was a Cambridge man, who took his B.A. about 1573, and was a friend of Harvey and Spenser. He was afterwards private tutor in the Sulyard family, at the manor-house of Flemings, near Chelmsford, and there he wrote in the summer evenings "A Discourse of English Poetrie," which was printed in 1586. Webbe shared Gabriel Harvey's interest in the reformed English versifying. His book, which dwells much on Phaer's "Virgil," and most upon Spenser's "Shepherd's Calendar," leads up to a discussion of metres, with special reference to Latin models and to his own translation of the first two Eclogues of Virgil into English hexameters; beginning thus:

> "Tityrus, happilie thou lyste tumbling under a beech tree,
> All in a fine oate pipe these sweete songs lustilie chaunting."

Webbe added to his little book a summary of Horace's "Art of Poetry," taken from George Fabricius, of Kemnitz, himself a very good poet in Latin, who died in 1571.

Another Elizabethan book upon the art of verse was by **George Puttenham**—"The Arte of English Poesie, contrived into Three Bookes; the first of Poets and Poesie, the second of Proportion, the third of Ornament,"—written about 1585, and published in the spring of 1589. The author, who cited a dozen other works of his own which are lost, was born about 1530, had been a scholar at Oxford, had delighted in verse and written it, had seen the courts of France, Spain, Italy, and the Empire, was skilled in French, Italian, and Spanish, as well as in Greek and Latin; and in England he was one of the queen's gentlemen pensioners. His book is a systematic little treatise, dealing with the origin and nature of poetry: its several forms, as satire, comedy, tragedy, etc.: its several metres and proportions, including the various ways of writing verse in shapes, as the lozenge, or rhombus; the fuzie spindle, or rhomboides; the triangle, or tricquet; the square; the pillar, pilaster, or cylinder; taper, or pyramis; rondel, or sphere; egg, or figure oval; with many of these reversed and combined; a fashion then coming into use from Italy and France. Puttenham says that an Eastern traveller whom he met in Italy told him that this fashion was brought from the courts of the great princes of China and Tartary. The introducer of "shaped verses" into Europe is said to have been a Simmias of Rhodes, who lived under Ptolemy Soter, about 324 B.C. Puttenham's argument concerning metres includes, of course, some reference to the question of Latin quantity applied to English verse. The last book discusses the language of the poet; tropes and figures of speech, with examples; fitness of manner, and the art that conceals art. Among illustrations of poetical ornament is a poem by Queen Elizabeth herself, written when the presence of Mary Queen of Scots in England was breeding faction; and the Queen of England, "nothing ignorant in those secret favors, though she had long, with great wisdom and patience, dissembled it, writeth this ditty most sweet and sententious, not hiding from all such aspiring minds the danger of their ambition and disloyalty:"

"The doubt of future foes exiles my present joy,
And wit me warns to shun such snares as threaten mine annoy.
For falsehood now doth flow, and subject faith doth ebb,
Which would not be if reason ruled, or wisdom weaved the web.
But clouds of toys untried do cloak aspiring minds,
Which turn to rain of late repent by course of changed winds.
The top of hope supposed, the root of ruth will be,
And fruitless all their graffed guiles, as shortly ye shall see.
Then dazzled eyes with pride, which great ambition blinds,
Shall be unsealed by worthy wights, whose foresight falsehood finds;
The daughter of debate, that eke discord doth sow,
Shall reap no gain where former rule hath taught still peace to grow.
No foreign banished wight shall anchor in this port:
Our realm it brooks no stranger's force, let them elsewhere resort.
Our rusty sword with rest shall first his edge employ
To poll their tops that seek such change and gape for joy."

5. John Bodenham published in 1598 a collection of sententious extracts from ancient moral philosophers, etc., called "Politeuphuia, or Wit's Commonwealth." It was designed chiefly for the benefit of young scholars, was popular, and often afterwards reprinted. In the same year, 1598, **Francis Meres,** M.A., published "Palladis Tamia: Wit's Treasury, being the Second Part of Wit's Commonwealth," 12mo, of 174 leaves, Euphuistic, as its title indicates, and also designed for instruction of the young. This book contained a brief comparison of English poets with Greeks, Latins, and Italians; and is especially remembered for its allusion to Shakespeare, showing the exalted opinion of him as a poet and dramatist, held by his immediate associates: "As the soule of Euphorbus was thought to live in Pythagoras, so the sweete wittie soule of Ovid lives in mellifluous and hony-tongued Shakespeare; witnes his 'Venus and Adonis,' his 'Lucrece,' his sugred 'Sonnets' among his private friends, etc. As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for comedy and tragedy among the Latines, so Shakespeare among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage. . . . As Epius Stolo said that the Muses would speake with Plautus' tongue, if they would speak Latin, so I say that the Muses would speak with Shakespeare's fine-filed phrase, if they would speake English."

6. In the year 1661 appeared an interesting "Life of Wolsey," by **George Cavendish,** who had entered Wolsey's service as a gentleman usher about the year 1519, had been faithfully attached to him during the last ten years of his life, and had spoken with the king immediately after Wolsey's death. He was invited into Henry's service; but presently retired to his own little estate in Suffolk, with the wages due from the cardinal, a small gratuity, and six of the cardinal's best carthorses to convey his furniture. His book, which was written about the year 1554, was used as a source of information by the chroniclers whom Shakespeare read.

Richard Grafton, who completed Hall's Chronicle, produced in 1563 "An Abridgement;" and in 1565 "A Manual of the Chronicles of England," from the Creation to the date of publication; and in 1568 and 1569, in two folios, "A Chronicle at large and meere History of the Affayres of Englande and Kinges of the same."

John Stow, born in Cornhill about 1525, was a tailor's son, and for a few years himself a tailor. But the life of the time stirred in him an enthusiasm for the study of English history and antiquities. He produced, in 1561, "A Summary of English Chronicles," and gave time and labor in travel about the country to produce for posterity a larger record; but he would have given up the delight and chief use of his life, to go back to tailoring for need of bread, if he had not been encouraged by occasional help from Archbishop Parker. His History first appeared in 1580, a quarto of more than twelve hundred pages, as "Annales, or a Generale Chronicle of England from Brute unto this present yeare of Christ, 1580." He still worked at history, and published in 1598, when more than seventy years old, the first edition of his "Survey of London" — a book of great value. But he had lost his best friends, and at the end of Elizabeth's reign he was distressed by poverty.

Ralph Holinshed had produced, with help of John Hooker, Richard Stanihurst, Boteville, Harrison, and others, his Chronicle in 1577, when Shakespeare was thirteen years old. Prefixed to it was a "Description of Britaine," valuable as an account of the condition of the country at that time. It was in two folio volumes, with many woodcuts. The second edition, which contained some passages that displeased the queen and required cancelling, appeared in 1586 and 1587, when Shakespeare's age was about twenty-three. It was chiefly in Hall and Holinshed that Shakespeare read the history of England. Of Holinshed himself little more is known than that he came of a respectable family at Bosley, in Cheshire, and that he was, in the latter part of his life, steward to a Thomas Burdet, of Bromcote, Warwickshire.

7. Voyages of exploration and discovery, which had increased rapidly in England since the days of the Cabots, began to make for themselves a rich department in English literature.

In 1574 George Gascoigne obtained from **Sir Humphrey Gilbert** his "Discourse to prove a Passage by the North-West to Cathay and the East Indies." He first sought to prove that America was an island; and then brought together the reports of voyagers by whom a north-west passage to Cathay and India had been attempted. By this route only, he argued, we could share the wealth derived by Spain and Portugal from traffic with the East; be unmolested by them in our course; and undersell them in their markets, besides finding new sources of wealth, and founding colonies for the relief of overcrowded England. This treatise revived interest in the subject. It passed from hand to hand in MS., and was printed in 1576, the year in which Martin Frobisher started, on board "The Gabriel," of twenty-five tons' burthen, upon the first of his three voyages in search of a north-west passage.

In 1588 **Thomas Hariot**, who had been of the unfortunate colony under Ralph Lane sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh to settle upon Roanoke Island, published "A Briefe and True Report of The New Found Land of Virginia," etc., in which he described the cultivation by the natives of the herb which they called "appowoc;" but the Spaniards, "tabacco." "They use to take the fume or smoke thereof by sucking it through pipes made of claie into their stomacke and heade," with wonderfully good results. "We ourselves," Hariot added, "during the time we were there, vsed to suck it after their maner, as also since our returne, and have found manie rare and wonderful experiments of the vertues thereof; of which the relation would require a volume by itselfe: the vse of it by so manie of late, men and women of great calling as else, and some learned phisitions also, is sufficient witnes."

The narratives of our adventurous seafarers were in those days treasured for posterity by **Richard Hakluyt**, who was born at Eyton, Herefordshire, in 1553. He was educated at Westminster School, and Christchurch, Oxford, and delighted always in tales of far countries and adventure by sea. He entered the church, went to Paris in 1584 as chaplain to the English ambassador, and was made prebendary of Bristol. In 1582, when he was twenty-nine years old, Hakluyt issued his first publication, "Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America, and the Lands adjacent unto the same, made first of all by our Englishmen, and afterward by the Frenchmen and Bretons: and certain Notes of Advertisements for Observations, necessary for such as shall hereafter make the like attempt." Hakluyt also translated books of travel from the Spanish; but his great work was that which first appeared in folio in 1589,—"The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffics, and Discoveries of the English Nation."

CHAPTER III.

SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: POETRY AND THE DRAMA.

1. Poetical Miscellanies. — 2. Devotional Poetry; Parker; Sternhold and Hopkins. — 3. Thomas Tusser. — 4. Thomas Sackville. — 5. "A Mirror for Magistrates." — 6. Nicholas Grimald. — 7. Thomas Churchyard. — 8. George Turbervile. — 9. George Gascoigne. — 10. Gabriel Harvey. — 11. Edmund Spenser. — 12. Fulke Greville. — 13. George Whetstone. — 14. Thomas Watson. — 15. William Warner. — 16. Henry Constable and Robert Southwell. — 17. Sir John Davies. — 18. First English Tragedy. — 19. Translations of Latin Tragedies. — 20. Development of the Drama in England; Richard Edwards; Actors and Theatres. — 21. Thomas Lodge. — 22. Anthony Munday. — 23. The Writers of Plays. — 24. George Peele. — 25. John Lyly. — 26. Robert Greene. — 27. Henry Chettle. — 28. Thomas Kyd. — 29. Thomas Nash. — 30. Christopher Marlowe.

1. The sweet spirit of song rises in the early years of Elizabeth's reign like the first chirping of the birds after a thunder-storm. "**Tottel's Miscellany,**" issued in June, 1557, as "Songes and Sonnettes, written by the Ryght Honorable Lorde Henry Haward, late Earl of Surrey, and other," was as a brake from which there rose, immediately before her rule began, a pleasant carolling. Among the smaller song-birds there were two with a sustained rich note, for in this miscellany were the first printed collections of the poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Earl of Surrey. This is our earliest poetical miscellany, if we leave out of account the fact that pieces by several writers had been included, in 1532, in the first collected edition of Chaucer's works. Tottel's first edition contained two hundred and seventy-one poems, the second contained two hundred and eighty; but thirty poems which appeared in the first edition were omitted in the second which appeared a few weeks later, so that between the two there were three hundred and ten poems in all. In 1559 there was a third edition of "The Miscellany;" in 1565, the year after Shakespeare's birth, a fourth; the eighth, and last of the Elizabethan time, in 1587. During the reign of Elizabeth other books of the same kind appeared: "The Paradise of Dainty Devices," collected by **Richard Edwards**, of her Majesty's Chapel, then dead, for a printer named Disle, and published in 1576; "A Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions," edited by **Thomas Proctor**, in 1578, with help from **Owen Rawdon**; "A Handefull of Pleasant Delites," by **Clement Robinson** and divers other, in 1584; "The Phœnix Nest," edited by **R. S.**, of the Inner Temple, gentleman, in 1593; "England's Helicon," edited by **John Bodenham**, in 1600; and "A Poetical Rhapsody," edited by **Francis Davison**, in 1602. The most popular of these was "The Paradise of Dainty Devices."

2. In 1560, was published an English version of the Psalms, made, during his exile under the reign of Queen Mary, by **Matthew Parker**, whom Queen Elizabeth, at her accession, appointed to be Archbishop of Canterbury. Parker translated the Psalms into English verse, for comfort to himself like that of David, for whom in a time of trouble, as Parker says in his metrical preface,

"With golden stringes such harmonie
His harpe so sweete did wrest,
That he reliev'd his phrenesie
When wicked sprites possest."

But the most celebrated English version of the Psalms was that entitled "The Whole Booke of Psalmes collected into English metre by **T. Sternhold, J. Hopkins**, and others, conferred with the Ebrue, with Apt Notes to sing them withall." This appeared in 1562, and was then attached for the first time to the Book of Common Prayer. Among the "apt tunes" is that to which the 100th Psalm was sung, now known as "The Old Hundredth." It had been one of the tunes made by Goudimel and Le Jeune for the French version of the Psalms by Clement Marot. Thomas Sternhold, who died in 1549, had published one year before his death "Certayne Psalms," only nineteen in number. He was born in Hampshire, and, after education at Oxford, became groom of the robes to Henry VIII., who liked him well enough to bequeath him a hundred marks. He desired to do with his psalms in England what had been done in France by Marot, "thinking thereby that the courtiers would sing them instead of their sonnets, but did not, only some few excepted," whose religion we respect more than their taste. In the year in which Sternhold died, there appeared, with a dedication to Edward VI., a new edition of "All such Psalms of David as Thomas Sternhold, late grome of the Kinges Majestyes robes, did in his lyfe time drawe into Englysshe metre." This contained thirty-seven Psalms by Sternhold, and seven by John Hopkins, a Suffolk clergyman and schoolmaster, who joined in his labor. To an edition of 1551, Hopkins added seven more psalms of his own. Hopkins and others then worked on with the desire to produce a complete version of the Psalms of David into a form suited for congregational singing. This was at last accomplished, as above mentioned, in 1562.

3. As poetry in this time had its side looking toward religion, so it had its side looking toward trade, manual toil, and the material well-being of England. The most conspicuous example of this is **Thomas Tusser.** He was born about 1515, at Rivenhall, in Essex, was first a chorister at St. Paul's, and then was placed at Eton under Udall, of whom he says:

> "From Paul's I went, to Eton sent,
> To learn straightways the Latin phrase,
> Where fifty-three stripes given to me
> At once I had.
> For fault but small, or none at all,
> It came to pass thus beat I was:
> See, Udall, see, the mercy of thee
> To me, poor lad."

Tusser went from Eton to Cambridge, was fourteen years at court under the patronage of Lord Paget, then took a farm in Suffolk, and rhymed about farming. He first broke out in 1557 with his "Hundred Good Points;" but his crop of rhyming maxims had increased five-fold by the year 1573, when Richard Tottel published Tusser's "Five Hundreth Points of Good Husbandry," giving the round of the year's husbandry month by month, in a book of ninety-eight pages, six and a half quatrains to a page. Tusser's strength may have been in high farming; it was not in high poetry. Nevertheless, there is a musical sententiousness in his terse rhymes, and an air of business about them; his Pegasus tugged over the clods with his shoulder well up to the collar, and the maxims were in a form likely to insure for them wide currency among the people. While less practical poets might bid their readers go idly a-Maying with Maid Marian, Tusser advised otherwise:

"In May get a weed-hook, a crotch, and a glove,
And weed out such weeds as the corn doth not love.
For weeding of winter corn now it is best,
But June is the better for weeding the rest."

Thomas Tusser died in 1580.

4. Perhaps the noblest specimen of English poetry produced between the time of Chaucer and the time of Spenser, was written, early in Elizabeth's reign, by a young man, **Thomas Sackville**, who, after giving this proof of possessing very high poetic genius, turned away from poetry to politics, and became a distinguished courtier and statesman, dying at the council table of King James I., in 1608. He was born in 1536, at Buckhurst, in Sussex, and was the son of Sir Richard Sackville, whom we have found befriending Roger Ascham. Thomas Sackville went to Oxford at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and thence to Cambridge, where he took his degree of M.A. His university reputation as a poet was referred to by Jasper Heywood, before his version of Seneca's "Thyestes," published in 1560:

" There Sackville's sonnets sweetly sauste,
And featly fyned bee."

Thomas Sackville married, at the age of nineteen, the daughter of a privy councillor, and sat in a parliament of Philip and Mary at the age of twenty-one, as member for Westmoreland. In the first year of the reign of Elizabeth he was member for East Grinstead, and took part in business of the House. When he left the university, Sackville had entered himself to the Inner Temple; and it was in promotion of the dramatic entertainments of that society of lawyers and law-students that he wrote the best parts of "Gorboduc," the first tragedy in English literature. He was knighted in 1567, the year after his father's death, and made a baron as Lord Buckhurst. He rose in the state, and after the death of Lord Burghley in 1598, succeeded him as High Treasurer of England. Early in the next reign, in 1604, Sackville was made Earl of Dorset; and by either one of these three names, indiscriminately, Sackville, Buckhurst, and Dorset, is he mentioned in English literature.

Sackville's claim to perpetual remembrance as a poet rests upon his "Induction" to a series of poetical tragedies written by several hands, and called "A Mirror for Magistrates." The "Induction" was first published in 1563. It follows the old forms, and is an allegory in Chaucer's stanza. Opening, not with a spring morning, but with winter night and its images of gloom and desolation, the poet represents himself abroad, mourning the death and ruin of all summer glory, when he meets a woe-begone woman clad in black, who is allegorically painted as Sorrow herself. Her home is among the Furies in the infernal lake:

"Whence come I am, the dreary destiny
  And luckless lot for to bemoan of those
Whom fortune, in this maze of misery,
  Of wretched chance, most woeful mirrors chose,
  That, when thou seest how lightly they did lose
Their pomp, their power, and that they thought most sure,
Thou mayest soon deem no earthly joy may dure."

By Sorrow the poet was to be taken

"First to the grisly lake,
And thence unto the blissful place of rest,
  Where thou shalt see, and hear, the plaint they make
That whilom here bare swing among the best."

The descent of Avernus and the allegorical figures within the porch and jaws of hell — Remorse of Conscience, Dread, Revenge, Misery, Care, Sleep, Old Age, Malady, Famine, War, Deadly Debate, Death — are described with dignity and energy of imagination. The poet, and Sorrow his guide, were ferried across Acheron, passed Cerberus, and reached the horror of the realm of Pluto. At the cry of Sorrow the rout of unhappy shades gathered about them; and first Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, when he could speak for grief, began his plaint, bade Sackville mark well his fall,

"And paint it forth, that all estates may know;
Have they the warning, and be mine the woe."

Sackville wrote in the series no other tragedy than this, perhaps because his way of life drew him from literature, perhaps because he was too good a poet to be satisfied with this manner of work. His complaint of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, abounds in poetry of thought and musical expression; but the essential difference between a history and a poem makes itself felt. The unity of the piece as a poem is marred by faithful adherence to historical detail; and Sackville no doubt felt that he must either illustrate the good doctrine of Aristotle in his "Poetics," and write poems that were not exactly histories, or he must write histories that were not exactly poems. The very excellence, also, and intensity of his "Induction," struck a note which the sequence of tragedies, unless they were true poems, would not sustain.

We shall meet with Sackville again, when we trace the progress of dramatic literature in this period.

5. The huge series of mournful biographies in verse, called "A Mirror for Magistrates," to which Sackville contributed the poetic preface called the "Induction," had a popular reputation and a literary influence so great during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that we now need to pay to it particular attention.

It appears that, in 1554, was printed at London an edition of Lydgate's "Falls of Princes," which is an English metrical version of Boccaccio's "Falls of Illustrious Men." This edition proved successful: and the printer of it conceived the idea of gratifying the public by a long sequel to that work, introducing only English characters, and conducting the story from the Norman Conquest downward. For this purpose, he applied for help to **William Baldwin,** an ecclesiastic and busy man of letters, who had graduated at Oxford, had been a schoolmaster, had written "A Treatise of Moral Philosophy," had published a metrical version of "The Song of Solomon," had written comedies, and was even then engaged in preparing dramatic entertainments for the court of Queen Mary, as he had done for the court of King Edward VI. Baldwin undertook the work proposed to him by the printer, and soon had associated with him in the task **George Ferrers,** who had been educated at Oxford and at Lincoln's Inn, had been a member of parliament, had translated Magna Charta and other statutes from French into Latin and English, had composed interludes for the court, and in 1552 was the king's Lord of Misrule at Greenwich for the twelve days of Christmas.

Chiefly by these two men, the first series of metrical biographies, called "A Mirror for Magistrates," was written; and it was in part printed in 1555, but was stopped by the intervention of Stephen Gardiner, who was then Lord Chancellor, and who died in November of that year. After the accession of Elizabeth, a license was obtained, in 1559, and in that year "A Mirror for Magistrates" was first issued. It had a prose introduction, showing how it was agreed that Baldwin should take the place of Boccaccio, that to him the wretched princes should complain, and how certain friends "took upon themselves every man for his part to be sundry personages." Then they opened books of chronicles, and "Maister Ferrers (after he had found where Bochas left, which was about the end of King Edward the Third's reign) said thus: — 'I marvel what Bochas meaneth, to forget among his miserable princes such as were of our own nation. . . . Bochas, being an Italian, minded most the Roman and Italian story, or else, perhaps, he wanted the knowledge of ours. It were, therefore, a goodly and notable matter to search and discourse our whole story from the first beginning of the inhabiting of the isle. But seeing the printer's mind is to have us follow where Lydgate left, we will leave that great labor to other that may intend it, and (as one being bold first to break the ice) I will begin at the time of Richard the Second, a time as unfortunate as the ruler therein.'" Ferrers began, therefore, with the fall of Robert Tresilian, Chief Justice of England, in Chaucer's stanza, with the lines lengthened from ten syllables to twelve. There are some other measures; but the greater part of "A Mirror of Magistrates" is in Chaucer's stanza, with prose talk by the company between the tragedies. The work, as published in 1559, contained nineteen tragedies; beginning with "Tresilian," and ending with "Edward IV." The greater number of these were written by Baldwin; Ferrers wrote three; and one, on Owen Glendower, was written by Phaer, the translator of Virgil.

The work reached a second edition in 1563; but, in the mean time, one true and great poet had become interested in it, Thomas Sackville, who, in place of the bungling prose preface to the first edition, substituted his stately and pathetic "Induction," following that with his "Complaint of Buckingham." To this edition was added still another story, — that of "Jane Shore," by Thomas Churchyard.

From this time onward until 1610, "A Mirror for Magistrates" was steadily increasing in popularity, and in bulk likewise; for in each successive edition other verse-makers kept adding to the original store of tragic anecdote from English history. In 1574 **John Higgins**, a clergyman and schoolmaster in Somersetshire, published what he called "The First Part of the Mirror for Magistrates," containing sixteen legends of his own, for the period from Brut to the birth of Christ. He opened his work with a general Induction in Chaucer's stanza, which was suggested to him by Sackville's. In 1578 appeared what was called "The Second part of the Mirror for Magistrates," containing twelve legends by **Thomas Blenerhasset**, and filling up in the wide scheme the period from Cæsar's Invasion to the Norman Conquest. In 1587, these new portions, together with some additional legends, were blended with the original work, which began with the Norman Conquest. This was the most complete form attained by the work during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It was popular throughout that reign, and one of the sources from which dramatists, when they arose, drew plots for plays. The last edition of the work, in which increments of the poem were given, appeared in 1610, edited by **Richard Niccols**, "newly enlarged with a last Part, called a Winter Night's Vision, being an addition of such Tragedies, especially famous, as are exempted in the former History, with a Poem annexed, called England's Eliza." This final edition contained ninety-one legends. A good modern reprint of the work was edited by William Haslewood, and published in 1815. Concerning this famous work, Warton says: "It is reasonable to suppose that the publication of 'A Mirror for Magistrates' enriched the stores and extended the limits of our drama. These lives are so many tragical speeches in character. They suggested scenes to Shakespeare. Some critics imagine that historical plays owed their origin to this collection. At least it is certain that the writers of this 'Mirror' were the first who made a poetical use of the English chronicles recently compiled by Fabyan, Hall, and Holinshed, which opened a new field of subjects and events, and, I may add, produced a great revolution in the state of popular knowledge."

6. **Nicholas Grimald** was born about 1519, in Huntingdonshire, was educated at Christ's College, took his B.A. in 1540, in 1542 was incorporated at Oxford, and elected a probationer fellow of Merton College, Oxford. In the first edition of "Tottel's Miscellany," two poems of his were published, which have especial interest as the first specimens in English of original blank verse. One was a piece of one hundred and fifteen lines, on "The Death of Zoroas, an Egyptian Astronomer, in First Fight that Alexander had with the Persians," beginning:

> "Now clattering arms, now raging broils of war,
> Can pass the noise of taratantars' clang"—

("taratantars" altered in the next edition to "dreadful trumpets"). The other was a somewhat shorter piece, upon the "Death of Cicero." Grimald, who also distinguished himself as a translator, died, probably, in 1562.

7. **Thomas Churchyard**, born at Shrewsbury about 1520, and a soldier in his earlier years, was not only the author of two of the better class of tragedies in "A Mirror for Magistrates"—"Jane Shore" and "Wolsey"—but a busy poet, whose literary activity began with Elizabeth's reign, and continued to its close. He died in 1604, after an unprosperous life of dependence upon patrons, and had these lines for epitaph:

> "Poverty and poetry his tomb doth inclose;
> Wherefore, good neighbors, be merry in prose."

His "Davie Dicar's Dream," published in 1563, produced from Thomas Camel a metrical "Rejoinder to Churchyard," and led to a controversy of wits. Among Churchyard's numerous publications were, in 1575, "The First Part of Churchyard's Chips, containing Twelve Labors"—not Herculean, a collection of twelve pieces; in 1578, "A Praise and Report of Frobisher's Voyage," a "Description of the Wars in Flanders," a translation of the "Three First Books of Ovid de Tristibus," and a description of his own devices for the entertainment of the queen in Norwich in that year. In 1579 he published "A Welcome Home to Frobisher;" "The Services of Sir William Drury, Lord Justice of Ireland;" and a piece on "The Miserie of Flaunders, Calamitie of France, Misfortune of Portugal, Unquietness of Ireland, Troubles of Scotland, and the Blessed State of England." The chief of many works by Churchyard after 1579 was his patriotic poem on Welsh worthies, "The Worthiness of Wales," published in 1587, with a dedication to the queen.

8. **George Turbervile** was born in Dorsetshire, about 1530; was educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford; became secretary to Sir Thomas Randolph, ambassador at the court of Russia; and lived into the latter part of Elizabeth's reign. He published, besides translations from the Latin and Italian, a volume of his own poems as "Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs, and Sonets; with a Discourse of the friendly Affections of Tymetes to Pindara his Ladie." Turbervile takes a pleasant place among the elder Elizabethan poets. He wrote also books of "Falconry" and "Hunting."

9. **George Gascoigne**, son and heir of Sir John Gascoigne, was born about the year 1536, perhaps in Westmoreland, educated at Cambridge, admitted to Gray's Inn in 1555, and called as an Ancient of his Inn in 1557. At the accession of Elizabeth, George Gascoigne was an ardent youth of about twenty-two, disinherited by his father, caring more for literature than for common law. In 1566 there were represented at Gray's Inn two plays of his preparing, both translations. One, called "The Supposes," was a prose translation of Ariosto's comedy, "Gli Suppositi;" the other was "Jocasta," an adaptation from the "Phœnissæ" of Euripides. This, the

first acted version of a Greek play, was, like "Gorboduc," written in blank verse, and with a dumb-show before every act. In 1572, Gascoigne published "A Hundreth Sundrie Floures bound up in one small Poesie." He had then Lord Grey of Wilton, a strict Calvinist, for patron, and was, at the time of publication, a captain in the Netherlands under William of Orange, who, in July of that year, was declared by the deputies of eight cities stadtholder of Holland. Gascoigne's adventures in the Netherlands were over, and he was living at Walthamstow in 1575, when he described "The Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth," began his satire called "The Steel Glass," and prefixed verses of commendation to a book of Turbervile's. In 1576, George Gascoigne published "The Steel Glass," and "The Complaint of Philomene," besides "A Delicate Diet for Daintie-mouthde Droonkards," and in October, 1577, he died. The "Complaint of Philomene" is, in form of elegy, the fable of "The Nightingale." "The Steel Glass" is a clever satire, which upholds with religious earnestness a manly and true life. Satire, who has Plain Dealing for father, Simplicity for mother, and Poesy for sister, complains here that his sister has been married to Vain Delight, and that every man will have a glass "to see himself, yet so he seeth him not:"

> "That age is dead and vanished long ago
> Which thought that steel both trusty was and true,
> And needed not a foil of contraries,
> But showed all things even as they were indeed.
> Instead whereof our curious years can find
> The crystal glass which glimseth brave and bright,
> And shows the thing much better than it is,
> Beguiled with foils of sundry subtle sights,
> So that they seem, and covet not to be."

Gascoigne's satire therefore resolves to hold up the faithful glass of burnished steel, and from it show true images of men. The poem is in about eleven hundred lines of blank verse, and is the first example in our language of a poem of any length, and not dramatic, written in that measure. It is also the only example, before Milton's "Paradise Lost," of an English poem of any length in blank verse, except an insignificant work by W. Vallans, published in 1590, as "The Tale of the Two Swans."

10. Gabriel Harvey, who had high reputation in his own age, is chiefly remembered now for his friendship with Sidney and Spenser, and for his efforts to "reform" the whole system of English versification. He was born about 1545; was educated at Cambridge; and in 1576, when Spenser came there as a student, Harvey was a lecturer in the university on rhetoric. The introductory lecture of Harvey's course in 1577, apparently his second course, was published under the name of "Ciceronianus;" and his first two lectures of the course for 1578 were also published, under the name of "Rhetor." He had then advanced from a close following of Bembo and other Italians, who exalted above all things the Ciceronian style, and had received an impulse to the appreciation of individuality in other authors, from the reading of Jean Sambuc's "Ciceronianus." He had learned, within that year, to look for the whole man in a writer as the source of style, and, still exalting Cicero, to attend first to the life and power of the man, and not to the mere surface polish of his language. "Let every man," he said, "learn to be, not a Roman, but himself." Gabriel Harvey, then, was no pedant, though he is often called one. In 1578, when Queen Elizabeth visited Leicester at Audley End, Gabriel Harvey, whose home was in the neighborhood, had an interview with the queen, an account of which is preserved in his Latin poems, "Gratulationes Waldenses." Harvey pressed forward with his homage, and the queen said, "Who is this? Is it Leicester's man that we were speaking of?" Being told that it was, she said, "I'll not deny you my hand, Harvey." Again, as the subject of another set of verses, "Tell me," the queen said to Leicester, "is it settled that you send this man to Italy and France?" "It is," said he. "That's well," she replied, "for already he has an Italian face, and the look of a man; I should hardly have taken him for an Englishman"—like an Italian for the dusky hue which Thomas Nash afterwards compared to rancid bacon. Here, then, we learn that Harvey was in Leicester's service, and about to be sent abroad by him. As "Leicester's man," Harvey had become acquainted with Philip Sidney, Leicester's nephew. Likeness in age, and love of literature, had developed between them a friendship in which

Spenser now was joined, — small personal incidents that had much to do with the movement and quality of English poetry in those days, and since.

Harvey long survived both his friends, dying, in extreme old age, in 1630 or 1631. He wrote the poem by "Hobbinol" prefixed to "The Faery Queen," and he had a furious controversy with the dramatists Greene and Nash. We are most interested now in his three letters respecting the "English reformed versifying," which meant a fancy of the day among some university men who discussed literature together — Harvey, Spenser, Sidney, and Sidney's friends and college companions, Edward Dyer and Fulke Greville, with others — for the abolishing of rhyme and introduction of the Latin system of quantity into English verse. They were amusing themselves with English hexameters, sapphics, and other forms derived from the old Latin poetry. Spenser sent Harvey four lines of hexameter as a sample, and asked, "Seem they comparable to those two which I translated you extempore in bed the last time we lay together in Westminster?" He observed difficulties in accent, and, desiring a fixed system to work upon, wished Harvey would send him "the rules and precepts of art which you observe in quantities, or else follow mine that M. Philip Sidney gave me, being the very same which M. Drant devised, but enlarged with M. Sidney's own judgment, and augmented with my observations, that we might both accord and agree in one, lest we overthrow one another and be overthrown of the rest."

11. Edmund Spenser was born in or about the year 1553. He belonged to a branch of the family of the Spencers of Althorpe, Northamptonshire; and, though born in London, his home as a boy was in the North of England, probably upon the Yorkshire border of Lancashire. In 1569 he entered Pembroke College, Cambridge, as a sizar. In the same year there was published a book devised by S. John Van der Noodt, a refugee from Brabant, called "A Theatre wherein be represented as well the Miseries and Calamities that follow the Voluptuous Worldlings, as also the great Joys and Pleasures which the Faithful do enjoy. An Argument both Profitable and

Delectable to all that sincerely love the Word of God." The book opened with six pieces, which were the first six of the "Visions of Petrarch" translated by Spenser, and they were followed by some translations which, with later change from blank verse into rhyme, may be identified among Spenser's "Visions of Bellay." Spenser's participation as a youth in such a work as Van der Noodt's agrees with what we learn of him in later years. Spenser graduated as B.A. in 1573, and as M.A. in 1576. In the year 1579, Spenser, who was then in Leicester's service and Sidney's society, a frequent guest at Penshurst, and a young man with a career opening before him, published his first book, "The Shepherd's Calendar." The little book was published anonymously, with a dedication to the noble and virtuous gentleman, most worthy of all titles, both of learning and chivalry, Master Philip Sidney. "The Shepheardes Calender, conteyning Twelve Æglogues proportionable to the Twelve Monethes," and dedicated to Philip Sidney, was introduced by "E. K."—Edward Kirke, an old college friend of Spenser's and Harvey's—with a letter to Gabriel Harvey, in which "the new poet" was said to have begun with eclogues, "following the example of the best and most ancient poets, which devised this kind of writing, being both so base for the matter and homely for the manner, at the first to try their abilities," and to have other works by him sleeping in silence, "as his 'Dreams,' his 'Legends,' his 'Court of Cupid,' and sundry others." "E. K." added a postscript, urging Gabriel Harvey to give to the world also his own "gallant English verses." A "glosse," of small value, was added by "E. K." to each eclogue. In his "Shepheardes Calender," Spenser derived from Skelton the name of Colin Clout, which he applied to himself also in later poetry. The Colin Clout of Skelton was a homely Englishman, who felt that many wrongs were waiting to be righted, and especially condemned luxury and self-seeking of the higher clergy. Spenser was of one mind with Skelton upon this, and took his side at once in the church controversies of the time, although in doing so he boldly placed himself beside those who had least of the queen's favor.

In August of the following year, 1580, we find Spenser acting as private secretary to Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton, a strict Puritan, who in that month arrived in Dublin as Lord Deputy of Ireland. A great part of Ireland was then in insurrection; and rough and merciless work was to be done by Lord Grey and his soldiers, among whom was Captain Walter Raleigh, then twenty-eight years old, and perhaps then beginning his memorable friendship with the poet. Raleigh's energy was overbearing, and weak leaders did not love the bold, proud, and plain-spoken captain, who shone in conflict with the rebels, and in suggestion of policy for quelling the rebellion; until, in December, 1581, he was sent back to the court at London with despatches.

After the massacre at Del Oro, Spenser returned with Lord Arthur Grey to Dublin. In 1581, Spenser was made Clerk of Degrees and Recognizances in the Irish Court of Chancery, and received also a lease of the lands and abbey of Enniscorthy, in Wexford County. He transferred the lease within a year; and in 1582, Lord Arthur Grey, "after long suit for his revocation, received her Majesty's letters for the same." Spenser remained in Ireland as an English government official. In 1588 he vacated his post in the Irish Court of Chancery, on being appointed clerk to the Council of Munster. In 1589 he came to London with Sir Walter Raleigh, to present to the queen the first three books of "The Faery Queen," which were first published in 1590.

His "Shepherd's Calendar" had been reprinted in 1581 and 1586, and he was known to a limited number of people as a promising young poet. His fame was now about to rise upon the world. He was introduced by Raleigh to Elizabeth, and published in 1590 the first section, containing the first three books, of "The Faerie Queene, Disposed into Twelve Books, Fashioning XII. Morall Vertues." It was dedicated to her Majesty, and had a prefatory letter addressed to Sir Walter Raleigh, dated Jan. 23, 1589 (New Style, 1590). Spenser had been at work on his great poem for more than ten years, and the part of it now published was received with universal admiration. This sudden burst of renown caused the publisher to get together a volume of other poems by Spenser, which he published in 1591, under the title of "Complaints." This volume contained Spenser's "The Ruines of Time;" "The Teares of the Muses;" "Virgils Gnat;" "Prosopopoia, or Mother Hubberds Tale;" "The Ruines of Rome, by Bellay;" "Muiopotmos, or the Tale of the Butterflie;" "Visions of the Worlds Vanitie;" "Bellayes Visions;" and "Petrarches Visions." "The Ruines of Time," dedicated to Sidney's sister, the Countess of Pembroke, was a series of mournful visions, forming a poem in Chaucer's stanza, on the death of "Philisides" (Sir Philip Sidney). The "Ruins of Rome" and the "Visions," both from Bellay, his own "Visions of the World's Vanity," and the "Visions" of Petrarch, are alike in form, and written sonnetwise, the "Visions" of Bellay, and "Visions" of Petrarch, being chiefly a new version of Spenser's youthful contribution to the "Theatre for Worldlings."

Spenser wrote also about this time an elegy on the death of the wife of Arthur (afterwards Sir Arthur) Gorges, a "lover of learning and virtue." The lady was daughter and heir of Henry Lord Howard, Viscount Byndon, and the poem was published separately, under the name of "Daphnaida."

In February, 1591, Spenser received, as further earnest of success, a pension of fifty pounds a year from Queen Elizabeth. In October, 1591, a grant was made or confirmed to him of land in Cork, with the old castle of Kilcolman, in which he seems to have lived before his visit to England, and which had belonged to the Earls of Desmond. It was two miles from Doneraile, on the north side of a lake fed by the River Awbey, Spenser's Mulla. After his return to Ireland, Spenser dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh, from his house at Kilcolman, the 27th of December, 1591, his poem entitled "Colin Clout's Come Home Again," to which additions were made before its publication. In this poem, Colin, having told his fellow-shepherds how Raleigh, "the Shepherd of the Ocean," visited him in 1589, and caused him to "wend with him his Cynthia to see," described, in pastoral form, England, the queen herself, and, under pastoral names, celebrated personages of the court and living poets. Among them was he of the name Shake Spear, that doth heroically sound:

> "And there, though last, not least, is Aetion;
> A gentler shepherd may no where be found:
> Whose Muse, full of high thoughts' invention,
> Doth like himselfe heroically sound."

This was not published until 1595, and in the same year appeared Spenser's sonnets or "Amoretti," and the "Epithalamium," an exquisitely musical and joyous bridal song, written about the time of his own wedding. No lady's name is publicly associated with the sonnets, and they were written doubtless for the pleasure of the lady who became his wife. Three or four of them contain personal references, but the rest are of the usual kind. Spenser had been married on the 11th of June, 1594, when his age was about forty, to a lady living near Kilcolman, whose name, like the name of his queen and of his mother, was Elizabeth. In 1595 he had come to England again with the next instalment of three books of "The Faery Queen," and with a prose "View of the Present State of Ireland," in a dialogue between Eudoxus and Irenæus, which was circulated in manuscript, but was not printed until more than thirty years after his death. It was hard in the policy it recommended, and about Kilcolman Spenser was not kindly remembered. The second part of "The Faery Queen," containing the fourth, fifth, and sixth books, appeared in 1596, together with a reprint of the first three books. In the same year Spenser, while in London, added to two hymns of Love and Beauty, written years before, two other hymns of Heavenly Love and Heavenly Beauty. These "Hymns" were published at once, and in the same year appeared also his "Prothalamium" on the marriage of two daughters of the Earl of Worcester. Spenser published nothing more before his death. In 1597 he returned to Kilcolman. In 1598 he was named by the queen for sheriff of Cork. Children had been born to him; there were two sons living, Sylvanus and Peregrine. In October, 1598, Tyrone's rebellion broke out. Kilcolman was attacked, plundered, and burnt. Spenser and his family were cast out; an infant child of his is said to have perished in the flames, but that is doubtful. Spenser was thus driven back to England, and died soon after his arrival, on the 16th of January, 1599, at a tavern in King Street, Westminster, where he had taken his lodging in order to be near the court, to which he looked for repair of his fortunes.

Let us now turn to give some attention to Spenser's masterpiece. The form of verse contrived by him for use in "The Faery Queen" is a nine-lined stanza, called "Spenserian." It was made by adding an Alexandrine to the stanza that French poets often use in the "Chant Royal," a longer form of balade, called "Royal Song," in which God was the king celebrated. That eight-lined stanza was applied also to other uses. Marot, for example, who did not use it for his "Chants Royaux," made it the measure of his poem on the marriage of James V. of Scotland with Magdalene of France. Chaucer and followers of his had used it now and then, as in the "Envoye to the Complaint of the Black Knight," in "Chaucer's A B C," in "The Balade of the Visage without Painting," and "L'Envoye à Bukton." It consisted of two quatrains of ten-syllabled lines, with alternate rhyme; the second rhyme of the first quatrain agreeing with the first rhyme of the quatrain that followed, thus a b a b, b c b c; this could go on indefinitely upon the same system — c d c d, d e d e, e f e f, etc. Now, Spenser's added line follows the system of the verse as to its rhyme, but destroys expectation of continuance by the two extra syllables, which close with a new turn the music of the stanza. Thus the Spenserian stanza becomes as to its rhyming a b a b, b c b c, **c**.

The literary form of the poem is that of a romance of chivalry, which was in that day the most popular that could have been selected. Spenser not only followed Spanish romances, and Ariosto's "Orlando," but adapted himself to the humor of his time, as illustrated by the "Famous History of the Seven Champions of Christendom," — a pious romance of saintly knights and fair ladies, dragons and chivalrous adventures, told in Euphuistic style, of which the first part, which Spenser had read, appeared probably about the middle of Elizabeth's reign, the second part certainly in 1597. Richard Johnson, whose name is associated with this book, and who finished re-editing it in the year of Shakespeare's death, was not its author.

Shakespeare also had read it; and since Elizabeth's time it has been dear to many generations of children. Spenser formed his allegory out of stock incidents in such romances, but he so told his story as to give to every incident a spiritual meaning. "The Faery Queen" abounds in graceful imitations or paraphrases from the ancient poets, and from Ariosto and Tasso; incidents are also suggested by Spenser's readings in Arthurian romance, in the first part of "The Seven Champions," in "The Orlando Furioso," and in Tasso's heroic poem.

In Spenser's letter to Raleigh prefixed to the fragment of "The Faery Queen," "expounding his whole intention in the course of this work," he said only that he labored "to pourtraict in Arthure, before he was king, the image of a brave knight, perfected in the twelve private moral vertues, as Aristotle hath devised, the which is the purpose of these first twelve books; which if I finde to be well accepted, I may be perhaps encouraged to frame the other part, of pollitické vertues in his person after that hee came to be king." It was left for the reader to discover how grand a design was indicated by these unassuming words. Spenser said that by the Faery Queen whom Arthur sought, "I mean glory in my generall intention, but in my particular I conceive the most excellent and glorious person of our soveraine the queene, and her kingdome in Faeryland." The student of "The Faery Queen" must bear in mind that its "general intention" is its essential plan as a great spiritual allegory; that this is consistent throughout, is the very soul of the poem, source of its immortal life; and that the "particular" significations, which are frequent and various, are secondary senses lying only on the surface of the main design, with which they harmonize, and to which they gave a lively added interest in Spenser's time. Faery means in the allegory spiritual. A faery knight is a spiritual quality or virtue militant, serving the Faery Queen, Gloriana, which means in the general allegory Glory in the highest sense — the glory of God. Read out of allegory, therefore, "The Glory of God" is the name of Spenser's poem. Again said Spenser, in this introductory letter: "In the person of Prince Arthure I sette forth Magnificence in particular; which vertue, for that (according to Aristotle and the rest) it is the perfection of all the rest, and conteineth in it them all, therefore in the whole course I mention the deedes of Arthure applyable to that vertu, which I write of in that booke; but of the xii. other vertues I make xii. other knights the patrones, for the more variety of the history." Spenser's ethical system was bound up with his religion; he painted, therefore, in his separate knights, each single virtue of a man striving heavenward, but failing at some point, and needing aid of divine grace. This came through Arthur, in whom all the virtues are contained, who is filled with a great desire towards the Faery Queen — the glory of God — and who above all represents, in the literal sense of the word, magnificence, since he may be said to indicate the place of the Mediator in the Christian system. If we had had all twelve books of the poem, which was left only half finished, they would have been an allegory of man battling heavenward with all his faculties, through trial and temptation. The other poem, had it followed, would have been an endeavor to represent through allegory an ideal citizenship of the kingdom of heaven. Because "The Faery Queen" was published incomplete, Spenser told so much of what its readers could have found in the whole work as was necessary to direct their understanding to the well-head of the history, "that from thence gathering the whole intention of the conceit, ye may as in a handfull gripe al the discourse." He gave the clew into our hands, and then left us to find our own way through the poem upon which he spent the best thought of his life.

Spenser believed that he had given aid enough for the interpretation of his allegory. In the introduction to his second book he told the reader that

"Of faery lond, yet if he more inquyre,
By certein signes, here sett in sondrie place,
He may it fynd: ne let him then admyre,
But yield his sence to bee too blunt and bace
That no'te without an hound fine footing trace."

Spenser's "fine footing" has been traced but carelessly; while all readers have felt the sweetness of music, and enjoyed the feast of imagination that "The Faery Queen" offers to those who simply yield themselves up to a sense of the surpassing beauty of its pictures and of its deeply earnest spiritual undertone. Profoundly earnest, and the work of a pure mind, "The Faery Queen" is yet bitter at core. It is the work of a great poet, who felt and expressed both the essence and the accidents of the great struggle in which he was himself a combatant. Through all its delicious melody it breathes a stern defiance of whatever cause was not, in the eyes of a true-hearted Elizabethan Puritan, the cause of God. The deeper allegory that expresses abstract truth holds on throughout "The Faery Queen" its steady course, but it is conveyed through many references, in their own time not in the least obscure, to affairs of England, Ireland, France, Spain, Belgium. For example, in the ninth canto of Book V. Spenser enforced the whole case for the execution of Mary Queen of Scots; and at the beginning of the next canto he spoke his mind, still on the surface of the allegory of Mercilla and Duessa, upon Elizabeth's unwillingness to sentence Mary. The doom was

> "by her tempred without griefe or gall,
> Till strong constraint did her thereto enforce:
> And yet even then ruing her wilfull fall
> With more than needfull naturall remorse,
> And yeelding the last honour to her wretched corse."

The larger allegory dealt here with the mercy that should season justice; but the bitterness of conflict was so prominent, that on the publication, in 1596, of the second part of "The Faery Queen," which contained this passage and others like it, King James of Scotland desired Spenser's prosecution. The English ambassador in Scotland wrote to Lord Burghley, in November, 1596, that he had satisfied the king as to the privilege under which the book was published, yet that the latter still desired that Edmund Spenser, for this fault, might be tried and punished.

12. Fulke Greville, also known as **Lord Brooke**, a schoolfellow of Sidney's and his life-long friend, was born in 1554, of an old Warwickshire family; became an ornament of Elizabeth's court, and lived into the time of Charles I., being throughout his life the influential friend of many poets and scholars. He was knighted by Elizabeth in 1591, and was raised to the peerage, as Lord Brooke, in 1620; in 1628, he was murdered by his servant. "Certaine Learned and Elegant Workes," by Fulke Greville, were published in 1633, including his tragedies of "Alaham" and "Mustapha." He left behind him also a short life of Sir Philip Sidney, which was published in 1652.

13. **George Whetstone,** who was in repute with his contemporaries as "one of the most passionate above us to bewail the perplexities of love," wrote, under a name taken from the popular story-book of Marguerite of Navarre, "A Heptameron of Civil Discourses." This also is a book of tales. Among those which he took from the "Hecatommithi," or "Hundred Tales," of Giraldi Cinthio, first published in 1565, tales which deal with the tragic side of life, is one that was used by Shakespeare for the plot of his "Measure for Measure." Whetstone had himself written a play on the same subject, "Promos and Cassandra," in two parts, printed in 1578.

14. **Thomas Watson** was born about 1558, and died in 1592. The thirty-five years of his life were all lived in Elizabeth's reign. He was born in London, studied in Oxford, then in London again, and applied himself to common law; was in Paris for a time before 1581, in which year he published a version in Latin of the "Antigone" of Sophocles. A scholar and a poet; at first writing chiefly in Latin, afterwards in English verse; appreciated as he deserved to be by Sidney, Lyly, and Peele; a friend of Spenser's,—Watson was the sweetest of the purely amatory poets of Elizabeth's reign. In 1582 appeared his book with a Greek and English title—Greek titles were then becoming fashionable—"The *Ἑκατομπαθία*, or Passionate Centurie of Love," that is to say, a love passion in a hundred sonnets. According to the old Italian method, which had been revived by Surrey, exercises upon various phases of the passion of love in sequences of sonnets were still in fashion; these poems were known as Passions. Each of Watson's hundred Passions has a prose explanation before it; and each consists of three of the six-lined stanzas then called Common Verse, the stanza which, as King James VI. recorded, poets were

to use "in materis of love." Take one of Watson's for example:

"Tully, whose speech was bold in ev'ry cause,
  If he were here to praise the saint I serve,
The number of her gifts would make him pause,
  And fear to speak how well she doth deserve.
Why then am I thus bold, that have no skill?
Enforced by love, I show my zealous will."

In 1585 appeared Watson's Latin poem, "Amyntas," from which his fellow-poets took the name they gave him in their rhymes; and in 1593—after "Italian Madrigals Englished" and other works—appeared his "Tears of Fancy; or, Love Disdained."

15. William Warner, born in London about the year of Elizabeth's accession, a poetical attorney, celebrated "Albion's England" in thirteen books of fourteen-syllabled rhyming verse, first published in 1586. His poem was of Albion's England, because it did not, like Albion, include Scotland. It was an easy, lively, homely history of England, from the Deluge down to Warner's own time, homely in use of simple idiomatic English, full of incidents and stories often rudely told, and often with a force or delicacy of touch that came of the terse directness with which natural feeling was expressed. Warner's poem had for a time great popularity. He was not a great poet, but the times were stirring, and they drew ten thousand lines of lively verse upon his country, even from an attorney.

16. Henry Constable published in 1592 twenty-three sonnets, under the title of "Diana; or, the Praises of his Mistres in Certaine Sweete Sonnets:" five were added to the next edition (1594). Other occasional verses and his "Spiritual Sonnets" bear witness to his ingenuity, and sense of music. Constable belonged to a good Roman-Catholic family, was born about 1555, became B.A. of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1579, and falling, as a Roman Catholic, under suspicion of treasonable correspondence with France, left England in 1595. In 1601 or 1602 he ventured to return, was discovered, and committed to the Tower, whence he was not released till the close of 1604. He was dead in 1616. With the name of Henry

Constable should be associated that of **Robert Southwell,** who was born in 1560, was educated at Douai, and returned to England in 1586 as a Jesuit missionary. In 1592 he was thrown into the Tower; he was ten times put to the torture that he might disclose a plot against the queen; and in 1595 he was executed at Tyburn. He was a man of deep and earnest nature; and for the saintliness of his life, and the meekness of his submission to a cruel death, he has been and is greatly revered. Besides prose-works, chiefly devoted to religious consolation, he wrote "St. Peter's Complaint, with other Poems," and "Mæoniæ, or certain excellent Poems and Spiritual Hymns." He may be regarded as the founder of modern English devotional poetry.

17. John Davies — who did not become Sir John till after the death of Elizabeth — was born in 1570, third son of John Davies, a lawyer at Westbury, in Wiltshire. He was sent to Oxford at the age of fifteen, as commoner of Queen's College, and thence went to study law at the Middle Temple, but he returned to Oxford in 1590 and took his degree of B.A. He was called to the bar in 1595, and in 1596 published a poem on the art of dancing, entitled "Orchestra." In the Middle Temple John Davies had been sometimes under censure for irregularities, and in February, 1598, he was expelled the Society for beating one Mr. Martin in the Temple Hall. John Davies then went back to Oxford and wrote a poem of good thoughts, pithily expressed, in quatrains. The poem was called "Nosce Teipsum: This Oracle Expounded in Two Elegies. 1. Of Humane Knowledge. 2. Of the Soule of Man, and the Immortalite thereof;" dedicated to Elizabeth, and published in 1599. Its stanzas of elegiac verse were so well packed with thought, always neatly contained within the limit of each stanza, that we shall afterwards have to trace back to this poem the adoption of its measure as, for a time, our "heroic stanza." The manner of it may be shown in a few quatrains that point the connection between "Nosce Teipsum" and its author's recent disgrace at the Middle Temple:

> "If aught can teach us aught, Affliction's looks
> (Making us pry into ourselves so near),
> Teach us to know ourselves, beyond all books,
> Or all the learned schools that ever were.

"This mistress lately pluck'd me by the ear,
And many a golden lesson hath me taught;
Hath made my senses quick and reason clear;
Reform'd my will, and rectify'd my thought.

"So do the winds and thunders cleanse the air;
So working seas settle and purge the wine;
So lopp'd and pruned trees do flourish fair;
So doth the fire the drossy gold refine."

Thenceforth there was a change in Davies's career. He was a member of the parliament which met in October, 1601, showing liberal interest in the privileges of the House and the liberties of the people. In Trinity term of that year he was restored to his old rank in the Temple, and at the death of Elizabeth stood ready for a rapid rise in his profession.

18. We have already seen that the first comedy in English dramatic literature was written by Nicholas Udall, probably about the year 1540. Just twenty-one years later, at the Christmas festivities of the Inner Temple, was presented for the first time the earliest English tragedy. This tragedy is now known under either of two titles, "Gorboduc," or "Ferrex and Porrex." It was written by two young men, both members of the Inner Temple; one of them being that **Thomas Sackville** whose genius and career we have studied in connection with his poems in "A Mirror for Magistrates." His associate in the composition of "Gorboduc" was **Thomas Norton**. He was eldest son of a small landed proprietor, of Sharpenhoe, in Bedfordshire, and was born in 1532. He became a good scholar and zealous Protestant, served in his youth the Protector Somerset, and then, in 1555, entered himself as a student of the Inner Temple. In 1561 he published a "Translation of Calvin's Institutes," which went through five editions in his lifetime; he also contributed to the Psalter of Sternhold and Hopkins that appeared in 1562; and he translated Newell's "Greater Catechism."

The story on which the tragedy of "Gorboduc" is founded was taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth's "History of British Kings," and was chosen as a fit lesson for Englishmen in the first year of the reign of Elizabeth. It was a call to Englishmen to cease from strife among themselves, and knit themselves into one people, obedient to one undisputed rule. Each act is opened with a masque, or dumb-show; and as the play was modelled on the Tragedies of Seneca, there was at the close of every act except the last a chorus. Except for the choruses, Sackville and Norton used the newly-introduced blank verse as the measure of their tragedy. Hitherto this measure had been little used by us, and never in an original work of any magnitude.

The plot of "Gorboduc" is very simple, and is thus stated in the argument prefixed to the printed copies of the play: "Gorboduc, King of Britain, divided his realm in his lifetime to his two sons, Ferrex and Porrex. The sons fell to dissension. The younger killed the elder. The mother, that more dearly loved the elder, for revenge killed the younger. The people, moved with the cruelty of the fact, rose in rebellion and slew father and mother. The nobility assembled and most terribly destroyed the rebels; and afterwards, for want of issue of the prince, whereby the succession to the crown became uncertain, they fell to civil war, in which both they and many of their issues were slain, and the land for a long time almost desolate and miserably wasted."

The play ends with a long moralizing on the situation by Eubulus, which includes a glance at the danger to the kingdom:

"When, lo, unto the prince,
Whom death or sudden hap of life bereaves,
No certain heir remains."

Thus our first tragedy distinctly grew out of the life of its own time, and gave expression to much that lay deep in the hearts of Englishmen in the first years of Elizabeth's reign. The best poetry of the play is in the fourth act, which certainly is Sackville's; and it is probable that the fifth act was also written by him; while the first three acts were the work of Norton.

This tragedy, which has peculiar interest for us as standing at the head of its department of English dramatic literature, having been first performed at the Inner Temple, in the Christmas holidays of 1561, was presented again on the 18th of January following, upon a great decorated scaffold in the queen's hall in Westminster, by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple, after a masque. An unauthorized edition of it was published in 1565 as "The Tragedy of Gorboduc." Our first printed tragedy appeared, therefore, when Shakespeare was one year old. "Ralph Roister Doister," our earliest comedy, was first printed in 1566, when Shakespeare was two years old. Thus Shakespeare and the English drama came into the world together. The authorized edition of "Gorboduc" did not appear until 1571, and in that the name of the play appeared as "Ferrex and Porrex."

19. From this account of the first original tragedy in our literature, we turn to note the fact of the great attention paid at this time to the Latin models in the tragic drama. Thus, in 1559, two years before the first presentation of "Gorboduc," Richard Tottel printed "in Flete Strete, within Temple Barre, at the signe of 'The Hand and Starre,'" a translation into English verse of "the sixt tragedie of the most grave and prudent author, Lucius Annæus Seneca, entituled 'Troas,' with divers and sundrie additions to the same, newly set forth in Englishe by **Jasper Heywood**, student in Oxforde." This man was the younger son of John Heywood, whom we have seen as a favorite composer of interludes and other entertainments at the court of Henry VIII., of Edward VI., and of Mary. Jasper Heywood was born about 1535, was educated at Oxford, and some months before the publication of his version of the "Troas," being twenty-three years old, had resigned a fellowship at Merton College for fear of expulsion. He was elected to a fellowship of All Souls', but left the university, and in 1561, having held by his father's faith, became a Roman-Catholic priest. He joined the Jesuits, studied theology for two years, and, after some time abroad, returned to England as Provincial of the Jesuits in 1581. He went abroad again, and died at Naples in 1598. Some poems of his are in "The Paradise of Dainty Devices;" and he translated from Seneca, in the first years of Elizabeth's reign, not only the "Troas," but also the "Thyestes," in 1560, and the "Hercules Furens," in 1561. He opened his "Troas" with a preface in Chaucer's stanza, but he wrote his dialogue chiefly in couplets of fourteen-syllabled lines. Thus, for example, Hecuba begins:

"Whoso in pomp of proud estate or kingdom sets delight,
Or who that joys in princes' court to bear the sway of might,
He dreads the fates which from above the wavering gods down flings,

But fast affiance fixed hath in frail and fickle things;
Let him in me both see the face of Fortune's flattering joy,
And eke respect the ruthful end of thee, O ruinous Troy!"

Sometimes the measure of the dialogue changes to a four-lined elegiac stanza, which is the measure also of a chorus added by Jasper Heywood himself to the first act:

"O ye to whom the Lord of land and seas,
  Of life and death, hath granted here the power,
Lay down your lofty looks, your pride appease,
  The crowned king fleeth not his fatal hour."

At the opening of the second act of the "Troas," Jasper Heywood raised the sprite of Achilles, and made him speak in Chaucer's stanza:

"The soil doth shake to bear my heavy foot,
  And fear'th again the sceptres of my hand,
The poles with stroke of thunder-clap ring out,
  The doubtful stars amid their course do stand,
  And fearful Phœbus hides his blazing brand;
The trembling lakes against their course do flyte,
For dread and terror of Achilles' sprite."

Other men set to work on other tragedies of Seneca; and with some variety in the choruses, they followed, in the choice of metres, the lead of Jasper Heywood, entirely discarding blank verse. Alexander Neville published, in 1560, a translation of the "Œdipus;" John Studley translated these four—"Hippolytus," "Medea," "Agamemnon," and "Hercules Œtæus;" Thomas Nuce translated "Octavia;" and the "Thebais" was translated by Thomas Newton, who, in 1581, collected the ten translations into a single volume, published as "Seneca: his Tenne Tragedies, translated into Englysh." These translations indicate the strong influence of the Latin tragedy upon the minds of scholars and poets in the birth-time of our native drama.

20. Having now examined the first comedy and the first tragedy in our literature, we proceed to study the rapid development of the English drama from the earlier years of the reign of Elizabeth, to the end of the sixteenth century, when our drama culminates in the career of Shakespeare.

In the Christmas holidays of 1564, what is called a tragedy, perhaps "Damon and Pithias," by **Richard Edwards**, a musician and writer of interludes, was acted before her Majesty by the children of the Chapel Royal, Richard Edwards being then their master. For its happy end and its intermixture of farcical matter, as in the shaving of Grim the Collier by the court lackeys, that rhyming play is a comedy, but it includes a tyrant and a hangman. Edwards was born in Somersetshire, and was a student at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, before he became attached to the court. That to the court he looked for his advancement we may infer from the form of his father's blessing, given in a poem of his in "The Paradise of Dainty Devices:"

> "My son, God guide thy way, and shield thee from mischance,
> And make thy just deserts in court thy poor estate advance."

In 1561, Elizabeth made him a gentleman of the Royal Chapel, and master of the singing boys. He was in very high repute for his comedies and interludes. On the 3d of September, 1566, Edwards's "Palamon and Arcyte" was acted before Elizabeth, in the hall of Christ Church, Oxford. At the beginning of the play, part of the stage fell in; three persons were killed, and five hurt; but the play was acted, and the queen enjoyed it, giving eight guineas to one of the young actors who pleased her much.

At court it was the business of the Master of the Revels to have plays rehearsed before him, and to choose the best. In the course of 1571 the plays acted before the queen were "Lady Barbara," by Sir Robert Lane's men; "Iphigenia," by the children of Paul's; "Ajax and Ulysses," by the children of Windsor; "Narcissus," by the children of the Chapel; "Cloridon and Radiamanta," by Sir Robert Lane's men; "Paris and Vienna," by the children of Westminster. In 1572 it was enacted that all fencers, bear-wards, common players in interludes, and minstrels not belonging to any baron of this realm, or to any other honorable personage of greater degree, should be treated as rogues and vagabonds if they had not the license of at least two justices of the peace. This requirement was renewed twenty-five years later. In May, 1574, the Earl of Leicester procured, as special privilege for his own servants, James Burbadge, John Perkyn, John Lanham, William Johnson, and Robert Wylson, the first royal patent "to use, exercise, and occupy the art and faculty of playing Comedies, Tragedies, Interludes, Stage Plays, and such other like as they have already used and studied, or hereafter shall use and study, as well for the recreation of our loving subjects as for our solace and pleasure when we shall think good to see them," within the city of London and its liberties, or in any other city, without let; "provided that the said Comedies, Tragedies, Interludes, and Stage Plays be by the Master of the Revels (for the time being) before seen and allowed; and that the same be not published or shown in the time of Common Prayer, or in the time of great and common Plague in our City of London." The city authorities opposed the concession of this patent; but in July, 1574, a letter was written from the Privy Council requiring the Lord Mayor "to admit the comedy players within the city of London, and to be otherwise favorably used." In 1575 the Common Council framed regulations that were in effect prohibitory; for they required not only that a license should be obtained from the Lord Mayor for every exhibition, but also that half the players' profits should be given up for charitable uses.

As yet no theatre had been built. Actors produced their entertainments upon scaffolds set up for the purpose in convenient places. In a town there was no place more convenient than the inn-yard, as the inn-yard used to be when there was much travelling by coach and on horseback. The large inner square of the building, entered by an archway, had, at least on the first floor, often on other floors, a gallery round it, into which rooms opened. The stage built against one side of the yard had close above it a piece of gallery which could be, and was, curtained off with it for use. It would serve for a window or a balcony, from which a king or a fair lady looked down; it would serve for the battlements of a castle, from which an attacking force could be defied; it would serve for the top of his palace, from which David observed Bathsheba. In the unenclosed part of the gallery above, on each side of the curtains, was the music. The trumpet sounded thrice, and at the third sound of the trumpet the curtain before the stage was drawn to either side, thus framing it in drapery. Upon the stage there was no scenery. A bed, or a table and chair, might be produced if necessary, or a god might be let down in a chair if the arrangement of galleries and windows in the place of performance made it easy to do that; but the play itself was the whole entertainment. The players did their best in dressing and in acting; the poet did his best to entertain the people and provide the players with effective parts. What scenery the poet wanted he could always paint for himself in words. A large part of the audience stood on the ground in the open yard, — groundlings of the original pit, for whom at first there were no seats provided. The galleries surrounding the old inn-yard were the first circles of boxes, and the rooms of the inn, which could be taken for solace of the more luxurious, were the first private boxes. After theatres had been built, those boxes were for some time called "rooms." The acting was at first on holidays, because on working-days, when most people were about their business, only the few idlers could afford to give attention to the play; for there was no acting after dark. The play was always over in time to enable playgoers to get back home before sunset. Following the old usage, in accordance with opinion of the Roman Catholic Church that after hours of service sports lawful on other days were lawful on Sundays, the afternoon of Sunday was at first a recognized time for such entertainments; but this was strongly opposed by the Puritans. The corporation of London, Puritan in its tendency, battled against the players, and supported its case with various arguments: as, desecration of Sabbath and saints' days; bringing of young people together under conditions that would favor the forming of unmeet contracts; temptations from the inns; chance of seditious matter in the plays; idle waste of money, that, if superfluous, should be given to the poor; hurt of people by the fall of scaffolding, and by the weapons and gunpowder used in the performances; chance of diffusing plague, by bringing people together in great crowds. In December, 1575, the authorities of the city of London prohibited altogether the acting of plays within their jurisdiction as ungodly, and made humble suit for like prohibition in all places near the city. The queen's players then petitioned the Privy Council against the procedure of the corporation of London, and of the justices of Middlesex, who also had opposed them. The city argued in reply to the players "how unseemly it is for youth to run straight from prayer to plays, from God's service to the devil's." Among other of its suggestions, one was, that since the death-rate, in absence of plague, was forty or fifty a week, acting of plays in London should be forbidden wherever the death-rate exceeded fifty. The population of London was then about a hundred and fifty thousand.

In 1576 the city desired that the players should act only in private houses, or, if elsewhere, then only on condition that the death-rate had for twenty days been under fifty; that they should never act on the Sabbath, nor on holy-days till after evening prayer, and always early enough to allow the spectators to return home before dark; also, that none but the queen's players should be thus licensed, and that not only the number of these, but their names, should be specified. If they infringed these regulations, there was to be an end of toleration. Hostility of the Common Council at last drove the actors into parts of London that were not within its jurisdiction; and in this year, 1576, James Burbadge bought and prepared a place for acting in the precinct of the dissolved monastery in the liberty of Blackfriars. There the Blackfriars Theatre was built, in spite of local opposition. In these contests the Earl of Leicester was, among men in power, the most active supporter of the players. In the same year, 1576, two other theatres were built beyond the jurisdiction of the Mayor and Corporation. These were outside the walls, in the fresh air of Shoreditch, and were called "The Theatre" and "The Curtain." These were the other two of the three theatres which, in 1576, first gave a home of its own to the English drama. William Shakespeare was at Stratford then, aged twelve.

21. Thomas Lodge, son of Sir Thomas Lodge, a London grocer, and lord mayor, made for himself a name of honor among the men who were creating a poetical drama when Shakespeare began his career in London. He was born about 1558, was a Roman Catholic and a good scholar. From Oxford he went to Avignon, where he graduated as doctor of medicine. On his return he was incorporated at Cambridge; and he became in London not only a successful dramatist and poet, but also a thriving physician, with a practice chiefly among those of his own religious faith. He wrote novels, pamphlets, sonnets, elegies, and at least two plays. The first, "The Wounds of Civil War lively set forth in the true tragedies of Marius and Sylla," was published in 1594, though written and acted some years before that. His other play, "A Looking-Glass for London and England," also published in 1594, was written in conjunction with Robert Greene. He died in 1625.

22. **Anthony Munday** was a minor writer, whose literary activity in verse and prose, as playwright, ballad-writer, and pamphleteer, began in 1579, and extended through the rest of the reign of Elizabeth, and the whole reign of her successor. He died in the reign of Charles I., in 1633. He was bred in the English college at Rome, and afterwards turned Protestant. His earliest introduction to literature was as a player and a writer for the stage. In 1582 he gave great offence to the Catholics by publishing "The Discoverie of Edmund Campion," the Jesuit, which provoked reply. After this he was in the service of the Earl of Oxford, and was also a messenger of the queen's bedchamber. He had reputation among our first dramatists for skill in the construction of a comic plot. His earliest printed book is religious in its tendency; and so indeed was a great part of the drama during Elizabeth's reign. Its title explains its purport. It was in verse, and called "The Mirrour of Mutabilitie; or, Principal Part of the Mirrour of Magistrates: Selected out of the Sacred Scriptures." The titles of his next two books may be taken as examples of Euphuism; they are both dated in 1580, the year of the second part of Lyly's "Euphues." One is "The Fountaine of Fame, Erected in an Orchard of Amorous Adventures;" the other, "The Paine of Pleasure, profitable to be perused of the Wise, and necessary

to be by the Wanton." Munday took violent interest in the arrest and execution of the Jesuits sent by the Pope as devoted missionaries for the reconversion of England. We need not now read with the pleasure that was taken in the writing of it Anthony Munday's "Breefe and True Reporte of the Execution of certaine Traytours at Tiborne, the xxviii. and xxx. Dayes of May, 1582;" though we can understand the ground of his "Watchwoord to Englande, to beware of Traytors and Tretcherous Practises, which have beene the Overthrowe of many famous Kingdomes and Commonweales" (1584); and see the harmony between this strength of public feeling and the religious temperament which caused him to print in 1586 a book of "Godly Exercise for Christian Families, containing an Order of Praiers for Morning and Evening, with a little Catechism between the Man and his Wife." Such men were of the common crowd of English dramatists of Elizabeth's day, and there was a bright spirit of song in them all. Munday's next book, which was in 1588, was "A Banquet of Daintie Conceits; furnished with verie delicate and choyce Inventions to delighte their Mindes who take Pleasure in Musique; and there withall to sing sweete ditties, either to the lute, bandora, virginalles, or anie other Instrument." But few of his dramatic writings have been preserved: "John a Kent and John a Cumber," produced in 1595; "The Downfall," in 1598; "The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington," in 1598; and "First Part of Sir John Oldcastle," about 1597. Of the last two plays, he was joint author with other writers.

23. Nearly all of this group of early dramatists were university men who were writing for the players. It was pleasant work and profitable. Hitherto everywhere, and still outside the theatre, the man with ability to be useful or pleasant — and to be wholesomely pleasant is also to be useful — as a writer could not expect to live by the use of his pen, unless he received indirect aid from the patronage, or direct aid from the purse, of a great lord, or of the sovereign. Without help of the patron, or hope of such help, many works of genius could never have been written in a world where daily bread costs daily money. Such patronage took many gracious forms; often it was ungracious. It offered only a precarious support, and lured sensitive men through years of vain anxiety and hope to a sorrowful old age. Spenser described it in his "Mother Hubberd's Tale:"

"So pitiful a thing is suitor's state!
Most miserable man, whom wicked fate
Hath brought to court, to sue for had-ywist
That few have found, and many one hath missed!
Full little knowest thou that hast not tried,
What hell it is in suing long to bide:
To lose good days that might be better spent;
To waste long nights in pensive discontent;
To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow;
To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow;
To have thy prince's grace, yet want her peers';
To have thy asking, yet wait many years;
To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares;
To eat thy heart through comfortless despairs;
To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run,
To spend, to give, to want, to be undone."

But there was no large public of readers, and there was no possible escape from the patron till the theatres began to rise. Then those who would now be readers became hearers, and paid for hearing as they would now pay for reading. From the money taken for each performance, there was pay to the author, pay to the actors; pay earned as simply and independently by the use of a craft, as money earned by carpenter or smith. A short experience of this made known to the clever men who came to London from the universities to make their way in life how they could run alone at once, and remain masters of themselves. If they chose to seek a patron, they might do that also, but they were not compelled to feed on hope; there was money for their bread, unless they spent all upon sack. In later years, when the stage had a less direct relation to all classes of the people, but was itself debased by court patronage, this way of escape from the patron became but a narrow one. All hope of independence for the men of genius rested then upon the slow advance of education, till the readers could do gradually, now for one, then for another, and at last for all forms of literature, what in Elizabeth's day the hearers did for one form only. The young men thus established in London, drawing money from the theatres, could add also to their reputations and their incomes by writing for the booksellers tales, poems, or pamphlets, upon stirring questions of the day. This they did, and there were some who flung themselves with high glee into paper wars, ready to profit in all possible ways by skill in the amusement of the town.

24. George Peele, a playwright with genius, who belonged also to this early group, was born about 1552, a gentleman's son, and said to be of a Devonshire family. He became a student of the University of Oxford, at Broadgates Hall, now Pembroke College; took his degree of B.A. in June, 1577; became M.A. in 1579. He remained another two years in the university, thus having been a student there for nine years, when he married a wife with some property, and went to London. While in the university he was esteemed as a poet; made an English version, now lost, of one of the two Iphigenias of Euripides; and probably then wrote his "Tale of Troy," in one book of heroic couplets; but this was first printed in 1589. In London, Peele took his place, probably at once, among the poets. His knowledge caused him to be employed in Oxford, in 1583, as acting manager for two Latin plays, by his friend Dr. Gager, presented at Christ Church before a Polish prince. His first published verse was prefixed to Thomas Watson's "Passionate Centurie of Love," published in 1583. He published anonymously, in 1584, "The Araygnement of Paris: a Pastorall, presented before the Queenes Majestie by the Children of her Chappell." It is a pastoral play in five acts, not the less but the more poetical for a childlike simplicity of dialogue. It is written at first in various rhymed measures, which run into musical songs, passions, and complaints that sing themselves; but the metre becomes blank verse when the arraigned shepherd Paris has to defend himself before the council of the gods against the charge of unjust judgment. By way of epilogue, the performers at the end of the play poured the good wishes of men and gods on her Majesty in two Latin hexameters. About the same time, Peele wrote his uninteresting play of "Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes."

In 1593, he wrote the "Famous Chronicle of Edward I.;" in 1594, was published anonymously his "Battle of Alcazar;" and in 1595, his "Old Wives Tale," a species of farce. Other plays of his are "David and Bethsabe," his masterpiece; "Turkish Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek," which is lost. He also devised two pageants for Lord Mayor's Days, in 1585 and 1591. When, in 1589, Drake was sent as admiral, with Sir John Norris in command of the land forces, to attack the Spanish power over Portugal, by making Don Antonio king, George Peele sang "A Farewell, entituled to the Famous and Fortunate Generalls of our English Forces: Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake, knights, and all theyr brave and resolute followers;" to which he added his "Tale of Troy." He died in or before 1598.

25. John Lyly, whose peculiar influence upon English prose style has been already mentioned, has distinction as a dramatist also. He wrote plays for the court on classical or mythological subjects, nine plays in all, seven of them being in prose. His earliest play, "The Woman in the Moon," is in blank verse. A later play ascribed to him, "The Maid's Metamorphosis," is chiefly in rhyme. The prose is labored to the fashion of the day; a Euphuism rich in far-fetched, whimsical, and delicate conceits, play upon words, and antithesis with alliteration, interspersed with songs which now and then are excellent. In each play the plot, characters, and dialogues are alike artificial; the poet's aim is not to stir the soul, but to provide a pleasant entertainment for the fancy. The first printed of Lyly's plays, in 1584, was "Campaspe," played before the queen by her Majesty's children, and the children of Paul's. It was acted both at court and at the Blackfriars theatre. In the same year was printed "Sapho and Phao," which had been played before the queen on Shrove-Tuesday, by the children of her chapel and the boys of Paul's. Lyly's comedy of "Mother Bombie," acted by the children of Paul's, was first printed in 1594. Mother Bombie is a fortune-teller, and the scene is laid at Rochester; but the construction of the plot is artificial, and even the names of the characters show the relation between Plautus and Terence, and the earlier Elizabethan comedy.

There are Memphio and Stellio, Prisius and Sperantus, Candius, Mæstius, Accius, Livia, Serena and Silena, even a "Dromio, servant to Memphio," side by side with "Halfpenny, a boy, servant to Sperantus."

26. Robert Greene was novelist as well as dramatist, and as a novelist he was a follower of Lyly. He was born at Norwich; educated at St. John's College, Cambridge; took his degree of B.A. in 1578. Peele taking his at Oxford in 1577, there probably was little difference between the ages of these poets; though Greene may have been born about 1559 or 1560. After 1578, Greene visited Italy and Spain, before graduating as M.A. in 1583. In 1584 he published three prose love-pamphlets, in the style of Euphues: "The Myrrour of Modestie;" "Morando, the Tritameron of Love;" and "Gwidonius, the Carde of Fancie." On the title-page of his little book of 1585, "Planetomachia," he wrote himself "Student in Physicke." In the same year he satisfied the natural interest of the public in what was, for that time of conflict with Catholicism, one of the great topics of the day, the death of the Pope, by translating through the French, "An Oration, or Funerall Sermon, uttered at Roome, at the Buriall of the Holy Father, Gregorie the XIII., who departed in Christ Jesus, the 11th of Aprill, 1585." In this or the next year Greene married. He himself told, in one of his last writings, of the vicious way of life into which he had now fallen. Dramatists and players enjoyed jovial fellowship at the tavern; the money soon earned was soon spent; temptations pressed on the weak will, and more than one fine mind sank under them. Greene's wife, a gentleman's daughter, endeavored in vain to part him from bad company; he says that he spent her marriage-portion, and after the birth of a child forsook her; she going into Lincolnshire, he working on in London, "where in short space I fell into favor with such as were of honorable and good calling. But here note that though I knew how to get a friend, yet I had not the gift or reason how to keep a friend." In these and all such words we must not omit to observe that Greene's object in accusing himself was to warn others to keep in the right way. He was, like Occleve in one of his poems, seeking to win hearts to his cause by holding a brief against himself as advocate for virtue. But Greene was actually sinking low in 1590, and within two years of death. His plays remained unprinted until after his death. The actors were unwilling to chill interest in a play, while it was still upon the stage, by publication of its dialogue. The date, therefore, of the first printing of any good Elizabethan play, is often much later than that of its first performance. Love-pamphlets Greene was issuing steadily. In 1587, "Euphues his Censure to Philautus" was followed by an "Arcadia." In 1588 he printed "Pandosto, the Triumph of Time," the story upon which Shakespeare founded his "Winter's Tale." In the same year followed a collection of stories, poems, and reflections, called "Perimedes, the Blacke-Smith: a Golden Methode how to vse the Mind in Pleasant and Profitable Exercise." If Greene was himself falling from the true standard of life, yet to the last he labored to maintain it in his writings. "Perimedes" was followed, still in the same year, by "Alcida" and "Greene's Metamorphosis;" and, in 1589, by the "Spanish Masquerado," "Tullie's Love," and "Orpharion." He was much occupied during his last years in exposure of the cheats of London, by his "Notable Discovery of Coosnage;" also his two parts of "Coney-Catching," published in 1591, and a third part of "Coney-Catching" in the year of his death, 1592. In his novel of "Never too Late," published in 1590, he shadowed his relation to his own wife; and, in the "Groat's Worth of Wit Bought with a Million of Repentance," he drew from incidents in his own sad life part of the story of a reprobate Roberto. His hero, reduced to a single groat, said, "Oh, now it is too late to buy wit with thee! and therefore will I see if I can sell to careless youth what I negligently forgot to buy." This novel was published after Greene's death, in 1592. He died at the house of a poor shoemaker, near Dowgate, to whom he owed ten pounds. Under the bond for this money, he wrote to his deserted wife: "Doll, I charge thee, by the love of our youth and by my soul's rest, that thou wilt see this man paid; for if he and his wife had not succored me, I had died in the streets." These last lines of his, in Chaucer's stanza, were written not long before his death:

"Deceiving world, that with alluring toys
Hast made my life the subject of thy scorn,
And scornest now to lend thy fading joys
T'outlength my life, whom friends have left forlorn;
How well are they that die ere they be born,
And never see thy sleights, which few men shun
Till unawares they helpless are undone!

"Oft have I sung of Love, and of his fire;
But now I find that poet was advised
Which made full feasts increasers of desire,
And proves weak love was with the poor despised;
For when the life with food is not sufficed,
What thoughts of love, what motion of delight,
What pleasaunce, can proceed from such a wight?

"Witness my want, the murderer of my wit;
My ravished sense, of wonted fury reft,
Wants such conceit as should in poems fit
Set down the sorrow wherein I am left;
But therefore have high heavens their gifts bereft,
Because so long they lent them me to use,
And I so long their bounty did abuse.

"Oh that a year were granted me to live,
And for that year my former wits restored!
What rules of life, what counsel, would I give!
How should my sin with sorrow be deplored!
But I must die, of every man abhorred:
Time loosely spent will not again be won;
My time is loosely spent, and I undone."

Here also the depths were stirred; but the earnest spirit of the time, and the sweet music it drew from the souls of men, ennobled also the fallen dramatist whom a town ruffian, "Cutting Ball," defended from arrest. Among Greene's plays was one, written with Thomas Lodge, called "A Looking-Glass for London and England." This was not printed until 1594. In it the corruption of Nineveh stood as a figure for the sins of England. Oseas the prophet witnessed and warned from the stage:

"Look, London, look; with inward eyes behold
What lessons the events do here unfold.
Sin grown to pride, to misery is thrall:
The warning bell is rung, beware to fall."

At the close of the play the prophet Jonas, who had been calling on Nineveh to repent, turned to the audience of islanders, "whose lands are fattened with the dew of heaven," and exclaimed:

"O London! maiden of the mistress isle
Wrapt in the folds and swathing-clouts of shame,
In thee more sins than Nineveh contains!
Contempt of God; despite of reverend age;
Neglect of law; desire to wrong the poor;

. . . .

Thy neighbors burn, yet dost thou fear no fire;
Thy preachers cry, yet dost thou stop thine ears;
The 'larum rings, yet sleepest thou secure.
London, awake, for fear the Lord do frown:
I set a looking-glass before thine eyes.
Oh, turn, oh, turn, with weeping, to the Lord,
And think the prayers and virtues of thy queen
Defer the plague which otherwise would fall!
Repent, O London! lest, for thine offence,
Thy shepherd fail — whom mighty God preserve,
That she may bide the pillar of His Church
Against the storms of Romish Antichrist!
The hand of mercy overshade her head,
And let all faithful subjects say, Amen."

Whereupon there arose, it may be, an emphatic "Amen" from the playhouse benches; for although many precisians staid away, a playhouse audience under Elizabeth represented more nearly than it has done at any later time the whole people of England.

There were plays wholly by Greene, on the stories of "Orlando Furioso;" "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay;" "George-a-Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield;" "Alphonsus, King of Arragon;" and "Scottish History of James IV."

27. His "Groat's Worth of Wit" was published after his death by his friend **Henry Chettle**, a fat and merry dramatist, of whose forty plays about four remain, and who was a printer before he became wholly a playwright. To the "Groat's Worth of Wit" there was an appended address from Greene to his brother playwrights, Marlowe and Peele, with whom he associated Lodge, which includes this reference to Shakespeare: "Unto none of you, like me, sought those burrs to cleave;

those puppets, I mean, that speak from our mouths, those antics garnished in our colors. Is it not strange that I, to whom they all have been beholding — is it not like that you, to whom they all have been beholding — shall, were ye in that case that I am now, be both of them at once forsaken? Yea, trust them not; for there is an upstart crow beautified with our feathers, that, with his 'tiger's heart wrapped in a player's hide,' supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank-verse as the best of you; and, being an absolute Johannes-factotum, is in his own conceit the only Shake-scene in a country. Oh that I might entreat your rare wits to be employed in more profitable courses; and let these apes imitate your past excellence, and never more acquaint them with your admired inventions!"

Here, then, about six years after his coming to London, is, in 1592, the first evidence that **William Shakespeare** has worked his way up to success. It is the first and last unkind word spoken of him, spoken in bitterness of spirit and in sickness by a fallen man. A few weeks after the appearance of this, Henry Chettle took occasion, in a publication of his own, called "Kind-Heart's Dream," to regret that he had not erased what Greene wrote about Shakespeare. "I am so sorry," he said, "as if the original fault had been my fault, because myself have seen his demeanor no less civil than he excellent in the quality he professes; besides, divers of worship have reported his uprightness of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writing that approves his art."

Greene's special reference is to Shakespeare's work upon those old plays which are placed among his own as the three parts of King Henry VI. "The First Part of Henry VI." is doubtless an old play slightly altered and improved by Shakespeare. "The Second Part of King Henry VI." was Shakespeare's alteration of a drama, printed in 1594 as "The First Part of the Contention betwixt the two famous Houses of York and Lancaster;" and "The Third Part of King Henry VI." was an alteration from "The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the Death of Good King Henrie the Sixt, with the whole Contentione betweene the two Houses Lancaster and Yorke," first printed in 1595. This was the play that contained the line preserved by Shakespeare, and turned against him by Greene, "O tiger's heart wrapped in a woman's hide" (Act i., Scene 4). The line may have been Greene's own, for one or two of the plays thus altered may have been written by Greene or by Marlowe.

28. **Thomas Kyd**, who was of about the same age as Greene, and who died about 1594, is chiefly remembered as the author of "The Spanish Tragedy," acted about 1588, and as the probable author of the "First Part of Jeronimo." He also translated from the French of Robert Garnier the tragedy of "Cornelia."

29. **Thomas Nash** graduated at Cambridge in 1585, travelled in Italy, and probably died about 1600. He is better known as a scurrilous and powerful pamphleteer than as a dramatist. In the latter capacity he produced at least two plays, "The Isle of Dogs" and "Summer's Last Will and Testament;" besides assisting in Marlowe's "Dido, Queen of Carthage." Another play, now lost, "See Me or See Me Not," is attributed to him.

30. **Christopher Marlowe**, who advanced the Elizabethan drama to the point from which Shakespeare rose to the supreme heights of poetry, was but two months older than Shakespeare; born at Canterbury in Shakespeare's birth-year, 1564, one of several children of John Marlowe, shoemaker, and clerk of St. Mary's. He was educated first at the King's School, Canterbury, and then at Corpus Christi (Benet) College, Cambridge. For his university education he must have been indebted to the kindness of some liberal man who had observed his genius. He did not go with a scholarship from the King's School. He graduated as B.A. in 1583, as M.A. in 1587; and he died on the 1st of June, 1593, stabbed in the eye by Francis Archer, who was defending himself in a brawl after a feast at Deptford.

By the year 1587, when he took his master's degree, Marlowe had achieved great success at a stroke with his play of "Tamburlaine the Great." The theme, like the grievance of Mycetes, with which it opened, required "a great and thundering speech," and Marlowe did not, like Mycetes, find himself "insufficient to express the same." The old British public had enjoyed for centuries, in Herod of the miracle-plays, the character of a pompous braggart, who could rant well. In one of the sets of plays Herod's speeches were crowded with words that began with "r," for greater convenience of r-r-rolling them well in his mouth. Marlowe gave them a Tamburlaine who could out-herod Herod, and he roared Marlowe into sudden fame. The desire indeed was so great to hear him roar, that Marlowe let him roar again, and maintained his success by the production of a "Second Part of Tamburlaine." The two parts were first printed in 1590, without author's name. These plays were founded on the story of Tamerlane, or Timour the Tartar, who, after leading his countrymen to their own deliverance from foreign oppression, was crowned at Samarcand in 1370, and presently set forth on a career of conquest. In 1402, he made the great Ottoman sultan, Bajazet, his prisoner. He had set out in winter weather, at the age of seventy, for the addition of China to his conquests, when he died. In the embodiment of this notion of an all-devouring conqueror, "the scourge of God," Marlowe used the blank-verse, which had not then secured its footing on the public stage. Our first tragedy was in that new measure; but it was written for Christmas entertainment at the Inner Temple. Blank-verse was used in the last two acts of "The Arraignment of Paris;" but that was written for the queen and court. The plays for the public were in prose or rhyme, till the Prologue of Tamburlaine said to the people:

> "From jigging veins of rhyming mother wits,
> And such conceits as clownage keeps in pay,
> We'll lead you to the stately tent of war,
> Where you shall hear the Scythian Tamburlaine
> Threaten the world with high astounding terms,
> And scourging kingdoms with his conquering sword."

Marlowe, by his "Tamburlaine," and by the better plays which followed it, developed blank-verse as the measure for English dramatic poetry, made its worth felt, and was among dramatists the first cause of its general adoption.

"Tamburlaine" is rant glorified. It was enjoyed even by those who laughed at it. The boldest stroke was in the opening of the fourth Scene of the fourth Act of Part II. "Enter Tamburlaine, drawn in his chariot by the Kings of Trebizond and Syria with bits in their mouths, reins in his left hand, and in his right hand a whip with which he scourgeth them."

"Holla, ye pamper'd jades of Asia!
What! can ye draw but twenty miles a day,
And have so proud a chariot at your heels,
And such a coachman as great Tamburlaine?"

Marlowe's "Tragical History of Doctor Faustus" probably appeared on the stage in 1589, in blank-verse intermixed with scenes of prose; but it was not printed in the lifetime of its author. It represents the highest point reached by the Elizabethan drama before 1590. Shakespeare, who had come unknown and poor among the dramatists and actors, with credentials from no university, was then quietly and surely working his way up. Bound to the truth of nature, he could not rise by an audacity like that of Marlowe, who in 1590 had a higher public reputation. In 1589, Shakespeare was one of the sixteen sharers in the Blackfriars Theatre, an actor and a working playwright, ready at any time to mend and alter old plays for revival, or to do what else he could for the general welfare of the company.

Marlowe's "Jew of Malta" gives in Barabas a powerful picture of the Jew maligned still by the mediæval prejudices of the Christians. Marlowe's "Edward the Second" was the nearest approach made by the year 1590 to a play in which there is a natural development of character. The last and worst of Marlowe's plays, and the one that was most carelessly printed, is his "Massacre at Paris," which dramatized the strife in France. It included not only the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, but also the death of Charles IX., the assassination of the Duke of Guise by Henry III., and the assassination of Henry himself by the Dominican friar, Jacques Clement, with the succession of Henry of Navarre to the French throne. The dying Henry III. in the last scene of the play breathed vengeance against the Pope, and said:

"Navarre, give me thy hand: I here do swear
To ruinate this wicked Church of Rome,
That hatcheth up such bloody practices;
And here protest eternal love to thee,
And to the Queen of England especially,
Whom God hath blessed for hating Popery."

In the last lines of the play Henry of Navarre vowed so to revenge his predecessor's death,

"That Rome, and all those popish prelates there,
Shall curse the time that e'er Navarre was king,
And rul'd in France by Henry's fatal death."

A tragedy of "Dido, Queen of Carthage," left unfinished by Marlowe, was completed by his friend Thomas Nash, and acted by the children of her Majesty's chapel. Marlowe made a poor version of "Ovid's Elegies," first published in 1596 with the Epigrams of John Davies. His beginning of a free paraphrase of the "Hero and Leander" ascribed to Musæus was afterwards completed by George Chapman.

During the last years of the sixteenth century there had risen in England other poets and prose-writers of distinction,—Shakespeare, Drayton, Daniel, Ben Jonson, Heywood, Middleton, Dekker, Marston, Chapman, Joseph Hall, Francis Bacon, Walter Raleigh, and Camden; but as their careers had their highest development in the next period, we defer our study of them till we come to the study of that time.

ENGLISH LITERATURE.

FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

DRAMATISTS.

William Shakespeare.
Ben Jonson.
Beaumont and Fletcher.
George Chapman.
Thomas Heywood.
Thomas Middleton.
Thomas Dekker.
John Marston.
William Alexander.
Cyril Tourneur.
William Rowley.
Nathaniel Field.
Philip Massinger.
John Webster.
John Ford.
James Shirley.
Thomas May.
Jasper Mayne.
Thomas Randolph.
Sir William Davenant.

POETS.

Samuel Daniel.
Michael Drayton.
William Browne.
Giles Fletcher.
Phineas Fletcher.
George Wither.
William Drummond.
John Milton.

LATER EUPHUISTS IN POETRY.

John Donne.
Thomas Coryat.
John Taylor.
Francis Quarles.
George Herbert.
Richard Crashaw.

CHARACTER POETS.

Sir Thomas Overbury.
William Habington.
John Earle.

POETIC TRANSLATORS.

George Chapman.
George Sandys.
Barten Holyday.

WITS, SATIRISTS, AND SONG-WRITERS.

Joseph Hall.
Sir John Harington.
Richard Corbet.
John Cleveland.
Thomas Carew.
Sir John Denham.
Sir John Suckling.
William Cartwright.
Richard Lovelace.
Robert Herrick.

SCHOLARS AND HISTORIANS.

King James I.
Robert Burton.
Lancelot Andrewes.
James Usher.
John Selden.
Sir Henry Wotton.
John Hales.
John Lightfoot.
Sir Henry Spelman.
John Hayward.
William Camden.
John Speed.
Samuel Purchas.
Sir Walter Raleigh.
Richard Knolles.
Alexander Ross.
Lord Herbert of Cherbury.
John Spottiswoode.
David Calderwood.
Thomas Fuller.

MEN OF SCIENCE.

Francis Bacon.
John Napier.
William Harvey.
John Wilkins.
Samuel Hartlib.
John Wallis.

RELIGIOUS, PHILOSOPHICAL, AND POLITICAL WRITERS.

Owen Feltham.
Henry More.
Richard Sibbes.
Jeremy Taylor.
William Prynne.
Peter Heylin.
William Chillingworth.
Philip Hunton.
Sir Robert Filmer.
John Gauden.
John Milton.

CHAPTER IV.

FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: DRAMATIC LITERATURE: SHAKESPEARE, HIS CONTEMPORARIES, AND IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS.

1. English Writers in the Early Years of the Century. — 2. William Shakespeare. — 3. Ben Jonson. — 4. Beaumont and Fletcher. — 5. George Chapman; Thomas Heywood. — 6. Thomas Middleton. — 7. Thomas Dekker. — 8. John Marston. — 9. William Alexander. — 10. Cyril Tourneur. — 11. William Rowley. — 12. Nathaniel Field. — 13. Philip Massinger; John Webster. — 14. John Ford; James Shirley. — 15. Thomas May. — 16. Jasper Mayne. — 17. Thomas Randolph. — 18. Sir William Davenant.

1. When Elizabeth died, on the 24th of March, 1603, and James VI. of Scotland became James I. of England, Shakespeare was thirty-nine years old, and Bacon forty-two. Spenser had been dead about four years, Richard Hooker three. Robert Greene had been dead about eleven years, and Christopher Marlowe ten. George Peele was dead, and Thomas Nash had been dead about three years. Thomas Sackville, the author of our first tragedy, now Lord Buckhurst, aged sixty-seven, was one of those who, after the queen's death, administered the affairs of the kingdom, and proclaimed King James. A year later Sackville was created Earl of Dorset, and he died in 1608. John Lyly, author of "Euphues," was living at the accession of James I., fifty years old, and had three years to live. Gabriel Harvey, aged about forty-eight, lived throughout James's reign, a Doctor of Civil Law, practising as advocate in the Prerogative Court. Thomas Lodge, aged forty-five, lived on, as a physician in good practice. John Stow was about seventy-eight years old, and "as a recompense for his labors and travel of forty-five years in setting forth the chronicles of England, and eight years taken up in the survey of the cities of London and Westminster, towards his relief now in his old age," he asked for, and obtained, the king's letters-patent empowering him "to gather the benevolence of well-disposed people within this realm of England; to ask, gather, and take the alms of all our loving subjects." He lived only till 1605 on this boundless reward of his enthusiasm.

Among men who had written in the past reign there also were still alive: Richard Stanihurst, aged about fifty-eight; William Camden, fifty-two; Sir Walter Raleigh, fifty-one; Anthony Munday, fifty; George Chapman, forty-six; William Warner, forty-five; Samuel Daniel, forty-one; Michael Drayton, forty; Joseph Hall, twenty-nine; Ben Jonson, thirty; and Marston, Middleton, Heywood, Dekker, of about Ben Jonson's age.

Among the dramatists born in the reign of Elizabeth who began to write under the Stuarts, there were, at the accession of James I.: John Fletcher, twenty-seven years old; Francis Beaumont, seventeen; John Webster, perhaps twenty-three; Cyril Tourneur, perhaps twenty; Philip Massinger, nineteen; John Ford, seventeen; James Shirley, seven. These were Stuart dramatists, and not Elizabethan. But they were born in Elizabeth's reign, and their plays retain much of the Elizabethan character.

2. **William Shakespeare** was the great living writer at the accession of James I., when his company became that of the King's Players instead of the Lord Chamberlain's. He was born at Stratford-on-Avon, in April, 1564; perhaps on the 23d of April, for he was baptized on the 26th. There is a tradition that he died on his birthday, and he died on the 23d of April, 1616. His father was John Shakespeare, a glover in Henley Street, and probably the son of Richard Shakespeare, farmer, at Snitterfield. Probably in 1557 John Shakespeare married Mary, the youngest daughter of Robert Arden, of Wilmcote, "husbandman." Her father had died a month before the marriage, leaving to Mary by his will a small property at Wilmcote, called Ashbies, of about fifty-four acres, with two houses, and interest in other land at Wilmcote; also two tenements at Snitterfield, and £6 13*s.* 4*d.* in cash. That was Mary Arden's fortune, and it helped John Shakespeare for some years; but he was an unprosperous man, and during all the years of the boyhood and youth of his illustrious son he was sinking steadily into debt and poverty. In 1582, that son then eighteen years old, apparently with no means of gaining a livelihood, was married to Anne Hathaway, then twenty-six years old, the daughter of a husbandman of the neighborhood who had been dead about a year. There is no evidence whatever that this marriage was other than a happy one. In the year 1586, when William Shakespeare was twenty-two, he had a wife and three children to support. How could he best maintain them? He was a poet. Players had been to Stratford.

He would go to London, and would seek his fortune by steady work in association with the rising power of the stage.

His wife and babies he would not take with him into the unwholesome atmosphere of the great town, or bring into contact with the wild life of the playhouse wits. The children would be drawing health from the fresh breezes of Stratford; the wife would be living a wholesome life among her old friends, neighbors, and relations; while he worked hard for them where money could be earned, took holiday rests with them when theatres were closed, and hoped that he might earn enough to enable him to come home for good before he was very old, and live a natural and happy life among the quiet scenes of his birthplace, among relatives who loved him, and among the old friends of his childhood and his youth. The man of highest genius is the man also of highest sanity. In lower minds unusual excitement of the brain may lead to bold or eccentric forms of expression, with half-bred resemblance to originality and energy of thought. Ephemeral and even lasting reputations may be founded on this form of wit; but the greatest among poets, a Chaucer or a Shakespeare, is calm and simply wise. He is greatest of poets not because he does not, but because he does feel, and that more intensely and more truly than his neighbors, the natural ties of life. He has keen happiness in the home circle, in the scenes associated with his childhood, in the peaceful fellowship of man. His old friends, Judith and Hamnet Sadler, the bakers, were more, not less, to the author of "King Lear" than they would be to the citizen with less perception of the harmonies of life. Of all that it is natural and fit for common men to say and do, Shakespeare had, because of his transcendent genius, only a simpler, truer sense than any of his neighbors.

Shakespeare came to London, then, in or about the year 1586; and, Shakespeare though he was, he did not leap to instant fame, but worked his way to a front place in his profession by six years of patient industry. He was so ready to do any honest work, that at the end of six years we have the first indication of his rise in the complaint of a competitor, that he is a Johannes Factotum (Jack of all Trades). This was the position of William Shakespeare in 1590, when he was twenty-six years old. In studying Shakespeare's life it is needful to distinguish firmly between facts of which there is evidence, and idle fancies: as of Shakespeare having in his youth stolen deer from a park in which there were no deer to be stolen; of his having been a butcher, and, when he killed a calf, having done so with a grand air; with other small-talk of dead gossips. In 1593, the year of the death of Marlowe, Shakespeare had not yet produced any of his greatest plays. The plays of his own then written were "The Two Gentlemen of Verona" (1591?), "The Comedy of Errors" (1592?), probably also "Love's Labour's Lost." In 1593 he first appeared in print by publishing his "Venus and Adonis," a poem in the six-lined stanza then used as the common measure for a strain of love. It was dedicated to Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, who in 1593 was twenty years old; the age of Shakespeare being twenty-nine. The young earl, a ward of Lord Burghley's, had been educated at Cambridge, where he took his degree of M.A. in 1589; he then came to London, joined an Inn of Court, was in favor with the queen, and was a liberal friend of the poets. In his dedication of it to Lord Southampton, Shakespeare called "Venus and Adonis" the "first heir of my invention." To the same patron Shakespeare dedicated in the following year, 1594, his "Lucrece," in Chaucer's stanza — "Troilus verse." The two poems, one of the passion of love, one of heroic chastity, belong together, and their sweet music spread over the land that once had been filled with the songs of Chaucer. Of the "Venus and Adonis" there were six editions before the close of Elizabeth's reign. "Titus Andronicus," a play ascribed to Shakespeare, but certainly a piece from another hand which he but slightly touched (in an older form it had been called "Titus and Vespasian"), seems to have been first acted in January, 1594.

About 1594 the Blackfriars Company built, as a summer theatre, the Globe, on Bankside. It was a wooden hexagon, circular within, and open to the weather; but the stage was sheltered by some roofing. London Bridge was the one bridge of that time, and playgoers crossed to the Bankside theatres by water from various parts of London. Sunday performances had been abolished for the last ten years. They had been strongly opposed. On the 13th January, 1583, in Paris Garden — an old place of entertainment, where beasts had been baited early in Henry VIII.'s reign — during performance on the sabbath, a decayed wooden gallery fell down, and many lives were lost. This was looked upon as a judgment from Heaven, and the Privy Council thenceforth enforced an order that the actors should "forbear wholly to play on the Sabbath-day, either in the forenoon or afternoon, which to do they are by their lordships' order expressly denied and forbidden." But there was now no want of audiences on other days. Having built the Globe, the Blackfriars Company, to which Shakespeare belonged, proceeded in 1596, not without opposition, to repair and enlarge the Blackfriars; and after this the children of her Majesty's chapel acted at Blackfriars when the adult company was acting at the Globe. In 1596, Shakespeare buried at Stratford his only son Hamnet, twelve years old. A grant of arms to his father in that year (about which there was another note in 1599) indicates that the poet was then prospering. In 1597, three plays of his were published in quarto, "Richard II.," "Richard III.," and "Romeo and Juliet." Those plays of Shakespeare which were printed in his lifetime were in quarto form, and are known to students as the early quartos. They were not corrected by the author. In Easter term of the same year, 1597, Shakespeare began to form the home in his native town to which he had looked forward. He bought for sixty pounds New Place, the best house in the line of the main street of the town, with two barns and two gardens behind, in the direction of the Avon. In the same year, also, while Shakespeare was establishing this home for himself in Stratford, he was helping his father and mother; for there was a bill filed in chancery by John Shakespeare and his wife to recover Ashbies from John, the son of Edward Lambert. There is also other evidence that by this time Shakespeare's prudent management, and his success in London, had enabled him — the first man in our literature who did so — to save money earned, not indirectly, by the free use of his genius. A record, dated

October, 1598, shows him to have been assessed on property in the parish of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate. The plays of his printed in quarto, in 1598, were "Love's Labour's Lost" and "Part I. of King Henry IV.," but there is other evidence to show what plays of his had by that date been acted.

In 1598, a contemporary of Shakespeare's, Francis Meres, in his "Wit's Treasury," publicly proclaimed William Shakespeare to be the chief living poet and dramatist of England. He was then thirty-four years old; he had been at work in London for about twelve years, of which the first six had been years of patient upward struggle, and the other six had been years of increasing power and prosperity. He had written chronicle plays, in which his Muse did "like himself heroically sound;" had dealt playfully in "Love's Labour's Lost" with the Euphuism of his time; had found out the marvellous wealth of his imagination, "glancing from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven," in the "Midsummer Night's Dream;" had shown in "Romeo and Juliet" the innocent beauty of young love breathing its harmonies among the petty feuds and hatreds of mankind; and in the "Merchant of Venice" he had risen to a pure expression of that spirit of religion, which, for many in his time, was obscured by passions of the conflict between creed and creed. What the Capulets and Montagues meant in "Romeo and Juliet," the Jew and Christian meant in the "Merchant of Venice;" but in that play the central thought to which every scene relates gave prominence to the relation between Shylock and Antonio.

When he had done his prentice work, and become master of his craft, every play of Shakespeare's became a true poem, and had the spiritual unity that is in every great work of art. Each play has its own theme in some essential truth of life, which is its soul expressed in action, and with which every detail is in exquisite accord.

In 1599 appeared an improved edition of "Romeo and Juliet;" likewise "The Passionate Pilgrim," a small collection of love-poems, all ascribed on the title-page, by an adventurous publisher, to Shakespeare, who objected to this use of his name. The volume includes, with pieces by Shakespeare, others which it is known that he did not write.

In 1600 the plays of Shakespeare first printed in quarto were "The Merchant of Venice," "A Midsummer Night's Dream," "Much Ado About Nothing," "Second Part of Henry IV.," and "Henry V."

"The Merry Wives of Windsor" was the only play of Shakespeare's printed in 1602. There was a tradition current at the beginning of the eighteenth century that this was written at the request of Queen Elizabeth, who was so much pleased with Falstaff in the two parts of "King Henry IV.," that she commanded a play upon Falstaff in love; being, moreover, in such haste for it, that it was to be written in fourteen days. This may or may not be true. "The Diary of John Manningham," a member of the Middle Temple, makes known to us that Shakespeare's "Twelfth Night" was acted in the Middle Temple on the 2d of February, 1602. In that year "Venus and Adonis" reached a sixth edition. It seems to have been in the earlier part of this year, 1602, that Shakespeare's "Hamlet" was first acted. It was entered by a bookseller on the Stationers' Register on the 26th of July, 1602.

In May, 1602, Shakespeare continued the investment of his earnings in his native place, by buying of William and John Combe a hundred and seven acres of arable land, in the parish of Old Stratford, for three hundred and twenty-seven pounds; and later in the year he made two more purchases, one of a cottage and its ground near New Place, the other, for sixty pounds, of a messuage with two barns, two gardens, and two orchards. He was extending his grounds behind New Place towards the river.

The plays produced by Shakespeare in the reign of James I., and their probable dates, were "Othello," perhaps;—it was played at Court Nov. 1, 1604;—and "Measure for Measure," performed in December, 1604; "Macbeth," early in 1606; "King Lear," acted before James, Dec. 26, 1606 (first printed, 1608); "Pericles" (on work by another hand), 1607 or 1608 (first printed, 1609); "Antony and Cleopatra," 1608; "Troilus and Cressida," early in 1609, of which two editions were printed in that year, one of them before the play had been acted. There were no more of Shakespeare's plays printed in quarto during his life. "Cymbeline" was probably first acted about 1609; "Coriolanus" and "Timon of Athens," 1610. The earliest notice of a performance of the "Tempest" is in 1611. It is one of Shakespeare's latest plays, perhaps his last, and there may be a reference to this in Prospero's breaking of his wand, burning of his books, and departure from the magic island. The notion of the play is, indeed, that man, supreme in intellect, master of the powers of earth and air, yet yearns for and needs the natural life with its affections. Bad as the world might be, and ill as it had used him, Prospero brought it to his island, with all its incidental treacheries and all its incidental grossness, bound himself with it again, and went home to it. Shakespeare felt only more keenly than his neighbors all the ties of home and kindred. He had been using the profits from his art to make himself a home at Stratford, and, while he had still power to enjoy the home-life that he had denied himself in part while he was earning, he broke his magic rod, and went home finally to his wife and children when his age was about forty-eight. "King Henry VIII." was the play being acted when the Globe Theatre was burnt down, June 29, 1613, by the discharge of "chambers" in Act i. Scene 4. Because Sir Henry Wotton speaks of the play then acted as "a new play, called 'All is True,'" some think that Shakespeare's career closed with the production of "Henry VIII.," in 1613. It has been said also that Shakespeare's versification falls into three periods: an early period, in which he seldom took liberties with the metre of his ten-syllabled line; a second period, in which eleven-syllabled lines are more frequent; and a late period, in which he used much greater freedom. In "Henry VIII." extra syllables are more frequent than in any other play, and so distinctly marked, that they are not seldom monosyllables. This peculiarity was introduced deliberately. It is strongly marked in the most characteristic passages, as in the speech of Buckingham before his execution, and in Wolsey's farewell to his greatness. The pomp of the heroic line is broken at its close, and falls succeed each other, making a sad music in harmony with the feeling of the scene and of the play. For the whole play is a lesson on the changing fortunes of men and their one trust in God. Henry VIII. stands in the centre as the earthly Fortune by whose smile or frown earthly prosperity is gained or lost; scene after scene shows rise and fall of human fortunes as of waves of the great sea, and each fall — Buckingham's, Katherine's, Wolsey's — leads to the same thought:

> "Farewell
> The hopes of Court! My hopes in heaven do dwell."

The play is as true as any sermon could be to such a text on the world and its pomps as this from the 39th Psalm: "Man walketh in a vain shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain; he heapeth up riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them. And now, Lord, what is my hope? truly my hope is even in thee."

Shakespeare's "Sonnets," mentioned by Meres in 1598, were first published in 1609. They are a hundred and fifty-four in number, and their chief theme is friendship. Various attempts have been made to build sentimental theories upon the sonnets of Shakespeare, as upon those of Surrey and of Sidney. From what has been said in former chapters of the character of sonnet-writing, from its origin to the Elizabethan time, it will be understood that I have here nothing to do but indorse (dropping its "well-nigh") the opinion arrived at by one of the most thorough Shakespeare students of our time, Mr. Dyce, who says, "For my own part, repeated perusals of the 'Sonnets' have well-nigh convinced me that most of them were composed in an assumed character on different subjects, and at different times, for the amusement, if not at the suggestion, of the author's intimate associates (hence described by Meres as 'his sugared sonnets among his private friends'); and though I would not deny that one or two of them reflect his genuine feelings, I contend that allusions scattered through the whole series are not to be hastily referred to the personal circumstances of Shakespeare." They are exquisite little pieces, not in the true sonnet measure, but with a form of their own; for each of them consists merely of three four-lined stanzas of alternate rhyme with a couplet added. Spenser's sonnets keep to the five rhymes, and although they have their own method of interlacement, it is one in full accord with the nature of this kind of poem. In a sonnet of Shakespeare's there are seven rhymes. It is in fact simply a little poem in three four-lined stanzas and a couplet.

Shakespeare had prepared for retirement by an investment which would cause him to draw even a main part of his income from his native place. This was the purchase, in 1605, of a moiety of a lease granted in 1544 for ninety-two years — therefore, with thirty-one years yet to run — of the tithes, great and small, of Stratford, Old Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcombe. The price paid for this was four hundred and forty pounds, and the tithes would produce him sixty pounds a year, an income with the buying power of, say, three hundred or four hundred pounds a year at the present value of money. In 1607, on the 5th of June, Shakespeare married his elder daughter, Susanna, to John Hall, a prosperous medical practitioner at Stratford. In February, 1608, the birth of Mrs. Hall's only child, Elizabeth, made Shakespeare a grandfather; and in September of that year his mother died. In 1612, at which time probably Shakespeare had retired to New Place, he was engaged in a lawsuit arising out of his share of the tithes. His brother Richard died in February, 1613. A month afterwards he bought a house near the Blackfriars Theatre for a hundred and forty pounds, paying eighty pounds and mortgaging for the rest, then paying the mortgage off, and leasing the house to John Robinson. In June of the same year, 1613, the Globe Theatre was burnt down while "Henry VIII." was being acted, but he seems then to have had no share in the property. In 1614 Shakespeare was active, with others of his neighborhood, in protecting the rights to common lands near Stratford against an enclosure scheme. In 1615 he was still interested in the enclosure question. In 1616 he married his other daughter, Judith, to Thomas Quiney, a vintner and wine-merchant at Stratford, who was four years younger than herself. Shakespeare had given directions for his will in the preceding January, but it was executed on the 25th of March. He died on the 23d of the following April, 1616, aged fifty-two. An afterthought of a bequest to his wife of "the second best bed" has been weakly taken as evidence of want of affection. It would be at least as reasonable to say, that, as the best bed in most houses is that of the guest-chamber, the second best becomes that of the husband and wife, and the special bequest was, therefore, dictated by a feeling of domestic tenderness.

Shakespeare's wife survived until 1623. That was the year in which his plays were first collected in a folio, as "Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. Published according to the True Originall Copies." The other three folios appeared in 1632, 1663 (with "Pericles" and six spurious plays added, namely, "The London Prodigal," "The History of Thomas Lord Cromwell," "Sir John Oldcastle Lord Cobham," "The Puritan Widow," "A Yorkshire Tragedy," and the "Tragedy of Locrine"), and 1685 (also including the spurious plays).

3. Of the dramatists who rose around Shakespeare, the ablest was **Ben Jonson.** He was of a North country family, son of a gentleman who was ruined by religious persecution in the reign of Mary, who became a preacher in Elizabeth's reign, and who died a month before the poet's birth, in 1573. Ben Jonson's mother took a bricklayer for second husband, and at some time during Ben's childhood she was living in Hartshorn Lane, near Charing Cross. The boy was first taught in the parish school of St. Martin's, and then owed to the kindness of William Camden an admission to Westminster School. He is said to have tried his stepfather's business for a little while, before he went to fight against Spain as a volunteer in the Low Countries. When he came home he joined the players and married. In 1597 he was a sharer in the company of the Rose at Bankside. In these early days, according to the opinion of some writers, Ben Jonson acted the old Marshal Jeronimo in Thomas Kyd's "Spanish Tragedy," and likewise enriched the play with an effective scene between mad old Jeronimo and a painter, in the manner of the earlier Elizabethan drama. In 1596 Ben Jonson's comedy, "Every Man in his Humour" was produced, with Italian characters and a scene laid at Florence. He then revised it, made the characters all English, and laid the scene in and between Coleman Street and Hoxton. In this, its present shape, it was performed in 1598 by the company to which Shakespeare belonged, the name of Shakespeare himself standing at the head of the list of actors. "Every Man in his Humour" is a true comedy carefully constructed. Its action, contained within a single day, opens at six in the morning, and ends with a supper. The course of time is unobtrusively but exactly marked as the story proceeds; and the plot is not only contrived to show varieties of character, each marked by a special humor or predominance of one peculiar quality, but the incidents are run ingeniously into a dramatic knot which the fifth act unties. But Ben Jonson's next three plays were of another character; they were not so much true comedies as bright dramatic satires, based on a noble sense of life and of the poet's place in it. "Every Man out of his Humour," produced in 1599, "Cynthia's Revels," in 1600, and "The Poetaster," in 1601, were annual satires; the first touching especially the citizens, the second the courtiers, and the third the poets, in as far as any of these lived for aims below the dignity of manhood. Ben Jonson was at that time of his life tall, meagre, large-boned, with a pock-marked face and eager eyes; a poet and keen satirist, with a true reverence for all that was noble, a lofty sense of the aims of literature, and a young zeal to set the world to rights, with a bold temper and an over-readiness for self-assertion. In "Cynthia's Revels" he jested scornfully at the Euphuisms and shallow graces of the court, at lives spent in the mere study of airs and grimaces. "Would any reasonable creature," he asked through one of his characters, "make these his serious studies and perfections, much less only live to these ends, to be the false pleasure of a few, the true love of none, and the just laughter of all?" He urged for the court idlers, in words characteristic of the mind that made him, next to Shakespeare, foremost among English dramatists:

"That these vain joys, in which their wills consume
Such powers of wit and soul as are of force
To raise their beings to eternity,
May be converted on works fitting men;
And, for the practice of a forced look,
An antic gesture, or a fustian phrase,

Study the native frame of a true heart,
An inward comeliness of bounty, knowledge,
And spirit that may conform them actually
To God's high figures, which they have in power."

When Dekker and Marston considered themselves to have been pointed at in the "Poetaster," they resolved to give a taste of his own whip to the too ardent satirist, whose vivid impersonations of the follies of society were looked upon as personal attacks by all the men in whom such follies were conspicuous. Dekker wrote his "Satiromastix" (whip for the satirist), and it was acted as a retort on Jonson's "Poetaster." But although Ben Jonson's own admirable bully, Captain Tucca, was reproduced and let loose upon him to abuse him roughly, yet through the characters of Demetrius and Crispinus, by whom Dekker and Marston held themselves to have been attacked, and who were also reproduced, the retort was made in a tone that showed the quarrel to be, as a Latin motto to the printed book expressed, among friends only. The motto said, "I speak only to friends, and that upon compulsion." One passage will serve as sufficient evidence of this. Ben Jonson, as Horace Junior, is made to plead for his satires of citizens and others:

"*Horace.* What could I do, out of a just revenge,
But bring them to the stage? They envy me,
Because I hold more worthy company.
"*Demetrius.* Good Horace, no. My cheeks do blush for thine
As often as thou speaks't so. Where one true
And nobly virtuous spirit for thy best part
Loves thee, I wish one ten with all my heart.
I make account I put up as deep share
In any good man's love which thy worth earns
As thou thyself. We envy not to see
Thy friends with bays to crown thy poesie.
No, here the gall lies, we that know what stuff
Thy very heart is made of, know the stalk
On which thy learning grows, and can give life
To thy (once dying) baseness, yet must we
Dance antics on your paper—
"*Horace.* Fannius—
"*Crispinus.* This makes us angry, but not envious.
No, were thy warpt soul put in a new mould,
I'd wear thee as a jewel set in gold."

In that spirit Dekker resolved to let his eager, positive friend Ben feel in his own person how he liked being held up to the town as the butt of satire. Jonson replied with an "Apologetical Dialogue" appended to his "Poetaster," and urged, as he had always urged, that his books were taught "to spare the persons, and to speak the vices." But, in fact, he generously yielded, and said:

> "Since the Comic Muse
> Hath proved so ominous to me, I will try
> If Tragedy have a more kind aspect.
> Her favors in my next I will pursue,
> Where, if I prove the pleasure but of one,
> So he judicious be, he shall be alone
> A theatre unto me."

"The Mermaid" was a tavern by Cheapside, between Bread Street and Friday Street, accessible from either; and here Sir Walter Raleigh is said to have established a club, at which Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, and other wits of the time, met. The club founded by Raleigh is mythical, but "The Mermaid" was a famous tavern, and that the wits of the time frequented it we have witness in Beaumont's lines to Jonson, which recall —

> "What things we have seen
> Done at 'The Mermaid'! Heard words that have been
> So nimble and so full of subtile flame,
> As if that every one from whom they came
> Had meant to put his whole wit in a jest,
> And had resolved to live a fool the rest
> Of his dull life."

Ben Jonson, under James I., gradually became the convivial centre of a group of men of genius, and owed his predominance to a real intellectual power. The playhouse audience was losing its old national character. Secession of those men who might have said "Amen" at the close of the "Looking-glass for London and England" meant the gradual loss of a main element in the audience, — that part of it on which a dramatist who is intensely earnest can rely for sympathy. The shallowness of the king's character made his patronage of the stage no remedy for this. Fewer men came to the playhouse with their souls ready to answer to the touch of genius. The range of Shakespeare's plots was wide as humanity, and in the true Elizabethan drama there is throughout variety of motive for the action of the dramas. But we have not gone far into the reign of James I. before we find this range becoming narrowed. The lower standard of the audiences for whom the playwright worked limited the expression of his highest power. In the Elizabethan-Stuart drama the plots nearly all turn upon animal love. Ben Jonson did not stoop to this. His plays had variety of theme, and through their wit and humor a vigorous mind was often uttering its wisdom to the deaf. He and his hearers were out of accord. He spoke of them and to them with an arrogant disdain, which they in part deserved; and at last, after years of impatient service, while their degradation had been steadily proceeding, he turned from them with bitter words of loathing. Ben Jonson's self-assertion went too far; but that which provoked it was a real change in the character of the dramatist's public. The growth of Puritanism outside the theatre withdrew, as has been said, an important element from the playhouse audience. Plays were then written to please the class of men who were left as patrons of the stage, and the change thus made in the plays would quicken the defection of the better sort of playgoers. But while Ben Jonson disdained the judgment of these later audiences, there was no disdainful spirit in his dealing with true men. He looked up to Shakespeare, and the fittest eulogy of Shakespeare's genius that any Englishman had written came from Ben Jonson. In his later life young men of genius gathered about him and looked up to him; he called them heartily his sons, and had frank pride in their achievements. Of Shakespeare, it was Ben Jonson who sang:

"How far thou didst our Lyly outshine,
Or sporting Kyd, or Marlowe's mighty line.
And though thou hadst small Latin, and less Greek,
From thence to honor thee I will not seek
For names; but call forth thundering Æschylus,
Euripides, and Sophocles to us,
Pacuvius, Accius, him of Cordova, dead,
To life again, to hear thy buskin tread,

And shake a stage; or, when thy socks were on,
Leave thee alone for the comparison
Of all that insolent Greece or haughty Rome
Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come.
Triumph, my Britain! thou hast one to show,
To whom all scenes of Europe homage owe.
He was not of an age, but for all time!
And all the Muses still were in their prime,
When, like Apollo, he came forth to warm
Our ears, or like a Mercury to charm.
Nature herself was proud of his designs,
And joyed to wear the dressing of his lines."

Ben Jonson's tragedy of "Sejanus," produced in 1603, with work in it from another hand, was not very successful, but it succeeded better after he had recast it in part and made it all his own. It was printed in 1605; and the small criticisms of a pedantic age Ben Jonson forestalled with footnotes citing the authority for all that he had worked into an harmonious and very noble play. Because the footnotes were there, and looked erudite, the superficial thing to do was to pronounce the play pedantic. But it is not pedantic. Jonson was no pedant; he had carried on for himself the education received at Westminster School, was a good scholar, delighted in his studies, and accumulated a good library, which, in the latter part of his life, was burnt. But he was true poet and true artist. His lyrics rank with the best of a time when nobody wrote dramas who was not poet enough to produce musical songs. No man can be a dramatist, in any real sense of the word, who cannot produce good lyrics. The greater includes the less. As dramatist, Jonson had not Shakespeare's wealth of fancy, his sense of kindred with all forms of life — one source of that more than insight into character, of that power of being in imagination all that man can be, which caused his character-painting to stand quite alone in the world's literature. Nobody but Shakespeare ever made men speak as from within, and, one might say, betray themselves, as men and women do in real life, so that in his mimic world the persons are as variously judged and tried by as many tests as if one were discussing words and deeds of living people. All other dramatists have painted men and women as they saw them and we see them, from without; not reproducing life, but drawing pictures of it.

Ben Jonson judged himself aright, and wrote only two tragedies. But each of them has a clear artistic structure, with dignity in its main thought, and vigorous dramatic scenes, from which, though it be tragedy, the humor of the satirist is not entirely absent. Sejanus rises by base arts; he spurns the gods, but has within his house a shrine to Fortune. He scorns the spiritual aims of life, works grossly for material success, and from his pinnacle of state falls to be dashed in pieces.

> "Let this example move the insolent man
> Not to grow proud and careless of the gods."

There is a scene at the opening of the second Act in which Eudemus, the physician, is painting the cheeks of Livia. The dialogue blends meanest frivolity with a light planning of the most atrocious crime, and shows how Ben Jonson, following his own bent, could join a stern sense of the tragic in life with the humor of the comic poet. There is a very light touch of the spirit of comedy, suggesting the relation of small men to great events, in the fidgety movements of Consul Regulus, who has been called out of his bed, in the third Scene of the fifth Act. In some character of a rough, honest censor, Ben Jonson himself often walked abroad through his own plays. Thus, in "Sejanus," he may be said to have embodied himself in the part of Arruntius.

In these first years, also, of James's reign, there was so little of the ill-will of small minds following the stage controversy raised by Marston and Dekker in "Satiromastix," that Jonson and Dekker were working together, in 1603, at a masque for the city of London on his Majesty's accession; and one of Marston's best plays — the "Malcontent," written probably in 1603, and certainly published in two editions in 1604 — was dedicated to Ben Jonson as his liberal and cordial friend. In 1605, when "Sejanus" was printed, Marston's friendship for Ben Jonson appeared in the front of it; and in that year, also, Ben Jonson was fellow-worker with Marston and Chapman in the play of "Eastward Ho." The play contained a sentence — afterwards expunged — that offended the king, and brought the writers into trouble; but its whole character of Sir Petronel Flash was a satire upon his Majesty's great cheapening of the honors of knighthood. The play itself, with some freedom of detail, was supremely moral in its design, being a contrast between the careers of the idle and the industrious apprentice.

Ben Jonson, who had many friends among the abler men of rank at court, began at the outset of James's reign to find employment as a writer of court masques. In this form of writing — which had been untouched by Shakespeare — he was in his own day easily the first. But his true strength was in a form of comedy exclusively his own, broad and deep, generous in its aim, with scorn for all that is base, lively in its painting of a great variety of characters, each with some one predominating feature which he called its humor, and strong throughout with a manly vigor of thought that gives a bracing sense of intellectual energy to every scene. The reader's mind, after a ramble through "Volpone" or "The Alchemist," feels as his body might after a wholesome walk in the sea-breeze. Ben Jonson, about thirty years old at the accession of James I., was about thirty-two when, after "Sejanus," he produced "Volpone, or the Fox," in 1605; then followed two more of his masterpieces, "Epicœne, or the Silent Woman," in 1609, and "The Alchemist," in 1610. His other tragedy came next, "Catiline," in 1611. For twelve years, during this earlier part of his life, Ben Jonson had been a Roman Catholic; but he had by this time rejoined the Church of England. In 1613 he was in France as companion and tutor to Sir Walter Raleigh's son. When he came home he poured scorn upon the outside show of Puritanism, in his "Bartholomew Fair," and produced, in 1616, the year of Shakespeare's death, a comedy called "The Devil is an Ass," in which the imp Pug, having obtained a holiday on earth, went back a lost fiend as to his character, for said Satan to him:

> "Whom hast thou dealt with,
> Woman or man, this day, but have outgone thee
> Some way, and most have proved the better fiends?"

Each party in the rising controversy of the day had its mean rout of camp-followers, serving the times for their own advantage. If Zeal-of-the-Land Busy in "Bartholomew Fair" represented one of the untruths of the time, the truth he parodied was in the good men of all parties. It was in Ben Jonson among the rest, and he uttered it in his own way as a comedian, very distinctly in this play, which followed next after "Bartholomew Fair." In the same year, 1616, Ben Jonson published a folio as the first volume of his "Works," including not plays only, but epigrams and miscellaneous poems gathered under the title of "The Forest." In this year Jonson ceased to write for the playhouse. He continued to produce court masques, but wrote no more plays for the public stage until after the death of James I. The degree of M.A. was conferred on him in 1619 by the University of Oxford; and, at the cost of some trouble, Ben Jonson escaped being knighted by King James.

After the death of James I. in 1625, Ben Jonson was driven to the stage again by poverty. The town did not receive his play, "The Staple of News," produced in 1625, with much favor; and at the close of that year the poet had a stroke of palsy. He had bad health during the rest of his life. His play of "The New Inn," acted in January, 1630, was driven from the stage; and it was then that Jonson turned upon the playhouse audiences with an indignant ode. At the end of 1631 a quarrel with our first great architect of the Renaissance, Inigo Jones, who invented the machinery for the court masques, deprived Jonson of all court patronage; and in 1632 and 1633 he was compelled to write feebly for the public stage his last plays, "The Magnetic Lady" and "The Tale of a Tub." But after this, court favor and city favor, which also had been withdrawn, were regained for him. He had a pension from court of a hundred pounds and a tierce of canary. The favor of all the good poets of the time was with him always. In the latter part of James's reign Jonson had lodged at a comb-maker's, outside Temple Bar. Just within Temple Bar, and between it and the Middle Temple gate, was a tavern, which had for its sign Dunstan, the saint of the parish, with the devil's nose in his tongs. It was called, therefore, the "Devil Tavern." Here Ben Jonson gathered about him the new generation of poets, in the Apollo Club. In his last days, when disease was closing in upon him, he was all poet again, at work on his pastoral play of "The Sad Shepherd, or a Tale of Robin Hood," which he left unfinished. He died in August, 1637, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. There was question of a monument, but none was raised. One Jack Young gave a mason eighteen-pence to cut on the stone over the grave "O rare Ben Jonson."

4. **Francis Beaumont** and **John Fletcher**, whose plays belong entirely to the reign of James I., first appeared together as friends of Ben Jonson, each of them furnishing verses prefixed to the first publication of "Volpone," in 1607. John Fletcher, the elder of the two friends, was born at Rye, in 1576, when his father — ten years afterwards a bishop — was vicar there. He was educated at home and at Benet College, Cambridge; afterwards came to London, and began his career as a dramatist, at the age of about twenty-seven, with "The Woman Hater" and "Thierry and Theodoret," both perhaps written before he entered into literary partnership with Beaumont.

Francis Beaumont was about ten years younger than Fletcher. He was the third son of Sir Francis Beaumont, Justice of the Common Pleas; was born probably in 1586; admitted in his thirteenth year a gentleman-commoner of Broadgates Hall (now Pembroke College), Oxford; left the university without a degree; and at the age of about seventeen was entered of the Inner Temple. In 1602 he published a paraphrase of Ovid's tale of "Salmacis and Hermaphroditus;" and in 1607, when he was twenty-one and Fletcher thirty-one, he wrote his lines in praise of Ben Jonson's "Volpone." Thenceforth, until the year of Shakespeare's death, Beaumont and Fletcher, close friends, worked together for the players. Beaumont had private means, and married. Fletcher depended on his earnings. Beaumont died a few weeks before Shakespeare, in March, 1616; all plays, therefore, that are the joint work of Beaumont and Fletcher, were produced during the ten years between 1606 and 1616. John Fletcher was not only ten years older than Beaumont, but he survived him nine years, and was sole author of many of the plays known as Beaumont and Fletcher's. Beaumont, as dramatist, wrote probably no work that was all his own, except in 1613 a masque on the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth. Fletcher wrote a play or two of his own before the partnership began; probably four plays wholly his own were produced during the partnership; and he continued to write during the nine or ten years between Beaumont's death, in March, 1616, and his own death by the plague, in August, 1625. Omitting a few doubtful works, about forty plays were written entirely by John Fletcher, and thirteen were probably the joint work of the partners. These were "Philaster," "The Maid's Tragedy," "A King and no King," "The Knight of the Burning Pestle," "Cupid's Revenge," "The Coxcomb," "Four Plays in One," "The Scornful Lady," "The Honest Man's Fortune," "The Little French Lawyer," "Wit at Several Weapons," "A Right Woman," and "The Laws of Candy." In verses "On Mr. Beaumont, written presently after his death," by his friend John Earle, then a young man, credit is given to Beaumont for the first three plays named in this list. Francis Beaumont and Ben Jonson were hearty friends. The elder poet wrote of the younger:

> "How I do love thee, Beaumont, and thy Muse,
> That unto me dost such religion use!
> How I do fear myself, that am not worth
> The least indulgent thought thy pen drops forth!"

Tradition, dating from their own time, gave preëminence to Fletcher for luxuriance of fancy and invention, and to Beaumont for critical judgment, to which it was said that even Ben Jonson submitted his writings. The wit and poetry of these plays were spent chiefly on themes of love. Their authors, capable of higher flights, so far accommodated their good work to the lower tone of the playhouse as to earn praise for having "understood and imitated much better than Shakespeare the conversation of gentlemen whose wild debaucheries and quickness of wit in repartees no poet can ever paint as they have done. Humor, which Ben Jonson derived from particular persons, they made it not their business to describe; they represented all the passions very lively." So Beaumont and

Fletcher were praised by Dryden in the time of Charles II., when their plays were "the most pleasant and frequent entertainments of the stage, two of theirs being acted through the year for one of Shakespeare's or Jonson's." We shall see how in that later Stuart time "The Maid's Tragedy" was dealt with. As first produced, in 1609, it ended tragically for a king of Rhodes, and its last words were:

> "On lustful kings
> Unlook'd-for sudden deaths from Heav'n are sent;
> But curst is he that is their instrument."

Here was the good Elizabethan sense of common right and duty, guarded by a line in recognition of the sacredness of royal persons. "The Faithful Shepherdess," by Fletcher alone, produced early in 1610, was above the playhouse standard of taste and morality, being a pastoral play in praise of maiden innocence, dantily versified and most pure in its design, although its moral is sometimes enforced by scenes which, as men now judge, depict too freely the evil they condemn. That is a question only of change in conventional opinion; the true mind of the play is absolutely pure.

"The Knight of the Burning Pestle," by Beaumont and Fletcher, was a lively burlesque on the taste for high-flown romances, which Cervantes had attacked only six years before in his "Don Quixote." A citizen, speaking from among the audience, stops the actors at their prologue, says there shall be a grocer in the play, and he shall do admirable things. The citizen's wife says he shall kill a lion with a pestle; and their man, Ralph, is the man to do it. Ralph, being thus forced on the players, burlesques the taste for Palmerin of England; appears, with squire and dwarf, as a knight, who swears by his ancestor Amadis of Gaul; has an inn described to him by his squire as an ancient castle held by the old knight of the most holy order of "The Bell," who has three squires, Chamberlino, Tapstero, and Ostlero; and when the tapster answers a lance-knock at the door, addresses him in this fashion:

> "Fair Squire Tapstero, I, a wandering knight,
> Hight of the Burning Pestle, in the quest
> Of this fair lady's casket and wrought purse,

Losing myself in this vast wilderness,
Am to this castle well by fortune brought;
Where hearing of the goodly entertain
Your knight of holy order of 'The Bell'
Gives to all damsels and all errant knights,
I thought to knock, and now am bold to enter."

This earliest burlesque in our dramatic literature was evidently following the lead of "Don Quixote." It was in 1605, at a time corresponding to the second year of the reign of James I. in England, that Cervantes published the first part of his "Don Quixote;" the second part, still better than the first, was published in 1615. Beaumont and Fletcher's burlesque on the affected forms into which tales of chivalry had degenerated appeared in 1611.

5. Of most of Shakespeare's contemporaries and immediate successors in the drama, we can give here but slight mention. **George Chapman** will be spoken of in connection with the translators.

Thomas Heywood, one of the busiest and most prolific of this wonderful group of playwrights, was a native of Lincolnshire, and a Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. He joined the players, and was a young man when writing for them in 1596. In 1598 he produced "War without Blows and Love without Suit," and immediately afterwards "Joan as good as my Lady." He probably lived until about 1648, and according to his own account had "either an entire hand, or at the least a main finger," in two hundred and twenty plays.

6. Thomas Middleton was born in London about 1570, and died in 1627. He was admitted of Gray's Inn in 1593. Among his writings are "Randall Earl of Chester;" "Blurt, Master-Constable, or the Spaniard's Night-Walk;" "Two Harpies;" and "Mycrocynicon, six snarling Satires."

7. Thomas Dekker, who was also born about 1570, began to write in the days of the later Elizabethan drama. His "Phaëton" was acted in 1597; other plays rapidly followed. His comedies of "Old Fortunatus" and the "Shoemaker's Holiday" were printed in 1600, and his "Satiromastix" in 1602. He continued to be an active dramatist and pamphleteer throughout his long life, dying not earlier than 1637.

8. John Marston, who was probably educated at Oxford, began in 1598 as a satirist with "The Scourge of Villainie, three Books of Satires," and "The Metamorphosis of Pigmalion's Image, and certaine Satyres," one of the books burnt by Whitgift and Bancroft when they forbade the writing of more satire. Marston wrote a tragedy, "Antonio and Mellida," which had a sequel, "Antonio's Revenge," and these plays were both printed in 1602. Other plays of his are "The Insatiate Countess," 1603; "The Wonder of Women, or Sophonisba," 1606; "The Malcontent," 1604; "Parasitaster, or The Fawn," 1606; "What You Will," 1607; and "Eastward Ho," 1605. He died in 1634.

9. During the best years of Shakespeare's life as a dramatist, **William Alexander**, of Menstrie, afterwards Sir William Alexander and first Earl of Stirling, wrote four weak plays, — "Darius," first printed in 1603; "Crœsus," in 1604; "The Alexandræan, Tragedy," in 1605, and "Julius Cæsar," in 1607, when the series was published together as "The Monarchic Tragedies." William Alexander was then a Gentleman of the Chamber to Prince Henry, and a Scotchman in much favor with King James.

10. **Cyril Tourneur**, a dramatic poet with real tragic power, of whose life little is known, and whose extant plays are "The Revenger's Tragedy," "The Atheist's Tragedy," and "The Nobleman," wrote only in the reign of James I.

11. **William Rowley**, who during the last three years of Shakespeare's life was at the head of the Prince of Wales's company of comedians, wrote, or took part in writing, many plays, chiefly comedies, during the reign of James I. He published also, in 1609, a lively picture of London life, called "A Search for Money; or, the Lamentable Complaint for the Loss of the Wandering Knight, Monsieur l'Argent."

12. **Nathaniel Field** was one of the Children of the Revels who, in 1601, played in Ben Jonson's "Poetaster." He became known as a very good actor in the Blackfriars Company, also as a dramatist. Before 1611 he wrote two plays of his own, "Woman is a Weathercock," and a second part, called "Amends for Ladies." He lived until about 1641.

13. John Webster and Philip Massinger, true poets both, and dramatists of higher mark than those just named, were nearly of like age. **Philip Massinger** was born at Salisbury, in 1584. His father was in the household of Henry, Earl of Pembroke. In the last year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, Massinger became a commoner of St. Albans Hall, Oxford; but the death of his father, in 1606, obliged him to leave the university and support himself as he could. Many of his plays are lost, and there is slight record of work of his earlier than 1622, when "The Virgin Martyr" was printed. "The Duke of Milan" was printed in 1623. In December, 1623, Massinger's name first appeared in the office-book of the Master of the Revels, when his "Bondman" was acted. That play was first printed in 1624. Twelve of Massinger's plays were printed in his lifetime, but only these three in the reign of James I. Massinger lived until 1640, writing many plays, of which only eighteen remain. The public stage under Charles I. was not strongly supported by the king and court, and it was strongly contemned by the Puritans. Good plays were often ill received, and then good poets might hunger. In 1633, when Ben Jonson made his last struggle to please a playhouse audience, Massinger printed that one of his plays which has held the stage to our own time, "A New Way to Pay Old Debts."

John Webster, a master poet in the suggestion of tragic horror, produced in the reign of James I. two of his finest plays, — "The White Devil; or, Vittoria Corombona," printed in 1612; and "The Duchess of Malfi," first acted about the time of Shakespeare's death, but printed in 1623. Webster also wrote in the reign of Charles I. He lived on into the time of the Commonwealth, and died about 1654.

14. John Ford, born in 1586, at Ilsington, in Devonshire, and bred to the law, began to write plays only two or three years before the accession of Charles I., and was one of the chief dramatists of Charles's reign, until his death about 1639. In Ford, as in Massinger, men born in Elizabeth's reign, with grandeur of poetical conception, there is still the ring of Elizabethan poetry.

There is enough of it also in **James Shirley**, who was only seven years old when Elizabeth died, and who lived into Charles II.'s reign, to justify his place among Elizabethan-Stuart dramatists. The reign of Charles I. was Shirley's work-time as a dramatist. He was a Londoner born, educated at Merchant-Tailors' School, and at St. John's College, Oxford, when Laud was its president. He removed to Cambridge, took orders, had a cure near St. Albans, left that because he turned Romanist, and taught, in 1623, at the St. Albans Grammar School. Then Shirley came to London, became a dramatist, and was not unprosperous; his genius and his Catholicism recommended him to Charles's queen. He went to Ireland in 1637, the year of Ben Jonson's death, and wrote plays for a theatre then newly built, the first in Dublin. When he came back, a clever dramatist, and blameless gentleman, James Shirley took part on the king's side in the Civil War; and when the stage would no longer support his wife and family he taught boys again.

In the versification of many Elizabethan-Stuart dramatists, and noticeably in Massinger and Shirley, there is further development of the ten-syllabled blank-verse into a free measure, with frequent use of additional syllables, often monosyllables. The breaks of lines also are often so made as to compel such running of two lines together as deprives the verse of some of its character. We have begun the descent from poetical blank-verse to a loosely metrical form of dialogue, when we find writing like this in Massinger:

> "Speak thy griefs.
> I shall, sir;
> But in a perplexed form and method, which
> You only can interpret: would you had not
> A guilty knowledge in your bosom of
> The language which you force me to deliver."

15. Thomas May, born in Sussex, in 1594 or 1595, came from Cambridge to Gray's Inn, and was the one among Elizabethan-Stuart dramatists whose work was least Elizabethan. His comedy of "The Heir" was printed in 1622, when he also published a translation of Virgil's "Georgics." In 1627 appeared his translation of Lucan's "Pharsalia," which had been preceded, in 1614, by that of Sir Arthur Gorges. In 1633, May added, in seven books, his own "Continuation," down to the death of Julius Cæsar. May's "Lucan" caused Charles I. to command of him two original historical poems. These were, "The Reigne of King Henry the Second, in Seven Bookes" (1633), and, also in seven books, "The Victorious Reigne of King Edward the Third" (1635). In the Civil War, May took part with the Parliament, and was made its secretary and historiographer. In this character he published, in 1647, in folio, "The History of the Parliament of England which began Nov. 3, M.DC.XL.; with a Short and Necessary View of some Precedent Years:" an abridgment of this, in three parts, appeared in 1650, the year of his death. May also translated a selection from Martial's "Epigrams" and Barclay's "Argenis" and "Icon Animarum."

16. Stuart dramatists born within a year or two after the death of Elizabeth were Jasper Mayne, Thomas Randolph, and William Davenant. **Jasper Mayne**, born in 1604, at Hatherleigh, Devonshire, was educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford. He held the livings of Cassington and Pyrton, in Oxfordshire, till he was deprived of them in 1648. He wrote in the time of Charles I. a comedy called "The City Match," printed in 1639, and the tragi-comedy of "The Amorous War," printed in 1648. After the Restoration he became Archdeacon of Chichester and chaplain to Charles II. He lived till 1672.

17. **Thomas Randolph**, born at Newnham, Northamptonshire, in 1605, was at Westminster School with Mayne. He went to Trinity College, Cambridge, became M.A. and Fellow of his College, was a good scholar and good wit, lived gayly, and died in 1634, before he was thirty. In honor of sack and contempt of beer, he wrote a lively dramatic show, called "Aristippus" (1630), in which the jovial philosopher — whose name was given to sack (sec) or dry sherry — lectured to scholars on the virtues of that source of inspiration, till the scholars sang:

"Your ale is too muddy, good sack is our study,
Our tutor is Aristippus."

Yet in another of Randolph's plays, "The Muses' Looking-Glass," there is a moralizing of the uses of the drama for the benefit of Puritan objectors; and after a dance of the seven sins, the opposite extremes which have a virtue in the mean — as servile Flattery and peevish Impertinence, extremes on either side of Courtesy; impious Confidence and overmuch Fear, extremes of Fortitude; swift Quarrelsomeness and the Insensibility to Wrong, extremes of Meekness — are cleverly illustrated in successive dialogues. The Golden Mean appears early in the play, with a masque of Virtues, replying to the Puritans who said that the stage lived by vice:

"Indeed, 'tis true,
As the physicians by diseases do,
Only to cure them."

Thomas Randolph wrote also a comedy, "The Jealous Lovers," acted, in 1632, before Charles and his queen by the students of Trinity College; and a graceful pastoral play, "Amyntas," acted before the king and queen at Whitehall, and first printed in 1638. Among Randolph's songs and poems is one to Ben Jonson, who loved him and other of the bright young poets of the day, and called them sons. I was not born, he says, to Helicon;

"But thy adoption quits me of all fear,
And makes me challenge a child's portion there.
I am akin to heroes, being thine,
And part of my alliance is divine."

18. Sir William Davenant, who was born in 1606, and died in 1668, and who personally knew both Shakespeare and Dryden, may be regarded as the connecting link between the Elizabethan dramatists and the dramatists of the Restoration. He began to write plays in his youth, and he continued to write them in his old age. He will be more particularly dealt with under the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century.

CHAPTER V.

FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: POETRY CHIEFLY NON-DRAMATIC.

1. Samuel Daniel. — 2. Michael Drayton. — 3. William Browne. — 4. Giles Fletcher: Phineas Fletcher. — 5. George Wither. — 6. William Drummond. — 7. Later Euphuism in Poetry. — 8. John Donne. — 9. Thomas Coryat: John Taylor. — 10. — Francis Quarles. — 11. George Herbert. — 12. Richard Crashaw. — 13. Character Poetry: Overbury: Habington: Earle. — 14. The Translators: George Chapman: George Sandys: Barten Holyday. — 15. Wits, Satirists, and Song-Writers: Joseph Hall. — 16. Sir John Harington. — 17. Richard Corbet. — 18. John Cleveland. — 19. Thomas Carew. — 20. Sir John Denham. — 21. Sir John Suckling. — 22. William Cartwright. — 23. Richard Lovelace. — 24. Robert Herrick. — 25. The Position of John Milton in Literature: His Earlier Poetry.

1. Samuel Daniel was born near Taunton, in 1562, the son of a music-master. From 1579 to 1582 he was studying as a commoner at Magdalene Hall, Oxford, but he did not take a degree. In 1585, at the age of twenty-three, he translated from the Italian "The Worthy Tract of Paulus Jovius, contayning a Discourse of rare Inventions, both Militarie and Amorous, called Impresse. Whereunto is added a Preface, contayning the Arte of Composing them, with many other Notable Devises." Daniel became tutor to the Lady Anne Clifford, afterwards Countess of Pembroke, and became historian and poet under the patronage of the Earl of Pembroke's family. He began his career as an original poet, strongly influenced by the Italian writers, in 1592, with "Delia: contayning certayne Sonnets, with the Complaint of Rosamond." This he dedicated to Mary, Countess of Pembroke, Sidney's sister; augmented editions, bringing the number of sonnets to fifty-seven, followed in 1594 and 1595. In 1595, Daniel combined his functions of historian and poet by publishing "The First Fowre Books of the Civille Warres betweene the Two Houses of Lancaster and Yorke." This poem is in stanzas of the octave rhyme, established by Boccaccio as the Italian measure for narrative poetry, used by Pulci, Boiardo, Ariosto, Tasso. Strongly influenced by Italian forms, and often paraphrasing and translating from Italian, Daniel took naturally to octave rhyme for his poem on the civil wars. It was, like Sackville's tragedy of Buckingham, in the "Mirror for Magistrates," too much of a history to be a poem in the true artistic sense; but it was musical in versification, patriotic and religious, and somewhat diffuse in moralizing, with so much of the conservative tone, that, in church matters, some thought Daniel inclined towards Catholicism. In 1597 appeared his "Tragedy of Philotas;" in 1599, "Musophilus," and other "Poetical Essayes." The poem on the civil wars was also extended to five books in 1599; a sixth book followed in 1602. Daniel's "Musophilus" was a general defence of learning in dialogue between Philocosmus, a lover of the world, and Musophilus, a lover of the Muses. It has been said that after the death of Spenser, in 1599, Daniel succeeded him as poet-laureate. But there was in Elizabeth's time no recognized court office of poet-laureate. He wrote in prose a "Collection of the History of England," first published in 1613 and 1618. It begins with Roman Britain, and ends with the reign of Edward III.

2. **Michael Drayton**, born at Hartshill, Warwickshire, was of about the same age as Daniel, but a poet with more sensibility, more vigor and grace of thought. Like Daniel, he began to write after 1590, and became a busy poet. He is said to have been maintained for a time at Oxford by Sir Henry Goodere, of Polsworth, and he had a friend and patron in Sir Walter Aston, of Tixhall, in Staffordshire. In 1591, Drayton began his career as poet with a sacred strain: "The Harmony of the Church, containing the Spiritual Songs and Holy Hymns of Godly Men, Patriarchs, and Prophets, all sweetly sounding to the Glory of the Highest." This was followed, in 1593, by "Idea; the Shepherd's Garland, fashioned in Nine Eclogues;" "Rowland's Sacrifice to the Nine Muses;" in 1594, by his "Matilda," and his "Idea's Mirror, Amours in Quatorzains." In 1596, "Matilda" re-appeared in a volume which showed Drayton's Muse to be then running parallel with Dan-

iel's in choice of subject, and to be passing from love pastorals and sonnets to a strain from the past history of England. A year after Daniel's "Civil Wars" appeared Drayton's "Tragical Legend of Robert Duke of Normandy, with the Legend of Matilda the Chaste, Daughter of the Lord Robert Fitzwater, poysoned by King John; and the Legend of Piers Gaveston, the latter two by him newly corrected and augmented;" and in the same year, 1596, — year of the second part of "The Faery Queen," and of Spenser's last publications, — appeared Drayton's "Mortimeriados: the Lamentable Civell Warres of Edward the Second and the Barrons," a poem afterwards known as the "Barons' Wars." It was in stanzas of octave rhyme, like that poem on the civil wars of Lancaster and York which Daniel had published in part, and was still at work upon. The poets chose these themes because they yielded much reverse of fortune that could point a moral in the spirit illustrated by the still popular "Mirror for Magistrates." In 1598 Drayton again made poetry of history by publishing — their idea taken from Ovid — "England's Heroical Epistles;" letters from Rosamond to Henry II. and from Henry II. to Rosamond, with like pairs of letters between King John and Matilda, Mortimer and Queen Isabel, and so forth. At the accession of James I., Drayton wrote "To the Majestie of King James; a Gratulatore Poem," but turned from the king disappointed; published, in 1604, his fable of "The Owle;" and in 1607 the "Legend of Great Cromwell," which appeared again in 1609 as "The Historie of the Life and Death of the Lord Cromwell, some time Earl of Essex and Lord Chancellor of England." In 1613 appeared his "Polyolbion" (the word means Many-ways-Happy), a poetical description of his native land, in nearly sixteen thousand lines of Alexandrine verse, with maps of counties, and antiquarian notes by the author's friend, John Selden. This poem was another illustration of the quickened patriotism of the English. Thus Drayton sang when he came to his own county of Warwick, that he and Shakespeare loved:

"My native country, then, which so brave spirits hast bred,
If there be virtues yet remaining in thy earth,

Or any good of thine thou bredst into my birth,
Accept it as thine own, whilst now I sing of thee,
Of all the later brood the unworthiest though I be."

3. **William Browne**, born in 1590, at Tavistock, in Devonshire, studied at Exeter College, Oxford, then went to the Inner Temple, and in 1613, the year of the appearance of Drayton's "Polyolbion," produced, at the age of twenty-three, the first part of his "Britannia's Pastorals," partly written before he was twenty. "The Shepherd's Pipe," in seven eclogues, followed in 1614. In 1616, the year of Shakespeare's death, appeared the second part of Browne's "Britannia's Pastorals." The two parts were published together about the end of James's reign, and about the same time their author went back to Exeter College as tutor to Robert Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon. His pleasant pastoral strain touched but lightly upon the realities of life. The rustic manner showed the influence of Spenser, but in James's reign this influence was greatest on Giles Fletcher.

4. **Giles Fletcher**, who was brother to Phineas Fletcher, the poet, and cousin to John Fletcher, the dramatist, was at Trinity College, Cambridge, when he contributed a canto to the collection of verses, "Sorrow's Joy," on the death of Elizabeth and accession of James, published by the printer to the university in 1603. He took the degree of B.D. at Trinity College, and held the living of Alderton, in Suffolk, till his death, in 1623. It was not until after the death of Giles that his elder brother, Phineas, appeared in print as a poet; though in one of his poems Giles spoke of his brother as young Thyrsilis, the Kentish lad that lately taught

"His oaten reed the trumpet's silver sound."

Giles Fletcher published at Cambridge, in 1610, when he was about six and twenty, a devout poem on "Christ's Victory and Triumph over and after Death," in an original eight-lined stanza, suggested by Spenser's, but not happily constructed. For five lines the stanza followed Spenser, and then came a triplet, of which the last line was an Alexandrine, as in the Spenserian stanza. Thus:

"At length an aged sire far off he saw
  Come slowly footing; every step he guess'd
One of his feet he from the grave did draw;
  Three legs he had, that made of wood was best;
And all the way he went he ever blest

> With benedictions, and with prayers store;
> But the bad ground was blessed ne'er the more:
> And all his head with snow of age was waxen hoar."

"Christ's Victory in Heaven" heralded the work of Christ with long personifications and speeches of Justice and of Mercy, to whom finally all bowed; the "Victory on Earth" painted Christ in the wilderness, approached by Satan (the aged sire above mentioned) in the guise of an old Palmer, who so bowed "that at his feet his head he seemed to throw," who led Christ to the cave of Despair, which he would entice him to enter; to the top of the Temple, also, where personified Presumption tempted in vain; and then to Pangloretta, on the mountain-top, where Giles Fletcher faintly recalled notes from Spenser's bower of Acrasia. The other two books on the "Triumph over Death" and the "Triumph after Death" were in like manner.

Phineas Fletcher, who had the living of Hilgay, in Norfolk, was born at Cranbrook, Kent, in April, 1582, and went to Cambridge from Eton in 1600. He published in 1627 a satire against the Jesuits, "The Locustes, or Apollyonists," in Latin and English; in 1631, "Sicelides," in five Acts, as it hath been acted in King's College, in Cambridge; in 1632, a couple of religious pieces; in 1633, Latin poems, "Sylva Poetica" and "The Purple Island." Phineas Fletcher's "Purple Island" is the "Isle of Man," and the poem is a long allegory in ten cantos of the study of man, with an allegorical description of his structure; much larger and less poetical than Spenser's in "The Faery Queen;" with allegorical description of the passions, desires, virtues lodged in man, as "this Purple Island's nation;" and, of course, not wanting the dragon to be fiercely contended with. The poem was written long before it was published; for its flight is said to be that of a "callow wing that's newly left the nest," and it represents a young man's reverence for Spenser. Quarles called its author "the Spenser of this age." The metre of "The Purple Island" is Giles Fletcher's eight-lined stanza, with its fifth line gone.

5. George Wither was born in 1588, at Bentworth, near Alton, in Hampshire. At the beginning of the reign of James I. he was sent to Oxford, but was soon recalled to attend to the

Hampshire farm land. In 1612, Wither first appeared as a poet by joining in the lament for Prince Henry, adding to his elegies a "supposed interlocution between the ghost of Prince Henry and Great Britaine;" and in 1613, being then twenty-five years old, he spoke out boldly for England in "Abuses Stript and Whipt; or, Satirical Essayes, by George Wyther, divided into Two Bookes." The successive satires are under the heads of human passions, as Love, Lust, Hate, Envy, Revenge, and so forth:

"What? you would fain have all the great ones freed,
They must not for their vices be controll'd;
Beware; that were a sauciness indeed;
But if the great ones to offend be bold,
I see no reason but they should be told."

Wither was bold in condemnation, as others in offence. While he continued the attack upon self-seeking of the higher clergy, he maintained the office of the bishop, and gave high praise to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London. The satires, although sharp, were generous; their style was diffuse, but simple, earnest, often vigorous, for Wither had the true mind of a poet. He would tell what he knew:

"And then if any frown (as sure they dare not)
So I speak truth, let them frown still, I care not."

The great ones did frown, and Wither was locked up in the Marshalsea. But he was not to be silenced. He sang on in his cage, and sang plain English, contemning the pedantry of fashion. Wither translated in his prison a Greek poem on "The Nature of Man;" besides writing the most manly pastorals produced in James's reign, "The Shepherd's Hunting; being certain Eclogues written during the time of the Author's Imprisonment in the Marshalsey;" and a "Satire to the King," in justification of his former satires. In "The Shepherd's Hunting," we learn how Wither, as Philarete (lover of Virtue), had hunted with ten couple of dogs (the satires in "Abuses Stript and Whipt") those foxes, wolves, and beasts of prey that spoil our folds and bear our lambs away. But wounded wolves and foxes put on sheep's clothing, complained of the shepherd's hunting, and caused his imprisonment. In his prison, Philarete talked with his friends, kept up his spirit, and was comforted by song. "Wither's Motto: Nec Habeo, Nec Careo, Nec Curo," was published in 1618. In 1622 Wither's poems were collected as "Juvenilia;" and in the same year he published "Faire-Virtue, the Mistresse of Philarete, written by Him-selfe." Virtue is here described as a perfect woman, mistress of Philarete. This long poem, in seven-syllabled verse, is musical with interspersed songs, including the famous couplet:

"Shall I, wasting in despair,
Die because a woman's fair?"

and delicately playful with the purest sense of grace and beauty. George Wither takes his own way still, saying:

"Pedants shall not tie my strains
To our antique poets' veins,
As if we in latter days
Knew to love, but not to praise.
Being born as free as these,
I will sing as I shall please,
Who as well new paths may run
As the best before have done."

At the beginning of the reign of Charles, he was in London during a great plague time, bravely helping its victims, and he published, in 1628, a poem upon his experiences, as "Britain's Remembrancer: containing a Narration of the Plague lately Past; a Declaration of the Mischiefs Present, and a Prediction of Judgments to Come (if Repentance Prevent not). It is Dedicated (for the Glory of God) to Posteritie; and to these Times (if they please), by Geo. Wither." Wither tells the reader of this book: "I was faine to print every sheet thereof with my owne hand, because I could not get allowance to doe it publikely." His verse translation of "The Psalms" was printed in the Netherlands, in 1632; his "Emblems," with metrical illustrations, in 1635; his "Hallelujah; or, Britain's Second Remembrancer," in 1641. Wither, of course, was active in the civil war, body and mind, becoming captain and major in the army of the Parliament. When his "Emblems" appeared he was the king's friend. He was the king's friend even when opposing him in the first incidents of civil war, as one who hoped for reconciliation between king and parliament. Wither lived on, and was an old man in London at the time of the great fire. He died in 1667.

6. **William Drummond**, of Edinburgh, after four years in France, inherited, in 1610, at the age of twenty-five, his paternal estate of Hawthornden, gave up the study of law, took his ease, and wrote poetry. He joined in the lament for the death of Henry, Prince of Wales; published at Edinburgh, in 1616, "Poems: Amorous, Funerall, Divine, Pastorall, in Sonnets, Songs, Sextains, Madrigals, by W. D., the Author of the Teares on the Death of Mœliades" (Mœliades was the anagram made for himself by the prince from "Miles a Deo"); and in 1617, upon James's visit to Scotland, published "Forth Feasting: a Panegyric to the King's Most Excellent Majestie." During the greater part of April, 1619, Drummond had Ben Jonson for a guest, and took ungenial notes of his conversation. In 1623 he published "Flowres of Sion, to which is adjoyned his Cypresse Grove." His sonnets were true to the old form of that kind of poem, and they were not all of earthly love and beauty; for sonnets in the spirit of Spenser's Hymns of Heavenly Love and Beauty are among the spiritual poems in Drummond of Hawthornden's "Flowers of Sion." He lived through the reign of Charles I., and died soon after the king's execution, in 1649. There has been ascribed to him a mock-heroic macaronic poem on a country quarrel over muck-carts — "Polemo-Middinia inter Vitarvam et Nebernam" — blending Latin with the Scottish dialect in a coarse but comical example of that kind of writing.

7. Strain for ingenious alliteration, and for unexpected turns of phrase or thought, losing much of the grace and strength it had in the Elizabethan time, became more pedantic in the wise, more frivolous in the foolish, often obscure by the excess of artifice and the defect of sense. There was the same degeneration everywhere of the Earlier Euphuism, bright with fresh invention and poetical conceits, into the Later Euphuism that had to a great extent lost freshness of impulse, and was made obscure by poets, who, with less to say than their predecessors, labored to outdo them in ingenuities of thought and speech. There is no reason in or out of metaphysics why the Later Euphuistic poetry, of which Donne's verse is a type, should be called "metaphysical." It was so called in an age that knew little or nothing of the character of English poetry before the Commonwealth. There is as little reason for the assertion that a change for the worse was made in our literature by the influence of Donne. He only represented change, and he was popular because he followed cleverly the fashion of his day. Precisely what has been said of Donne, in his relation to our English literature, has been said also of Gongora, who died in 1627, and of Marini, who died in 1625—men who went with the same current of literature, one in Spain, the other in Italy, during the reign of James I. in England. In Spain the writers corresponding to our Earlier and Later Euphuists are known as the *Conceptistos*, or "Conceited School," and the *Cultos*, who cherished what they called a "Cultivated Style" in poems and romances. Our Later Euphuism was English cousin to the *cultismo* of Spain, and to the style called, after Marini, by Italians, the *stile Marinesco*. Here, also, we are at the beginning of the history of the false worship of diction.

8. **John Donne** was born in 1573, the son of a London merchant. He was taught at home till, in his eleventh year, he was sent to Hart Hall, Oxford. At fourteen he left Oxford for Cambridge, where he remained till he was seventeen, but took no degree, because his family was Roman Catholic, and would not let him take the required oath. He left Cambridge for London, and studied law at Lincoln's Inn. His father died at that time, leaving him three thousand pounds. His mother sought to bring him to the faith of his parents; and unsettlement of mind caused him to make a special study of the controversies of the time between the Roman Catholics and the Reformers. As a storehouse of opinion on the controversy, young Donne fastened upon the works of Cardinal Bellarmin. He went with the expeditions of the Earl of Essex, in 1596 and 1597; and spent afterwards some years in Italy and Spain; returned to England, and became chief secretary to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere. He held that office five years, during which he fell in love with Anne More, a niece of Lady Ellesmere, who lived in the family. Her father, Sir George More, heard of this, and carried away the young lady to his house in Surrey; but a secret marriage was effected. When this was told to Sir George, he caused Lord Ellesmere to dismiss his secretary, whom apparent ruin could not keep from a play on words, according to the fashion of the time; for in writing the

sad news to his wife he added to his signature the line, "John Donne, Anne Donne, Un-done." Donne was imprisoned for a time, and when he was free his wife was kept from him. He sued at law to recover her. She came to him when his means were almost gone. It was then urged upon Donne that he should take orders in the church; but he hesitated, and preferred study of civil and canon law. An influential kinsman of the family succeeded in persuading Donne's father-in-law to cease from wrath, and pay a portion with his daughter, at the rate of eighty pounds a year. Donne remained very much dependent on the liberality of friends, and was still studying points of controversy between the English and the Romish Church, when a home was given to him in the house of Sir Robert Drury, in Drury Lane. Donne came now into contact with King James, discussed theology with him, and wrote, at his request, a book on the taking of the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, called "Pseudo-Martyr," published in 1610. This pleased the king so much that he required Donne to be a clergyman. Donne made what interest he could to have the king's good-will shown in the form of secular employment; but James had made up his mind that Donne should be a preacher, and, in spite of himself, he was forced into the church as the only way by which he was allowed a chance of prospering. When Donne had at last taken orders, King James made him his chaplain, and in the same month called on Cambridge to make him doctor of divinity. He became a famous preacher and a fashionable poet, was lecturer at Lincoln's Inn till he was joined in a mission to Germany, and about a year after his return was made by the king, in 1621, Dean of St. Paul's, while the vicarage of St. Dunstan's in the West, and yet another benefice, fell to him almost at the same time. Donne survived King James, and died in the year 1631. His lighter occasional poems were not published until after his death. In James's reign he, like other poets, published in 1613 "An Elegy on the Untimely Death of the Incomparable Prince Henry." A severe illness of his own led also to the publication in 1624 of his "Devotions upon Emergent Occasions, and Several Steps in Sickness;" and in 1625 he published a poem upon mortality, since that was not out of harmony with his sacred office. It was called "An Anatomy of the World, wherein, by the untimely Death of Mrs. Eliz. Drury, the Frailty and Decay of this whole World is represented." From this poem we take, for specimen of artificial diction, a passage that contains by rare chance one conceit rising in thought and expression to the higher level of Elizabethan poetry:

"She, in whose body (if we dare preferre
This low world to so high a marke as shee)
The Western treasure, Easterne spicery,
Europe, and Afrique, and the unknowne rest
Were easily found, or what in them was best;
And when we have made this large discoverie
Of all, in her some one part then will bee
Twenty such parts, whose plenty and riches is
Enough to make twenty such worlds as this;
Shee, whom had they knowne, who did first betroth
The tutelar angels, and assigned one, both
To nations, cities, and to companies,
To functions, offices, and dignities,
And to each several man, to him, and him,
They would have given her one for every limbe:
Shee, of whose soule, if we may say 'twas gold,
Her body was th' Electrum, and did hold
Many degrees of that; wee understood
Her by her sight; *her pure and eloquent blood*
Spoke in her cheekes, and so distinctly wrought
That one might almost say, her body thought.
Shee, shee, thus richly and largely hous'd, is gone."

Unreality of a style that sacrifices sense to ingenuity is most felt in Donne's lighter poems. The collection of the verse of the late Dean of St. Paul's published in 1635, as "Poems by J. D., with Elegies on the Author's Death," opens with an ingenious piece, of which the sense is, so far as it has any, that a woman's honor is not worth a flea. Donne was unquestionably a man with much religious earnestness, but he was also a poet who delighted men of fashion.

9. The literary affectations of the time were reduced to absurdity by Thomas Coryat, and John Taylor, the Water Poet. **Thomas Coryat,** son of George Coryat, rector of Odcombe, Somerset, and educated at Gloucester Hall, Oxford, lived a fantastic life at court for the amuse-

ment of Prince Henry. In 1608 he travelled on foot for five months in France, Italy, and Germany, walking 1,975 miles, and more than half the distance in one pair of shoes, which were only once mended. The shoes, when he came home, were hung up in Odcombe Church, and kept there as the "thousand mile shoes" till 1702. The travel in them was described in a book published in 1611, as "Coryat's Crudities hastily Gobbled Up in Five Months' Travels in France, etc. Introduced by An Odcombian Banquet of nearly Sixty Copies of Verses," which were praises written in jest by nearly all the poets of the day. This book was followed by "Coryats Crambe; or, his Colewort Twise Sodden, and now Served with other Macaronicke Dishes as the Second Course to his Crudities." In 1612, Coryat gathered the people of Odcombe at their market cross, and took leave of them for a ten-years' ramble. He visited Greece, Egypt, India, and died at Surat, in 1617. There was the English love of sturdy enterprise and adventure underlying Coryat's endeavor to delight his public.

John Taylor was a poor man's son from Gloucestershire, who became a Thames waterman, after he had served under Elizabeth in sixteen voyages; he was with Essex at Cadiz and the Azores. He read many books, and he wrote sixty-three booklets to amuse the public with their oddities. He made presents of his little books to customers and courtiers, and took whatever they might give in return. One of his books told how he won a bet that he would row in his boat to the Continent and back again within a certain time. It appeared as "Taylor's Travels in Germanie; or, Three Weekes, Three Daies, and Three Houres Observations and Travel from London to Hamburg. . . . Dedicated for the present to the absent Odcombian knight errant, Sir Thomas Coriat, Great Britain's Error and the World's Mirror." This appeared in the year of Coryat's death at Surat. Another of Taylor's freaks was a journey on foot from London to Edinburgh, "not carrying any money to and fro, neither begging, borrowing, nor asking meat, drink, or lodging." This yielded, in 1618, a book, "The Pennyles Pilgrimage; or, the Moneylesse Perambulation of John Taylor, alias the King's Majestie's Water Poet, from London to Edenborough on Foot." Another of his adventures was a voyage from London to Queenborough in a paper boat, with two stock-fish tied to two canes for oars. It was celebrated, in 1623, by "The Praise of Hempseed, with the Voyage of Mr. Roger Bird and the Writer hereof, in a Boat of Brown Paper, from London to Quinborough in Kent. As also a Farewell to the Matchless Deceased Mr. Thomas Coriat. Concluding with Commendations of the famous River of Thames." All this was a little tract of twenty-four leaves. So we come down from Elizabeth to James I.; from Frobisher, and Drake, and Raleigh, to poor Tom Coryat and John Taylor, His Majesty's Water Poet. But although the court lost dignity, the spirit of the people was unchanged. Taylor wrote on through the reign of Charles I., and took part in the civil war by discharging squibs of verse against the Puritans. He had then an inn at Oxford. When the king's cause was lost, he set up an inn in London, by Long Acre, with the sign of "The Mourning Crown;" but he was obliged to take that down, and set up his own portrait in place of it. He died in 1654.

10. Francis Quarles was born in 1592, and was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, and at Lincoln's Inn. He was cupbearer to James's daughter, the Queen of Bohemia, and afterwards served in Ireland as secretary to Archbishop Usher. His first publication was in 1620, "A Feast for Wormes, in a Poem on the History of Jonah;" with "Pentalogia; or, the Quintessence of Meditation." In 1621 followed "Hadassa; or, the History of Queen Esther," these histories being in ten-syllabled couplets, and, in the same measure, "Argalus and Parthenia," a poem in three books, founded on a part of Sidney's "Arcadia." Then came, in 1624, "Job Militant, with Meditations Divine and Moral;" also "Sion's Elegies, wept by Jeremiah the Prophet;" and, in 1625, "Sion's Sonnets, sung by Solomon the King, and periphrased." The writing of Quarles in the reign of James I. consisted, then, of "Argalus and Parthenia," and those pieces which were collected into one volume, in 1630, as "Divine Poems." He produced in 1632 "Divine Fancies, Digested into Epigrammes, Meditations, and Observations;" and the quaintest and most popular of his books of verse, "Emblems Divine and Moral," appeared in the same year with the "Emblems" by George Wither. The taste for emblem pictures, with ingenious and wise interpretation of them, had been especially established by the "Emblems," in Latin verse, of the great Italian lawyer, Andrea Alciati, who died in 1550. These "Emblems" were translated into Italian, French, and Spanish, and read in schools. The taste they established was widely diffused throughout the seventeenth century. The prevalent taste for ingenious thought, blending with the religious feeling of the people, helped especially to a revival of emblem writing in Holland and England; and in Holland the "Moral Emblems" of Jacob Cats, statesman as well as poet, who was born in 1577, came twice as ambassador to England and outlived Quarles, were in very high repute. Quarles, in Ireland with Archbishop

Usher, suffered by the Irish insurrection of 1641. He came to England, took part with the royal cause in a book called "The Loyal Convert," joined the king at Oxford, and was ruined in the civil war. He had been twice married, and had by his first wife eighteen children. Quarles died, overwhelmed with troubles, in 1644.

11. George Herbert was born in 1593, and died in 1633. His father died when he was four years old, and till he was twelve he was in the care of a very good mother at home, with a chaplain for tutor. He was then sent to Westminster School, and at fifteen elected from the school for Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1615 George Herbert became M.A. and Fellow of his College. In 1619 he was chosen orator for the university, and so remained for the next eight years. His wit in use of the labored style of the time delighted King James; for when his Majesty made the university a present of his "Basilicon Doron," which had been published in 1599, George Herbert ended for the Cambridge authorities his acknowledgment of the royal gift, with the remark, put neatly in Latin verse, that they could not now have the Vatican and the Bodleian quoted against them; one book was their library. James, upon this, observed that he thought George Herbert the jewel of the university. The Cambridge Public Orator, who was skilled in French, Italian, and Spanish, thought he might rise at court, and was often in London. The king gave him a sinecure worth a hundred and twenty pounds a year. With this, his fellowship, his payment as Orator, and private income, he could make a good figure at court, and he was usually near the king. But the death of two of his most powerful friends, and soon afterwards of King James himself, put an end to George Herbert's ambition to become one day a secretary of state. He resolved then to follow his mother's often-repeated counsel, and, at the beginning of the reign of Charles I., George Herbert took orders. He obtained, in 1626, the prebend of Leighton Ecclesia, in the diocese of Lincoln, and with help of his own friends handsomely rebuilt the decayed church of that village. The Rev. George Herbert, cheerful and kind, tall and very lean, was ill for a year with one of his brothers, at Woodford, in Essex, and then again recruiting health in Wiltshire, at the house of the Earl of Danby, whose brother had become his mother's second husband. In April, 1630, he was inducted into his living of Bemerton, a mile from Salisbury. He was then thirty-six years old. The pure beauty of the evening of George Herbert's life — the three years at Bemerton before his death in 1633 — was expressed in his verse as in his actions. With Hooker's faithful regard for the church system he maintained it in his parish according to his own standard of purity, blended with love and a free-handed charity, with poetry and music. He was a skilful musician, and went into Salisbury twice a week on certain days for the cathedral service. In 1631 George Herbert's poems appeared as "The Temple: Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations." The forced ingenuity of the time is in them, but the ingenuity so forced is that of a quick wit, and the spirit glorifies the letter; the words, too, are by the writer's sense of harmony tuned often exquisitely to the soul within them. Herbert's "Priest to the Temple; or, the Country Parson," was first printed under the Commonwealth, in 1652.

12. Richard Crashaw, son of a preacher zealous against Catholicism, was born about the year of Shakespeare's death, and was educated at the Charterhouse and Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. Before he was twenty he published anonymously sacred epigrams in Latin. He graduated, became a fellow of Peterhouse, was expelled from Cambridge in 1644 for refusing to subscribe the Covenant, became a Roman Catholic, and went to Paris. There, about 1646, the year of the publication of his "Steps to the Temple," he was found by Cowley, and commended to the friendship of Queen Henrietta Maria, from whom he had letters to Rome. At Rome he became secretary to a cardinal, and Canon of the Church of Loretto. Crashaw died about 1650. With much more of the Later Euphuism than is to be found in lyrics of those cavalier poets who took active part in the stir of the civil war, Crashaw's religious poems, "Steps to the Temple," are not less purely devotional, though they have less beauty and force, than those of Herbert, whom he imitated, and of whose volume he wrote to a lady, with a gift of it, "Divinest love lies in this book:"

"And though Herbert's name do owe
These devotions, fairest, know
That while I lay them on the shrine
Of your white hand, they are mine."

Crashaw's occasional poems are collected as "The Delights of the

Muses." One of them was sent to his friend Cowley, with two green and backward apricots to point comparison with fruit of his genius so early ripe:

> "'Twas only Paradise, 'tis only thou,
> Whose fruit and blossoms both bless the same bough."

13. To write compact and witty characters of men and women was a fancy of the time, derived in the first instance from Theophrastus, and associated with the quick growth of the drama. Such pithy character-writing had been prefixed formally as "The Character of the Persons" to Ben Jonson's "Every Man Out of his Humor;" and the dialogue of the second act of his "Cynthia's Revels," produced in 1600, is chiefly made up of character-writing. It was the manner of this character-writing that suggested to young Milton his lines on the death of Hobson, the university carrier.

A poet who had much skill in this sort of work was **Sir Thomas Overbury,** who was murdered in 1613, and who was in repute among the writers of his day for a poem on the choice of a wife, called "A Wife, now a Widowe," published the year after his murder, and reprinted in the same year with the addition of twenty-one "Characters."

Two other writers to be remembered for character-poetry are **William Habington** and **John Earle.** Habington was born early in the reign of James I., and was the son of a Worcestershire Roman Catholic condemned to abide always in Worcestershire, for having concealed in his house persons accused of complicity in the Gunpowder Plot. The father, since he was to see so much of Worcestershire, wrote a history of the county. The son, educated at St. Omer's, came home and married Lucy, daughter of William Herbert, first Lord Powis. In the name of Castara he paid honor to her through some lyrics of pure love, as the type of modest, spiritual womanhood. Habington's "Castara" first appeared in two parts, in 1634; the second edition, adding three prose characters and twenty-six new poems, appeared in 1635; and a third in 1640, enlarged with a new part, containing a Character of "The Holy Man" and twenty-two poems, chiefly sacred. Habington also wrote a tragi-comedy of "The Queen of Aragon." published in 1640. In that year appeared also his "History of Edward the Fourth, King of England," written at the king's request. **John Earle,** Fellow of Merton, published, in 1628, his collection of Characters, as "Micro-cosmographie; or, a Peece of the World Discovered; in Essayes and Characters." Earle was then twenty-seven years old. He became afterwards chaplain to the Earl of Pembroke, and was Bishop of Salisbury when he died, in 1665.

14. The most celebrated translator of this period was **George Chapman,** noted also as a poet and a dramatist. He was born in 1557 or 1559, at Hitchin, in Hertfordshire. He was called afterwards, by William Browne, "The Shepherd of fair Hitching Hill." About 1574 he was sent to Trinity College, Oxford, where he fastened with especial delight on the Greek and Roman classics. After two years at Oxford, he left without a degree. Nothing is known of him as a writer before 1594, when he published "*Σκιὰ νυκτός*. The Shadow of Night: containing two poetical hymnes devised by G. C., Gent." In the next year, 1595, this was followed by "Ovid's Banquet of Sence, a Coronet for his Mistresse Philosophie, and his amorous Zodiacke." In 1598 appeared the first section of the main work of George Chapman's life, his translation of Homer, in "Seaven Bookes of the Iliades of Homere, Prince of Poets, translated according to the Greeke, in Judgement of his best Commentaries, by George Chapman, Gent." The seven books were the first and second, and the seventh to the eleventh. They are in the fourteen-syllabled measure, to which he adhered throughout the Iliad and Odyssey; but there was a separate issue by him of a version of "Achilles' Shield," in 1598, in ten-syllabled verse.

Chapman had now also begun his career as a dramatist, and in 1598 appeared his first printed comedy, "The Blind Beggar of Alexandria," which had been acted sundry times by the Earl of Nottingham's servants. The same company acted his second comedy, printed in 1599, "An humorous Dayes Mirth." At the end of Elizabeth's reign, Chapman was at work still on his Homer, but had not yet issued another section of it. During the reign of James I., he was an active dramatist. In 1605, besides "Eastward Ho," in which he had a hand, his comedy of "All Fools" was printed; in 1606 "Monsieur d'Olive" and "The Gentleman Usher;" in 1607 his tragedy of "Bussy d'Ambois," which kept the stage for some time after his death. Other tragedies and comedies followed. But his chief work was still at the translation of Homer, on which he was engaged throughout the reign of James I. Twelve books of Homer's Illiad, translated by George Chapman, appeared about 1610: and in the following year, the whole twenty-four books of "The Iliads of Homer," dedicated to Prince Henry, who died in November, 1612. This was followed by the twelve first books of the Odyssey, about 1614, and in 1616 the whole twenty-four books of "Homer's Odysseys, translated according to the Greek." About the year of Shakespeare's death (Chapman's folios are not dated), Chapman's "Iliad" and "Odyssey" appeared together as "The Whole Works of Homer, Prince of Poets." Chapman proceeded then to translate the Homeric Hymns, and "Battle of the Frogs and Mice," ascribed to Homer. This translation appeared at the end of the reign of James I., as "The Crown of all Homer's Works, Batrachomyomachia, the Battle of Frogs and Mice; his Hymns and Epigrams." Because of the vigor of the Elizabethan time, and the fact that Chapman was a poet, this translation is the crown of the works of Chapman.

> "He leapt upon the sounding earth, and shook his lengthful dart,
> And everywhere he breathed exhorts, and stirr'd up every heart.
> A dreadful fight he set on foot. His soldiers straight turned head.
> The Greeks stood firm. In both the hosts the field was perfected.
> But Agamemnon foremost still did all his side exceed,
> And would not be the first in name unless the first in deed."

Thus sang George Chapman, who was himself the Agamemnon of the host of the translators of Homer.

Another good translator of this time was **George Sandys**, second son of the Sandys, Archbishop of York, whom Aylmer succeeded in the bishopric of London. George Sandys was born at Bishopthorpe in 1578, and educated at Oxford. In 1610 he set out upon the travels of which he published an account in 1615, as "A Relation of a Journey begun A.D. 1610. Four Books containing a description of the Turkish Empire, of Egypt, of the Holy Land, of the Remote Parts of Italy, and Islands adjoining." He then worked at his translation of Ovid's "Metamorphoses;" the first five books appearing in the reign of James I. He published his complete translation of the "Metamorphoses" in 1626, and in 1636 a "Paraphrase of the Psalms," with music of tunes by Henry Lawes. Sandys died in 1644.

Dr. Barten Holyday, chaplain to Charles, was born in 1593, the son of an Oxford tailor. He was educated at Christ Church, took orders, went to Spain with Sir Francis Stewart, and after his return was chaplain to the king, and Archdeacon of Oxford. He was a learned man and timid politician. He is hardly to be called a dramatist, although he wrote a comedy, published in 1630, called "Technogamia; or, the Marriage of the Arts." He also made translations of "Juvenal and Persius" into poor verse, with many learned illustrative notes. He died in 1661.

15. There were at this time many men distinguished as wits, satirists, and song-writers. The following are the most notable: Joseph Hall, Sir John Harington, Richard Corbet, John Cleveland, Thomas Carew, Sir John Denham, Sir John Suckling, William Cartwright, Richard Lovelace, and Robert Herrick.

Joseph Hall was born in 1574, at Bristow Park by Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. In 1597, at the age of twenty-three, he published "Virgidemiarum, Six Bookes; First Three Bookes of Toothlesse Satyrs: 1. Poeticall; 2. Academicall; 3. Morall." In the following year the work was completed by "Virgidemiarum: the Three Last Bookes of Byting Satyrs." It means nothing particular to say that these satires were burnt by order of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Whitgift and Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London, as censors of the press, distinguished themselves, in 1599, by ordering the burning of much literature, Marlowe's "Ovid," Marston's "Pygmalion's Image," Hall's "Satires," the Epigrams of Davies and others, the tracts of Nash and Harvey, and decreeing that no satires or epigrams should be printed for the future.

Joseph Hall's six books, "Virgidemiarum," i.e., of rod-harvests, stripes or blows, were the work of a clever young man who had read Juvenal and Persius and the satires of Ariosto, and who, because he was the first to write English satire in the manner of Juvenal, ignorantly believed himself to be the first English satirist. "I first adventure," he said in his prologue,

"I first adventure, follow me who list,
And be the second English satirist."

The mistake is of no consequence. Hall's satires are in rhyming couplets of ten-syllabled lines; he thought English rhyme inferior to Latin quantity, but saw that the Latin metres could not be applied to English verse, and laughed at Stanihurst:

"Whoever saw a colt, wanton and wild,
Yok'd with a slow-foot ox on fallow field,
Can right areed how handsomely besets
Dull spondees with the English dactylets.
If Jove speak English in a thund'ring cloud,
'Thwick thwack,' and 'riff raff,' roars he out aloud.
Fie on the forged mint that did create
New coin of words never articulate!"

Hall laughed at the rising drama, crying:

"Shame that the Muses should be bought and sold
For every peasant's brass, on each scaffold."

He laughed at what he called "pot fury" of the dramatists:

"One higher pitch'd doth set his soaring thought
On crowned kings, that fortune hath low brought;
Or some upreared, high-aspiring swain,
As it might be the Turkish Tamburlaine;
Then weeneth he his base, drink-drowned spright
Rapt to the threefold loft of heaven hight,
When he conceives upon his feigned stage
The stalking steps of his great personage,
Graced with huff-cap terms and thund'ring threats
That his poor hearers' hair quite upright sets."

But while Hall attacked the "terms Italianate, big-sounding sentences and words of state" upon the stage, he paid homage to Spenser:

"Let no rebel satyr dare traduce
Th' eternal legends of thy faery muse,
Renowned Spenser; whom no earthly wight
Dares once to emulate, much less dares despight."

Only he paired in the next line Du Bartas with Ariosto: "Salust of France and Tuscan Ariost." The satirist in the golden time of Elizabethan vigor talked as usual of the good old times that were gone, when luxury was not:

"Thy grandsires' words savored of thrifty leeks
Or manly garlicke.
. . . .
But thou canst mask in garish gaudery,
To suit a fool's far-fetched livery.
A French head join'd to neck Italian;
Thy thighs from Germany, and breast from Spain;
An Englishman in none, a fool in all;
Many in one, and one in several.
Then men were men; but now the greater part
Beasts are in life, and women are in heart."

If we go back to Occleve, or farther back to Gower, we find that the note has always been the same; sound and true in the steady fixing of attention upon vices and follies to be conquered (since there is small hope for a people that will only praise itself), but with innocent delusion of a bygone golden age.

Joseph Hall, who thus early distinguished himself as a satirist, took holy orders, rose to be Bishop of Norwich, and acquired great reputation as a prose-writer and a theologian.

16. **Sir John Harington**, born in 1561, and educated at Eton and Cambridge, published, in 1591, "Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse." In 1596 he wrote a witty book, "The Metamorphosis of Ajax." Other works of his are "The Englishman's Doctor, or the School of Salerne," 1609; "Most Elegant and Witty Epigrams of Sir J. H.," 1615; and especially "Nugæ Antiquæ, being a Miscellaneous Collection of Original Papers in Prose and Verse."

17. **Richard Corbet**, born in 1582, was the son of a famous gardener, from whom he inherited some land and money. He was educated at Westminster School and Oxford; became M.A. in 1605, and was in repute first as a university wit and poet, and then as a quaint preacher, who got patronage at James's court. He married in 1625, became Bishop of Oxford in 1629, of Norwich in 1632, and died in 1635. He was a stout royalist, worked with Laud, but was less bitter, and wrote merry squibs against the Puritans. A poem to his little son, and one on the death of his father, show his kindliness. One of sundry recorded jokes of Bishop Corbet's is of the upsetting of his coach, when he and his chaplain, Dr. Stubbings, who was very fat, were spilt into a muddy lane. Stubbings, the bishop said, was up to his elbows in mud; and he was up to his elbows in Stubbings. A very small volume appeared in 1648, issued by Corbet's family, entitled "Poetica Stromata; or, a Collection of Sundry Pieces in Poetry: Drawn by the known and approved hand of R. C." Written copies of short satires, songs, and other pieces, passed from hand to hand, so that a man might have high reputation in society as wit and poet without the printing of a line of his during his lifetime, except now and then, when Henry Lawes or some other composer had set a song to music.

18. **John Cleveland**, for nine years a fellow of St. John's College, was eminent in poetry and oratory, and was the first to pour out from the Royalist side defiant verse against the Puritans. Turned out of his fellowship, he joined the king at Oxford; then went to the garrison at Newark-on-Trent, where he was made Judge-Advocate, and resented the king's order to surrender. He was then in prison at Yarmouth till the Commonwealth, when he obtained his release from Cromwell, lived quietly in Gray's Inn, and died in 1659. Cleveland was the best of those Royalist poets who chiefly wrote partisan satire. The most popular, perhaps, was **Alexander Brome**, an attorney in the Lord Mayor's Court, who was not thirty at the date of the king's execution, and whose songs were trolled over their cups by Royalists of every degree.

19. **Thomas Carew**, born in Devonshire in 1589, was an officer of the household of Charles I., a lively man, whose little poems were in good request, but, except when set to music, were not published in his

lifetime. He died in 1639. The musicians William and Henry Lawes set many songs of Carew's, and were the chief writers of music for the poems that abounded in this reign.

20. **Sir John Denham** was born in Dublin in 1615, son of a Baron of Exchequer. He was an idle student at Oxford, and joined gambling with study of law at Lincoln's Inn. But he checked himself, published an "Essay on Gaming," and in 1636 translated the second book of the "Æneid." In 1641 he produced his tragedy of "The Sophy," which was acted at a private house in Blackfriars, with so much success that Waller said he "broke out like the Irish rebellion, threescore thousand strong, when nobody was aware, or in the least suspected it." The play was followed, in 1643, by his "Cooper's Hill," a contemplative poem on the view over the Thames and towards London, from a hill in the neighborhood of Windsor Castle. Denham was actively employed in the king's service, but in the midst of his labors he found time to publish a translation of "Cato Major." He lived to receive homage among poets of the reign of Charles II.

21. **Sir John Suckling** was born in 1609, the son of the Comptroller of the Household to James I. Suckling was an overtaught child, who could speak Latin at the age of five; but he cast aside, as a young man, his father's gravity, was on active service for six months in the army of Gustavus Adolphus, and in the days of Charles I. lived in London as light wit, light lyric poet, light dramatist, and liberal friend of men of genius. His plays were "Aglaura," "Brennoralt," and "The Goblins." He spent twelve thousand pounds on rich equipment of a troop of a hundred horse to aid the king, and died in 1641, of a wound in the heel: a penknife was put into his boot by a servant who had robbed him, and wished to delay pursuit.

22. **William Cartwright** also wrote plays and lyrics, was about two years younger than Suckling, and also died at the age of thirty-two. He was the son of a Gloucestershire gentleman, who had wasted his means, and who lived by innkeeping at Cirencester. William Cartwright was taught in the Cirencester Grammar School, at Westminster School, and Christ Church, Oxford. He became M.A. in 1635, took orders, and was a famous preacher. He studied sixteen hours a day, preached excellent sermons, wrote excellent lyrics, and also four plays; one of them, "The Royal Slave," a tragi-comedy, acted before the king and queen in 1636, by the students of Christ Church, Oxford. Cartwright was also an admired lecturer at Oxford on metaphysics, worked hard as one of the council of war to provide for the king's troops at Oxford, was beloved of Ben Jonson, who said of him, "My son Cartwright writes all like a man," and was praised by his bishop as "the utmost man could come to." He died in 1643, of the camp-fever that killed many at Oxford.

23. **Richard Lovelace**, the brilliant and handsome cavalier poet, died miserably during the Commonwealth. He was born

in the same year as Cowley, 1618, the eldest son of Sir William Lovelace, of Woolwich, and was educated at Charterhouse School, and Gloucester Hall, Oxford. Lovelace was so handsome, that in 1636, though a student of but two years' standing, he was made, at the request of a great lady, M.A., among persons of quality who were being so honored while the court was for a few days at Oxford. He was the first and last undergraduate who was made Master of Arts for his beauty. Lovelace attached himself to the court; served in 1639 as an ensign in the Scottish expedition, afterwards as captain; wrote a tragedy called "The Soldier;" retired to his estate of Lovelace Place, at Canterbury; was elected to go up to the House of Commons with the Kentish petition for restoring the king to his rights, and for this was committed to the Gatehouse Prison at Westminster, April 30, 1642. There he wrote his song, "To Althea, from Prison," which contains the stanza:

"Stone walls do not a prison make,
  Nor iron bars a cage;
Minds innocent and quiet take
  That for an hermitage.
If I have freedom in my love,
  And in my soul am free,
Angels alone that soar above
  Enjoy such liberty."

After some weeks of imprisonment, Lovelace was released on bail, and lived in London beyond his income, as a friend of the king's cause and of good poets. In 1646 he served in the French army, and was wounded at Dunkirk. Report of his death caused Lucy Sacheverell, the Lucasta (*lux casta*, "chaste light") of his poetry, to disappoint him of her hand by marrying another. In 1648, Lovelace returned to England, and was soon a political prisoner in Peterhouse, Aldersgate Street, where he arranged his poems for the press — "Lucasta: Epodes, Odes, Sonnets, Songs, etc.," published in 1649. Richard Lovelace died, it is said, in an alley in Shoe Lane, in 1658.

24. To these poets who were battling, suffering, and singing in the days of Charles I., and out of the midst of whom rose the first music of Milton, there is one yet to be added — a man twenty-seven years older than Lovelace and Cowley, but who sang when they were singing, and outlived them both. This was the Rev. Robert Herrick, Vicar of Dean Prior, in Devonshire. **Robert Herrick,** born in 1591, was the fourth son of a silversmith in Cheapside. His university was Cambridge, and it was in 1629 that he was presented to his living, in the village of Dean Prior, four miles from Ashburton, where he spent the next nineteen years of his life, and said:

> "More discontents I never had
> Since I was born, than here;
> Where I have been, and still am sad,
> In this dull Devonshire."

There Herrick, with great nose and double chin, lived as a bachelor vicar, attended by his faithful servant, Prudence Baldwin, and a pet pig, which he taught to drink out of a tankard. In 1648 he was ejected from his living, and betook himself to London, where he had wits and poets for companions, and published at once, for help to a subsistence, his delightful love lyrics, epigrams, and scraps of verse in many moods; sometimes reflecting license of the times, not of the man; including also strains of deep religious feeling. These pieces — many of them only two or four lines long — he had written in the West of England, and therefore (from *hesperis*, "western") he called them "Hesperides; or, Works both Humane and Divine." His pious pieces were arranged under the name of "Noble Numbers."

25. The position of **John Milton** in his own age is so exalted, on account of his spiritual nobility as well as of the power of his genius, that he seems to stand apart from his contemporaries, and to constitute a literary order by himself. His intellectual range was great; in scholarship and in prose writing, he was one of the chief men of his time; by his exquisite creations of "Comus," a masque, and of "Samson Agonistes," a tragedy, he takes high rank in dramatic literature; in the forms of the ode, the elegy, and the sonnet, he is, perhaps, unsurpassed among all our writers; finally he is not only the greatest epic poet that English literature has had, but the greatest epic poet that any literature has had since Dante.

He was born in Bread Street, London, on the 9th of December, 1608. His father, also named John, had settled in London as a scrivener, had prospered, and had acquired considerable note as a lover and composer of music. From his father, the poet evidently derived his own delight in music and his own aptitude for it; and his musical sense greatly influenced his own work as a man of letters, — giving him refreshment amid heavy labors, suggesting to him many ideas and images, and especially prompting him in the handling of words both for prose and for verse.

Milton was a schoolboy at St. Paul's from 1620 until a few months before the close of the reign of James I. His father too readily encouraged the boy's eagerness for study; he had teaching at home as well as at school, suffered headaches, and laid the foundation of weak sight by sitting up till midnight at his lessons. At St. Paul's School Milton found a bosom-friend in Charles Diodati, the son of a physician who was then in good practice in London, and who came of a highly cultivated family of Italian Protestants established at Geneva. Charles Diodati was the friend to whom Milton spoke his inmost thoughts; and their friendship outlasted their boyhood, and was interrupted only by death. Diodati left school more than two years before Milton, and went to Trinity College, Oxford, where, in November, 1623, he joined in writing Latin obituary verse upon the death of William Camden. But John Milton and Charles Diodati had their homes in the same town, and their friendship was easily maintained by visits and correspondence. There is a Greek letter written in London from Diodati to Milton, hoping for fine weather and cheerfulness in a holiday the two friends meant to have next day together on the Thames. In February, 1625, John Milton was admitted at Christ's College, Cambridge, aged two months over sixteen. In the following winter, his sister's first-born child, a daughter, died in infancy; and verses upon that family grief open the series of Milton's poems with a strain of love. He practised himself as a student, both in Latin and in poetry, by writing Latin elegies. One, written in September, 1626, was on the death of Bishop Andrewes. In 1629, on the 26th of March, Milton graduated as B.A. On the following Christmas Day, his age being twenty-one, he wrote his hymn, "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity." It may have then come into young Milton's mind to form a series of odes on the great festivals of the Christian Church; for on the 1st of January the ode on the Nativity was followed by one on "The Circumcision;" and when Easter came he began a poem on "The Passion," of which he wrote only eight stanzas, and then broke off. "This subject," says the appended note, "the author finding to be above the years he had when he wrote it, and nothing satisfied with what was begun, left it unfinished."

In 1631 the unexpected death of the young Marchioness of Winchester was lamented by poets, and among them by Ben Jonson in his latter years, by Milton at the opening of his career. On his birthday, the 9th of December, in the same year 1631, Milton wrote that sonnet "on his being arrived at the age of twenty-three," which is the preface to his whole life as a man. He refers in it to his boyish aspect; feels his mind unripe, his advance slow, his achievement little; and adds these lines of self-dedication, to which he was true in his whole after-life:

> "Yet be it less or more, or soon or slow,
> It shall be still in strictest measure even
> To that same lot, however mean or high,
> Toward which Time leads me, and the will of Heaven:
> All is, if I have grace to use it so,
> As ever in my great Task-Master's eye."

Already Milton showed himself an exact student of his art. This sonnet, and every other sonnet written by him, was true to the minutest detail in its technical construction — true not only in arrangement of the rhymes, but in that manner of developing the thought for which the structure of this kind of poem was invented. The sonnet of self-dedication Milton wrote when his college life was near its close. In July, 1632, he graduated as M.A. At Cambridge, Milton had added seven years of study in the university to four years of school training. He was not paled by study, but long retained the bloom of youth upon a very fair complexion. He was a little under middle height, slender, but erect, vigorous, and agile, with light brown hair clustering about his fair and oval face, with dark gray eyes. His voice is said to have been "delicate and tunable." His father, by this time retired from business, and living in the completely rural village of Horton, which is not far from Windsor Castle, had designed his eldest son for a career in the church; but Milton felt, he said afterwards, that "he who would take orders must subscribe himself slave and take an oath withal," and by that feeling the church was closed to him. His choice was to be God's minister, but as a poet. Such a choice produced from his father natural remonstrance. There is reference to this in a Latin poem to his father, "Ad Patrem," written by Milton at the close of his university training, full of love and gratitude for the education so far finished, with this glance at the kindly controversy that was then between them. The translation is Cowper's:

> "Nor thou persist, I pray thee, still to slight
> The sacred Nine, and to imagine vain
> And useless powers, by whom inspired thyself
> Art skilful to associate verse with airs
> Harmonious, and to give the human voice
> A thousand modulations, heir by right
> Indisputable of Arion's fame.
> Now say, what wonder is it if a son
> Of thine delight in verse, if, so conjoin'd
> In close affinity, we sympathize
> In social arts, and kindred studies sweet?
> Such distribution of himself to us
> Was Phœbus' choice; thou hast thy gift, and I
> Mine also, and between us we receive,
> Father and son, the whole-inspiring God."

Milton went home to Horton, and proceeded to add to the four years of school training and the seven years of university training another seven years of special training for his place among the poets. Nearly six years were spent at Horton, from the end of July, 1632, to April, 1638; then followed fifteen months of foreign travel.

Milton's life as a writer is in three parts:—1. The period of his Earlier Poems, in the time of Charles I., including "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso," "Arcades," "Comus," "Lycidas." 2. The period of his Prose Works, from 1641 to the end of the Commonwealth. 3. The period of his Later Poems, in the time of Charles II.; namely, "Paradise Lost," "Paradise Regained," and "Samson Agonistes."

The most of Milton's minor poems were produced during this period of studious retirement at his father's house in the country, between the years 1632 and 1638; and this will be the most convenient place in which to speak of them. His Later Poems we shall defer till we come to study his life in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century. "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" are companion poems, representing two moods of one mind, and that mind Milton's. No man can be the one, in Milton's sense, who cannot also be the other. It was part of Milton's training for his work as a poet to study thoroughly the words through which he was to express his thought. Milton's precision in the use of words is very noticeable, and it fills his verse with subtile delicacies of thought and expression.

Mirth and Melancholy would not content Milton as titles for these poems, because one word has for its original meaning "softness," and is akin to marrow, the soft fat in bones; the other word, based on an old false theory of humors in a man, traces the grave mood to black bile. The poems themselves use the English words with definition of the sense in which alone each is accepted:

"These delights if thou canst give,
Mirth, with thee I mean to live."

"These pleasures, Melancholy, give,
And I with thee will choose to live."

The Italian titles to the poems represented in each case the real source of these delights and pleasures. Milton's Mirth was the joy in all cheerful sights and sounds of nature, and in social converse natural to the man whose bosom's lord sits lightly on his throne; and "L'Allegro" is defined in Gherardini's "Supplimento a' Vocabolarj Italiani" as "one who has in his heart cause for contentment (*che ha in cuore cagione di contentezza*), which shows itself in serenity of countenance." "Il Penseroso," whose name is derived from a word meaning "to weigh," is the man grave, not through ill-humor, but while his reason is employed in weighing and considering that which invites his contemplation. With his companion sketches of this true lightness of heart and this true gravity, Milton blends a banning of the false mirth of the thoughtless — "vain deluding joys, the brood of Folly" — and the black dog, the loathed (from *láth*, meaning "evil") Melancholy "of Cerberus and blackest Midnight born." To commendation of the true he thus joins condemnation of the false; and by transferring his condemnation of a baseless joy to the opening of that poem which paints gravity of thoughtfulness, and his condemnation of a Stygian gloom to that poem which paints innocent enjoyment, he heightens the effect of each poem by contrast, and links the two together more completely. The poems are exactly parallel in structure:

L'ALLEGRO.	LINES.	IL PENSEROSO.	LINES.
1. Banning of "loathed" Melancholy	1–10	1. Banning of "vain" Joys	1–10
2. Invitation to "heart-easing" Mirth	11–24	2. Invitation to "divinest" Melancholy	11–21
3. Allegorical parentage and companions	25–40	3. Allegorical parentage and companions	22–54
4. The Morning Song	41–56	4. The Even-Song	55–64
5. Abroad under the Sun	57–98	5. Abroad under the Moon	65–76
6. Night, and the tales told by the social fireside	99–116	6. Night, and lonely study of Nature's mysteries, and of the great stories of the Poets	77–120
7. L'Allegro social	117–134	7. Il Penseroso solitary	121–154
8. His Life set to Music	135–150	8. His Life set to Music	155–174
9. Acceptance of each mood—if this be it.			

"Arcades" is a slight piece, intended as the poetic portion of an entertainment presented, probably before 1634, to the Countess of Derby, the wife of Lord Chancellor Egerton, at her country-seat of Harefield, a few miles off from Horton, where Milton then lived.

There is no direct evidence that "Arcades" was written before "Comus;" but it is likely that success in the small occasional masque caused Milton to be joined again with Henry Lawes, the musician, when a masque on a much larger scale was required by the same family for a state occasion. This was "Comus," which was first produced, on the 29th of September, 1634, in the great hall of Ludlow Castle, where then resided the son-in-law of the Countess of Derby, the Earl of Bridgewater, who was then Lord-President of Wales. The sons and daughters of the earl took the principal parts in the masque, the incidents of which were drawn from a recent adventure of their own. Comus was a Greek personification of disordered pleasure, "tipsy dance and jollity:" and in the beautiful masque to which Milton gave that name, he was true to the highest sense of his vocation as a poet, while he satisfied all accidental demands on his skill. The masque must include music,—with a special song for Lady Alice,—dances, and entertaining masquerade. The rout of Comus, disguised in heads of divers animals, provided masquerade in plenty. The masque must appeal to local feeling, and did that by bringing in Sabrina, the nymph of the Severn; must refer, also, with direct compliment, to the new Lord-President, and must provide fit parts for the three youngest children of the family, the Lady Alice, and her brothers John and Thomas, aged from nine to twelve. Ludlow Castle, the official residence of the Lord-President of Wales, had in former years been a seat of much wild revelry; and something of this Milton may have known when he made his masque a poet's lesson against riot and excess. The reverence due to youth Milton maintained by causing his children-actors to appear in no stage disguise, but simply as themselves. There was on the stage a mimic wood, through which the children passed on the way to their father and mother, who sat in front, and to whom, at the close of the masque, they were presented. As they traversed this wood of the world, typical adventures rose about them, and gave rise to dialogue, in which the part given to Lady Alice made the girl, still speaking in no person but her own, a type of holy innocence and purity.

We now come to study Milton's elegy, "Lycidas," which had its origin thus. On the 10th of August, 1637, the son of Sir John King, Secretary for Ireland, Edward King, a young man who was a fellow of Milton's own college at Cambridge, who was three or four years younger than Milton, and had been destined for the church, was drowned when on his way home for the long vacation. The ship in which he sailed from Chester for Dublin struck on a rock, in a calm sea, near the Welsh coast, and went down with all on board. When the next college session began, a little book of memorial verse, in Latin, Greek, and English, was planned, and this appeared at the beginning of 1638, in two parts, each part having a separate title. It contained twenty-three pieces in Latin and Greek, and thirteen in English, of which thirteen the last was Milton's "Lycidas," written in November, 1637.

In "Comus" Milton had produced one of the masterpieces of our literature, but he felt only that the laurels he was born to gather were not yet ripe for his hand, and that when the death of Edward King called from him verse again, and love forced him to write, his hand could grasp but roughly at the bough not ready for his plucking:

"Yet once more, O ye laurels, and once more
Ye myrtles brown with ivy never sere,
I come to pluck your berries harsh and crude,
And, with forced fingers rude,
Shatter your leaves before the mellowing year:
Bitter constraint, and sad occasion dear,
Compels me to disturb your season due:
For Lycidas is dead, dead ere his prime,
Young Lycidas, and hath not left his peer.
Who would not sing for Lycidas?"

The pastoral name of Lycidas was chosen to signify purity of character. In Theocritus a goat was so called (*λευκίτας*) for its whiteness. Like Spenser, Milton looked on the pastoral form as that most fit for a muse in its training time. Under the veil of pastoral allegory, therefore, he told the story of the shipwreck; but in two places his verse rose as into bold hills above the level of the plain, when thoughts of higher strain were to be uttered. The first rise (lines 64 to 84) was to meet the doubt that would come when a young man with a pure soul and high aspiration labored with self-denial throughout youth and early manhood to prepare himself for a true life in the world, and then at the close of the long preparation died. If this the end, why should the youth aspire?

"Were it not better done, as others use,
To sport with Amaryllis in the shade,
Or with the tangles of Neæra's hair?"

(As in Virgil, Ecl. viii., ll. 77, 78; and Horace, Od. III. xiv., ll. 21-24.)

But, Milton replied, our aspiration is not bounded by this life:

"Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,
Nor in the glistering foil
Set off to the world, nor in broad rumor lies;
But lives and spreads aloft by those pure eyes
And perfect witness of all-judging Jove:
As he pronounces lastly on each deed,
Of so much fame in heaven expect thy meed."

From that height of thought Milton skilfully descended again:

"O fountain Arethuse, and thou honour'd flood,
Smooth-sliding Mincius, crown'd with vocal reeds!
That strain I heard was of a higher mood:
But now my oat proceeds;"

and we are again upon the flowery plain of the true pastoral, till presently there is another sudden rise of thought (ll. 108-131). The dead youth was destined for the church, of which he would have been a pure devoted servant. He is gone, and the voice of St. Peter, typical head of the church, speaks sternly of the many who remain, — false pastors who care only to shear their flocks, to scramble for church livings, and shove those away whom God has called to be his ministers. Ignorant of the duties of their sacred office, what care they? They have secured their incomes, and preach, when they please, their unsubstantial, showy sermons, in which they are as shepherds piping, not from sound reeds, but from little shrunken straws. The congregations, hungry for the word of God, look up to the pulpits of these men with blind mouths, and are not fed. Swollen with windy doctrine, and the rank mist of words without instruction, they rot in their souls, and spread contagion, besides what the Devil, great enemy of the Christian sheepfold, daily devours apace, "and nothing said." Against that wolf no use is made of the sacred word that can subdue him, of "the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God" (Ephes. vi. 17). "But that two-handed engine," — two-handed, because we lay hold of it by the Old Testament and the New, —

"But that two-handed engine at the door
Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more."

Milton wrote engine (contrivance of wisdom), and not weapon, because "the word of God, quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword" (Heb. iv. 12), when it has once smitten evil, smites no more, but heals and comforts.

Here again, by a skilful transition, Milton descends to the level of his pastoral or Sicilian verse. The river of Arcady has shrunk within its banks at the dread voice of St. Peter, but now it flows again:

"Return, Alpheus; the dread voice is past
That shrunk thy streams; return, Sicilian Muse,
And call the vales, and bid them hither cast
Their bells and flowerets of a thousand hues."

The first lines of "Lycidas" connected Milton's strain of love with his immediate past. Its last line glances on to his immediate future, — "To-morrow to fresh woods and pastures new."

At that time Milton was preparing to add to his course of education two years or more of travel in Italy and Greece. As a poet he did not count himself to have attained, but still pressed forward. In April, 1638, he, attended by one manservant, left Horton for his travel on the Continent. On his way through Paris, he met Hugo Grotius; from Paris, he went to Nice, from Nice by sea to Genoa; he visited Leghorn and Pisa, staid two months at Florence, then, by way of Siena, went to Rome. At Rome he remained two months, and while there enjoyed and praised in three Latin epigrams the singing of the then famous vocalist, Leonora Baroni. From Rome, Milton, aged thirty, went to Naples, where he was kindly received by Manso, Marquis of Villa, then an old man of seventy-seven, the friend and biographer of Tasso. At his departure he paid his respect to Manso in a Latin poem addressed to him. Milton was about to pass on through Sicily to Greece, when, as he wrote afterwards in his "Second Defence of the People of England," "the melancholy intelligence which I received of the civil commotions in England made me alter my purpose; for I thought it base to be travelling for amusement abroad while my fellow-citizens were fighting for liberty at home." He retraced his steps, dwelt on his way back another two months at Rome. At Florence, also, he again staid for two months; he visited Lucca, Bologna, Ferrara; gave a month to Venice; from Venice he shipped to England the books he had bought in Italy; then he went through Verona and Milan to Geneva, where he was in daily converse with Giovanni Diodati, uncle of his old school-friend. From Geneva, Milton passed through France, and was at home again in July or August, 1639, after an absence of about fifteen months. When he returned he found his friend Charles Diodati dead, and poured out his sorrow in a Latin pastoral, "Epitaphium Damonis," with the refrain, as Cowper translates it:

"Go seek your home, my lambs; my thoughts are due
To other cares than those of feeding you."

The flocks, the dappled deer, the fishes, and the birds can find the fit companion in every place:

"We only, an obdurate kind, rejoice,
Scorning all others, in a single choice;
We scarce in thousands meet one kindred mind,
And if the long sought good at last we find,
When least we fear it, Death our treasure steals,
And gives our heart a wound that nothing heals.
Go, go, my lambs, unpastur'd as ye are,
My thoughts are all now due to other care.
Ah, what delusion lur'd me from my flocks,
To traverse Alpine snows, and rugged rocks?
What need so great had I to visit Rome,
Now sunk in ruins, and herself a tomb?

Or, had she flourish'd still as when, of old,
For her sake Tityrus forsook his fold,
What need so great had I t' incur a pause
Of thy sweet intercourse for such a cause;
For such a cause to place the roaring sea,
Rocks, mountains, woods, between my friend and me?
Else had I grasp'd thy feeble hand, compos'd
Thy decent limbs, thy drooping eyelids clos'd,
And, at the last, had said—'Farewell—ascend—
Nor even in the skies forget thy friend.'"

Into Charles Diodati's ear Milton had whispered his dream of immortality, said that his Muse rose yet only on tender wings, unequal to the meditated flight. In his poem to Manso, Milton indicated that it was in his mind to write a poem of high strain upon King Arthur. A passage in this "Epitaph of Damon" shows that when he came back to England the design to write an epic upon Arthur took a more definite shape. Had he taken Arthur for his hero, Milton would, like Spenser, have turned him to high spiritual use. He had looked for examples, he said afterwards, to Homer, Virgil, Tasso, to the plays of Sophocles and Euripides, to the odes of Pindar, to the poetical books of the Old and New Testament, as "the mind at home in the spacious circuit of her musing" sought to plan its future work. He had reasoned to himself whether in the writing of an epic poem "the rules of Aristotle herein are to be strictly kept, or nature to be followed, which in them that know art and use judgment is no transgression, but an enriching of art." But still, and for years yet to come, Milton felt that the work to which his soul yearned forward was to be achieved only "by devout prayer to that eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out His seraphim, with the hallowed fire of His altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom He pleases: to this must be added industrious and select reading, steady observation, insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs." He knew that only hard work could enable him to make the best use of his genius, hard work and a right life. In the "Apology for Smectymnuus" Milton has written, "I was confirmed in this opinion, that he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem."

The news that caused Milton to turn back from his longer travel into Greece was news of trouble with the Scots which clearly boded the civil war that soon came on, and that continued to occupy all Englishmen for many years. Soon after his return to England, John Milton settled in London, by taking lodgings for a short time at the house of a tailor in St. Bride's Churchyard, and there he undertook the teaching of his sister Anne's two boys, Edward and John Phillips, aged nine and eight. While teaching his nephews, Milton, in 1640, was sketching plans of sacred dramas, dwelling especially upon "Paradise Lost" as the subject of a drama; suggesting also as themes, "Abram from Morea; or, Isaac redeemed," "The Deluge," "Sodom," "Baptistes," noting subjects also from British history. Milton "made no long stay," his nephew tells us, in his lodgings in St. Bride's Churchyard: "necessity of having a place to dispose his books in, and other goods fit for the furnishing of a good handsome house, hastening him to take one; and, accordingly, a pretty garden-house he took, in Aldersgate Street, at the end of an entry, and therefore the fitter for his turn, besides that there are few streets in London more free from noise than that." There he worked hard, and had his two nephews to board with him. There also he began, in 1641, the second part of his literary life; put aside, at the age of thirty-two, his high ambition as a poet; and, devoting himself to the duty that lay nearest to his hand, gave the best years of his manhood, the twenty years from thirty-two to fifty-two, to those questions of his day that touched, as he thought, the essentials of English liberty.

CHAPTER VI.

FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: SCHOLARS, HISTORIANS, AND MEN OF SCIENCE.

1. Learned Men; James I.—2. Cotton and Bodley.—3. Robert Burton.—4. Lancelot Andrewes.—5. James Usher.—6. John Selden.—7. Sir Henry Wotton; John Hales.—8. John Lightfoot.—9. Sir Henry Spelman.—10. John Hayward.—11. William Camden.—12. Historians; John Speed.—13. Samuel Purchas.—14. Sir Walter Raleigh.—15. Richard Knolles; Alexander Ross.—16. Lord Herbert of Cherbury.—17. Spottiswoode; Calderwood.—18. Thomas Fuller.—19. Men of Science; Francis Bacon.—20. John Napier; William Harvey.—21. John Wilkins.—22. Samuel Hartlib.—23. John Wallis.

1. The First Half of the Seventeenth Century was an age of learned men in England; and at the head of them, it may be appropriate to mention **King James I.** He had received in early life the best possible instruction from Buchanan and others. He was a clumsy boy, with ungainliness produced by physical defect, a tongue too large for his mouth, and a mind in which all depths that there could ever be must be made artificially. Good workmen dug and shaped; the boy was good-tempered, picked up some shrewdness, lived a creditable life, had respect for knowledge, and good appetite for it, though bad digestion. He had a pleasant type of it before him in cheery, impressible George Buchanan; a Presbyterian, austere but half way through, with a face like a Scotch Socrates, although more apt than Socrates to take offence, familiar with Latin as with his native tongue, full of anecdote and good talk, familiar also with languages and people round about, and liking Scotland all the better for experience in other lands. But for James the horizon did not widen as he climbed the hill of knowledge, his heart did not swell as he rose to higher sense of harmony and beauty; he hammered at the big lumps about him, and was proud of being so far up. In 1585, when his age was but nineteen, he published at Edinburgh "The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie." In preliminary sonnets of compliment, the Muses, through various courtly representations, sought to

"Tell how he doeth in tender yearis essay
Above his age with skill our arts to blaise,
Tell how he doeth with gratitude repay
The crowne he wan for his deserved praise.
Tell how of Jove, of Mars, but more of God
The glorie and grace he hath proclaimed abrod."

The "Essayes" opened with twelve sonnets of invocation to the gods, namely, Jove, Apollo, each of the four Seasons, Neptune, Tritons and their kind, Pluto, Mars, Mercury, and finally, for the twelfth sonnet:

"In short, you all forenamed gods I pray
For to concur with one accord and will
That all my works may perfyte be alway;
Which if ye doe, then swear I for to fill
My works immortall with your praises still;
I shall your names eternall ever sing,
I shall tread downe the grasse on Parnass hill
By making with your names the world to ring;
I shall your names from all oblivion bring;
I lofty Virgill shall to life restoir."

After these twelve sonnets of invocation, the king placed a translation of "The Heavenly Muse" of Du Bartas; then a dim allegory, in Chaucer's stanza, "Ane Metaphoricall Invention of a Tragedie called Phœnix," with a preface of eighteen bad lines, arranged first as shaped verse, in the form of a lozenge upon a little pedestal, then as a compound acrostic. Then followed a short bit of translation out of the fifth book of Lucan; and then, lastly, "Ane Schort Treatise, containing some Reulis and Cautelis to be observit and eschewit in Scottis Poesie." In 1591, was published "His Majesties Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Houres;" and in 1616, appeared a collected edition, in folio, of his prose-writings, consisting of theological and metaphysical discussions, and containing his most famous production, "A Counterblaste to Tobacco."

2. **Robert Bruce Cotton**, born at Denton, Huntingdonshire, in 1570, and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, was knighted by James I.

In 1611, when his Majesty had invented the rank of baronet, and began to trade in the new article, Sir Robert Cotton became one of his first customers. King James was aided in his controversies by Sir Robert Cotton's learning; and the treasures of literature rescued by him from the scattered waste of the monasteries, were at the service of all who could make good use of them. It was in the reign of James I., that an older man, **Sir Thomas Bodley**, founded the Bodleian Library at Oxford. He was born at Exeter, in 1544, the son of that John Bodley who, in exile at Geneva, had been a chief promoter of the translation known as the Geneva Bible. Thomas Bodley had come to England at Elizabeth's accession, entered at Magdalene College, Oxford, became fellow of Merton, had been employed by the queen on embassies, was for nine years ambassador at the Hague; but in 1597 he retired from public life, and made it the work of his last years to give to the University of Oxford a library in place of that which it had lost. In 1602 he refitted the dismantled room which had been used for the library founded by Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, and furnished it with ten thousand pounds' worth of books. In July, 1610, he laid the foundation-stone of a new library building; and died in 1612, about a year before the building was completed.

3. **Robert Burton** became a clergyman, and had the livings of St. Thomas, Oxford, and Segrave, in Leicestershire; but he lived a quiet scholar's life at his college, Christ Church, Oxford; and in 1621, he published "The Anatomy of Melancholy, by Democritus Junior." This discussion of all forms of melancholy, and their remedies, is very quaint and ingenious in thought and expression, and so crammed with pleasant erudite quotations that the book has been to many later writers, who desired to affect knowledge of books they had never seen, the storehouse of their second-hand learning. Although an original book, its manner was in the fashion of the time; and it is said to have made the fortune of its Oxford publisher. It went through five editions before its author's death, in 1640.

4. **Lancelot Andrewes** was, in knowledge of church history and of patristic writings, the most learned churchman of the days of James I. He was born in London, in 1555, educated at Merchant-Tailors' School, sent for his ability to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge (Spenser's College), obtained a fellowship, studied and taught divinity with great success, and was consulted as a profound casuist. Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, took him to the North of England; and there he persuaded

some Roman Catholics to change their faith. Sir Francis Walsingham gave him the parsonage of Alton, in Hampshire, and he was then successively vicar of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, Prebendary of St. Paul's — where he read divinity lectures three times a week in term time — Master of Pembroke Hall, Chaplain in Ordinary to Elizabeth, and Dean of Westminster. The queen would not raise him higher, because his ecclesiastical view of the rights of bishops forbade him to alienate episcopal revenues. James I. delighted in his preaching, which was that of a religious man strongly tinged with the pedantry of the time, and made him, in 1605, Bishop of Chichester. He was promoted afterwards through the bishopric of Ely to that of Winchester, in 1618, and he died in 1626, aged seventy-one. "Ninety-six Sermons" of his were published by command of Charles I., in 1631.

5. James Usher, twenty-five years younger than Bishop Andrewes, succeeded to his repute as a theologian, and excelled him in learning. Usher was born at Dublin, in 1580, son to one of the six clerks in chancery. He was taught to read by two aunts, who had been blind from their cradle, but who knew much of the Bible by heart. Trinity College, Dublin, owes its existence to a grant made by Queen Elizabeth, in 1591, of the Augustine monastery of All Saints. The first stone was laid on New-Year's Day, 1593. It began work in the same year, and James Usher was one of the first three students admitted. He had delight in history, made chronological tables as a boy, and, as a youth, when the church controversies became interesting to him, he resolved to read for himself the whole works of the Fathers whose authority was so continually cited. He began at the age of twenty, and, reading a portion daily, finished at the age of thirty-eight. His father died when Usher was about to be sent to London to study law. He then abandoned to his brothers and sisters his paternal inheritance, reserving only enough for his own support at college in a life of study, obtained a fellowship, at the age of twenty-one took holy orders, argued and preached against the Catholics, and opposed toleration of them. At the accession of James I. James Usher was twenty-three years old. He came to London to buy books for the library of the new college at Dublin, and found Sir Thomas Bodley buying books for Oxford. While he was in London Usher's mother became Roman Catholic, and all his controversial skill failed afterwards to reconvert her. In 1606, and afterwards at regular intervals of three years, Usher was again book-buying in England. In 1607, he was made Professor of Divinity at Dublin, and Chancellor of St. Patrick's Cathedral. In 1612 he became Doctor of Divinity. In 1613, he published in London, and dedicated to King James, his first book, in Latin, continuing from the sixth century the argument of Jewel's Apology, to prove that the tenets of the Protestants were those of the primitive Christians. In the same year Usher married the well-dowered daughter of his old friend and associate in book-buying, Luke Chaloner. In 1619, he was raised to the bishopric of Meath. As bishop, Usher was still active against Catholicism, and he published, in English, in 1622, "A Discourse on the Religion Anciently Professed by the Irish and British," to show that Protestant opinions were those of the ancient faith, and point out how at successive times the practices of the Church of Rome had been introduced. This work caused King James to command that Bishop Usher should produce a larger work, in Latin, on the antiquities of the British Church, with leave of absence from his diocese for consultation of authorities. He was a year in England, returned to Ireland in 1624, and, in reply to William Malone, published an "Answer to a Challenge of a Jesuit in Ireland" to disprove uniformity of doctrine in the Roman Catholic Church; thus giving more evidence of his knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquities. He then returned to England; and as the Archbishop of Armagh died at that time, King James, in the last year of his reign, gave the archbishopric to Usher. He lived through all the tumult of Charles I.'s reign, and died in 1656. His published writings are very numerous.

6. John Selden was born in December, 1584, at Salvington, about two miles from Worthing, in Sussex. His father was a musician, who sent him to the free school at Chichester, whence he was sent by the master's advice to Hart Hall, Oxford. In

1602 he became a member of Clifford's Inn; and a year after the accession of King James, being then aged nineteen, he removed to the Inner Temple. John Selden had a strong body, able to sustain incessant studies; he had also a wonderful memory. He practised little at the bar, but was consulted for his knowledge; gathered many books, inquired through them freely, and wrote on the front leaf of most of them, as his motto, in a Greek sentence, "Above all, Liberty." He very soon became solicitor and steward to the Earl of Kent, and found also a good friend in Sir Robert Cotton, to whom he dedicated his first book, finished in 1607, but not published till 1615, the "Analecton Anglo-Britannicon Libri Duo," two books of collections, giving a summary chronological view of English records down to the Norman Invasion. In 1610, besides two little treatises, one Latin and one English, on the antiquities of English law, he set forth some results of his reading in a short piece on "The Duello, or Single Combat," extra-judicial and judicial, but chiefly judicial, with its customs since the Conquest. In 1614, Selden produced his largest English work, "Titles of Honour," a full study of the history of the degrees of nobility and gentry, derived from all ages and countries, but applied especially to England. In 1617 appeared, in Latin, Selden's treatise on the gods of Syria — "De Diis Syris" — a learned inquiry into polytheism, mainly with reference to that of Syria, for special study of the false gods named in the Old Testament. This book and the "Titles of Honour" had raised and extended beyond England Selden's character for learning, when, in 1618, his way of research crossed dangerous ground, for he then highly offended James I. by publishing "The History of Tithes." The churchmen who dwelt most upon obedience to authority, whom, therefore, the king preferred, had upheld a divine right of tithes, inherited by the Christian from the Jewish priesthood. Selden's book was not written, he said, to prove a case on either side; it was not "any thing else but itself, that is, a mere narrative, and the history of tithes." But in his dedication of it to Sir Robert Cotton he had rightly said that study of the past is to be cherished only for its fruitful and precious part, "which gives necessary light to the present;" and condemned "the too studious affectation of bare and sterile antiquity, which is nothing else than to be exceeding busy about nothing." When, therefore, it appeared that Selden had carefully marshalled and verified authorities on both sides, and that, although he himself gave no opinion, his facts against the theory of a divine right of tithes outweighed his facts in favor of it, there was outcry, and his Majesty had argument with Mr. Selden, who was introduced to him by two friends, one of them Ben Jonson. Selden was called also before the High Commission Court, who compelled him to a declaration in which he did not recant any thing, but was sorry he spoke. He admitted error in having published "The History of Tithes," in having given "occasion of argument against any right of maintenance, *jure divino*, of the ministers of the gospel," and expressed grief at having incurred their lordships' displeasure. Selden's book was prohibited; all men were free to write against it. Richard Mountagu, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, was encouraged by the king to confute Selden, to whom his Majesty said, "If you or any of your friends shall write against this confutation I will throw you into prison." Dr. Mountagu had it all his own way when, in 1621, he issued his "Diatribe upon the First Part of the late History of Tithes." Selden confined himself to private comments, and sent to Edward Herbert, afterwards Lord Herbert of Cherbury, some notes on the work of one of his antagonists. He sought also to appease his Majesty by giving him three tracts, to make amends for his inadvertent rudenesses. 1. His Majesty concerned himself about the number of the Beast, and Selden had spoken slightingly of the attempts to calculate it. In one of the three tracts he now restricted his censure, and spoke respectfully of a most acute deduction of his Majesty's. 2. Selden had spoken of Calvin's confession that he could not interpret the Book of Revelation as "equally judicious and modest." But King James was a confident interpreter, and was not he also judicious and modest? Selden explained that all men had not ignorance to confess, and that King James's explanations were "the clearest sun among the lesser lights." 3. Selden had referred in his "History of Tithes" to the want of evidence that Christmas Day was a true anniversary. "This," said King James, "countenances Puritan objection to our way of keeping Christmas." To please the king, Selden in his third tract produced evidence to support the date of the anniversary. In December, 1621, he joined in a protest of the House of Commons, claiming liberty of speech, and counselling James I. upon his duties as the king of a free people, and for that offence to the king he suffered slight imprisonment. It was at the close of James's reign, in 1624, that John Selden first entered Parliament, as member for Lancaster. In the Parliament of Charles I. he was opposed to arbitrary government, he supported liberty of the press, and was sent to the Tower for a time by Charles as well as by James. But Selden had the moderation of a scholar, and the regard for old institutions that is strengthened by a study of the past; while, true to his love of liberty, he sought conciliation, and was somewhat suspected by more angry combatants. Usher had been nominated as a member of the Westminster Assembly, but refused to attend, and preached against it at Oxford. On this account it was resolved to confiscate his library, but Selden saved it for him. Selden himself went to the Assembly, and foiled bitter divines at their own weapons. "Sometimes," says his friend Whitelocke, "when they had cited a text of Scripture to prove their assertion, he would tell them, 'Perhaps in your little pocket Bibles with gilt leaves,' which they would often pull out and read, 'the translation may be thus, but the Greek or Hebrew signifies thus and thus,' and so would silence them." When, in September, 1645, the House of Commons was debating the proposal to bring in excommunication and suspension from the Sacrament as part of the discipline in the new establishment of religion, Selden marshalled his learning into array against it. The most interesting books of his that appeared in the reign of Charles I. were his account of the marbles brought from the East to the house of the Earl of Arundel, a great patron of art and literature — the "Marmora Arundelliana," published in 1628 and 1629; and the "Mare Clausum" ("Closed Sea"), published in 1635, but written in the reign of James I. Grotius, in his "Mare Liberum" ("Free Sea"), having contended that the sea was free to the Dutch in the East Indies, where Portugal laid claim to rights in it, Selden argued that the sea round England belonged to the English. The book was not printed in James's reign; but in 1634 disputes arose out of the claim of Dutch fishermen to the right of free sea for the herring-fishery by English coasts. Selden's "Mare Clausum" was then published, with its purport set forth in its title-page: "The Closed Sea; or, On the Dominion of the Sea. Two books. In the first, it is demonstrated that the sea, from the law of nature and of nations, is not common to all men, but is the subject of property equally with the land. In the second, the King of Great Britain is asserted to be lord of the circumfluent sea, as an inseparable and perpetual appendage of the British Empire." In 1640, Selden published an elaborate work on the natural and national law of the Jews — "De Jure Naturali et Gentium juxta Disciplinam Ebræorum;" and he added to this, in 1646, "Uxor Ebraica," which was a work upon the Jewish laws of marriage and divorce. During the civil war, he acted a timid part. On the execution of Charles I., Selden withdrew into retirement; and in 1654, he died at the house of the Countess of Kent, to whom, it is supposed, he was secretly married. His private secretary published a little book containing memoranda of Selden's conversations, called "Table-Talk."

7. **Sir Henry Wotton**, who had been Provost of Eton since 1624, and who had written a most cordial letter to his young neighbor, John Milton, before he left for Italy, died, in 1639, at the age of seventy-one. He had been, as a young man, secretary to the Earl of Essex, had then lived in Florence, and served the Grand Duke of Tuscany as a diplomatist. Being sent as ambassador to James VI. of Scotland, Wotton pleased that monarch so well that he was employed by him, when King of England, as his ambassador to Venice, and to princes of Germany. He was made Provost of Eton at the close of James's reign; and in the same year, 1624, he published his "Elements of Architecture." Wotton wrote also on the State of Christendom, a Survey of Education, Poems, and other pieces, collected and published in 1651, by Izaak Walton, as "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ; or, a Collection of Lives, Letters, Poems, with Characters of Sundry Personages, and other Incomparable Pieces of Language and Art. By Sir H. Wotton, Knt."

During the last months of Wotton's life at Eton, the old provost was much comforted by the society of **John Hales** (born in 1584), who had been made Greek professor at Oxford in 1612, and who had then an Eton fellowship. He died in 1656, and his writings were published in 1659, as

"Golden Remains of the Ever Memorable Mr. John Hales, of Eton College." The most interesting part is the series of letters written by Hales from the Synod of Dort. Having gone to the Hague, in 1616, as chaplain to the English ambassador, Sir Dudley Carleton, Hales went to the Synod of Dort, where his sympathies were with the Arminians; and in letters and documents sent to Sir Dudley Carleton, he has left an interesting narrative of the proceedings of the synod.

8. Oriental scholarship was represented by **John Lightfoot**, born at Stoke-on-Trent, in 1602, who had been of Milton's college, at Cambridge, then was tutor at Repton School, then held a curacy in Shropshire, and became chaplain to Sir Rowland Cotton, a great student of Hebrew. This gave Lightfoot his impulse to a study of the Oriental languages, and in 1629 he published his "Erubhim; or, Miscellanies, Christian and Judaical," dedicated to Sir Rowland, who gave him, the next year, the rectory of Ashley, Staffordshire.

9. **Sir Henry Spelman**, who died in 1641 at the age of seventy-nine, had been employed and knighted by James I. He was an orthodox antiquary, who had written in behalf of tithes when John Selden got into trouble for his account of them, and left behind him a valuable archæological glossary, and a collection in two folios, the first published in 1639, the second after his death, of British Ecclesiastical Laws, "Concilia, Decreta, Leges, Constitutiones in Re Ecclesiastica Orbis Britannici." He had a son, Sir John Spelman, who inherited his tastes, wrote a life of King Alfred, and survived his father but two years. In 1640, Sir Henry Spelman founded a lectureship at Cambridge for the study of Anglo-Saxon or First English. Archbishop Usher, at his suggestion, nominated Abraham Whelock, a learned Orientalist, who was already teaching Arabic there. Sir Henry Spelman set apart a portion of his private income and the vicarage of Middleton, as a stipend either for the reading of Anglo-Saxon lectures, or the publishing of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Whelock preferred private study. He edited Bede's History, and gave much of his time to the printing of the Gospels in Persian, to be used for missionary enterprise.

10. **John Hayward** — who became Sir John under James I. — published, in 1599, the first of his historical biographies, as the "First Part of the Life and Raigne of King Henrie IV. Extending to the end of the first yeare of his raigne." It was dedicated, with high admiration, to the Earl of Essex, at a time when the earl's dealing with the question of King James's succession was bringing his head into peril; and it contained a passage on hereditary right in matters of succession that caused Elizabeth to imprison the author, and bid Francis Bacon search the book for any treasonous matter to be found in it. Narratives and stage presentations of the deposition of Richard II. were at this time supposed to have political significance. Bacon's report was a good-natured joke; he found no treason, but much larceny from Tacitus. He published, in 1613, Lives of William I., William II., and Henry I.; and in 1630, was

published posthumously his "Life of Edward VI." Other works of his are treatises on English constitutional law, on the church, and on practical religion. He died in 1627.

11. William Camden was a Londoner, born in 1551. He was educated at Christ's Hospital and St. Paul's School, entered as a servitor at Magdalene College, Oxford, whence he removed to Broadgates Hall (now Pembroke College), and then to Christchurch. He graduated in 1573, and in 1575 became second master at Westminster School, where he spent all leisure in the studies by which he served his country in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, and in the reign of her successor. He published, in 1586, the first edition of his "Britannia," a work afterwards much expanded; and succeeded Dr. Edward Grant as head master in 1593. Before 1597 he published for the use of Westminster boys a "Greek Grammar," which in course of time went through a hundred editions. In the same year he left the school on being appointed Clarencieux King-at-Arms. Camden was widely famed for learning, and his purity of life and modest kindliness surrounded him with friends. In 1615, was published the first part, and, in 1627, the second part, of his "Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha," in which, apart from their direct value as record, there is the charm also of an unaffected method. An English translation, as "The Historie of the Life and Reigne of the most renowned and victorious Princesse Elizabeth, late Queen of England. . . . Composed by way of Annales by the most learned Mr. William Camden," was published 1630. The work had been suggested to Camden, the most fit man living, by Lord Burghley, who, says the annalist, "set open unto me first his own and then the queen's rolls, memorials, records, and thereout willed me to compile in a historical style the first beginnings of the reign of Queen Elizabeth." He studied carefully to carry out this design, procured access to charters, letters-patent, letters, notes of consultations in the council chamber, instructions to ambassadors; looked through parliamentary diaries, acts, and statutes, and read over every edict or proclamation; for the greatest part of all which he was beholden, he said, to Sir Robert Cotton, "who hath with great cost and successful industry furnished himself with most choice store of matter of history and antiquity: for from his light he hath willingly given great light unto me." Camden chose to take, for clearness and simplicity, the form of Annals for his work: but endeavored so to tell his facts that their relation to each other might be understood, for he liked, he said, that saying of Polybius: "Take from history, why, how, and to what end, and what hath been done, and whether the thing done hath succeeded according to reason, and whatsoever is else will rather be an idle sport than a profitable instruction: and for the present it may delight, but for the future it cannot profit." Camden died in 1623.

12. The development of England at a time when men felt they were living history, and the lively controversy upon questions in which authority of the past was being constantly appealed to, gave great impulse to historical research. John Stow was followed by another patriotic tailor chronicler, **John Speed**, born about 1550, at Farrington, in Cheshire, who, with little education, became enthusiastic in the study of the antiquities of his own country. In 1608 and 1610 he published fifty-four maps of England and Wales. In 1611 he published, in royal folio, his Chronicle, as "The History of Great Britaine under the Conquests of the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans." In 1611 appeared, in folio, his "Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine;" and in 1616 the religious side of his English character was shown by the publication of "A Cloud of Witnesses: and they the Holy Genealogies of the Sacred Scriptures, confirming unto us the truth of the histories in God's most holy Word." Speed married when young, had eighteen children, and passed his golden wedding-day, his wife dying in 1628, and he in 1629.

13. English regard for the Elizabethan voyagers was maintained in this reign by the Rev. **Samuel Purchas**, vicar of Eastwood, in Essex. The Rev. Richard Hakluyt's manuscripts came into his hands, and he resigned his vicarage to his brother, to devote himself to a continuation of the work of Hakluyt. His first volume appeared in folio in 1613, and it was continued with four volumes in 1625, as "Hakluytus Posthumus; or, Purchas his Pilgrimes."

14. Walter Raleigh was born in 1552, at the manor-house of Hayes Barton, about a mile from Budleigh, in Devonshire. In 1566 he was sent to Oriel College, Oxford, where he remained three years; and at the age of seventeen he left college without a degree to join as a volunteer the Protestants in France, where he shared the defeats of the Huguenots at Jarnac and Moncontour, shared their successes of 1570, had interest in the treaty of August, 1570, which conceded much to the reformers, and which was protested against by Pius V. and Philip II. Afterwards, he served in the Netherlands; then went with his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, on a voyage to America, which proved unfortunate; and in 1580, went with Lord Grey and Edmund Spenser to Ireland, where he made himself prominent by his boldness and vigor. He then engaged actively in adventures of colonization, and especially of privateering, and by the latter he grew rich. One of Raleigh's privateers took a Spanish ship in the Azores with great treasure of gold, jewels, and merchandise. Two barks of his in the Azores made more prizes than they were able to bring home. Raleigh was in favor, too, at court; knighted (1585); enriched with twelve thousand acres of forfeited land in Ireland (1586); with a lucrative license for the sale of wines; with the profits on over-lengths of cloth, alone worth more than four thousand pounds a year. He was made Captain of the Guard, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, Lord Warden of the Stannaries, and Lord-Lieutenant of Cornwall. Money was sunk in the attempts to colonize Virginia, but it was only a part of the money made by Spanish prizes. Another expedition to Virginia was sent out by Raleigh in 1587; it was unsuccessful, and in March, 1589, Raleigh transferred his patent to a company of merchants. In 1588, Raleigh was at work with all his might upon the raising of a fleet to resist Spanish invasion. Elizabeth was excommunicated by Pope Sixtus V. Crusade was preached against England; the Armada came. On board one of its ships was Cervantes. On Sunday, the 24th of November, 1588, Queen Elizabeth went in state to St. Paul's, to return thanks for the defeat of the Armada. Shakespeare, with his career before him, was at work in London in those days, with his great successes all to come, but sharing the deep feelings that bred noble thought in the Elizabethan time. In 1589, Raleigh and the Earl of Essex were volunteers in the expedition of Drake and Norris to Portugal, which came home with much booty. Then the "Shepherd of the Ocean" went to Ireland, and came back with his friend Spenser to court, after planting about his own house at Youghal the first potatoes in Ireland, with roots brought from Virginia. In the spring of 1591, an expedition was sent out under Lord Thomas Howard and Raleigh's cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, to intercept the fleet which annually brought to Spain its treasure from the East. The English cruised about the Azores, where the Spanish fleets from the East and the West Indies came together. The Spanish fleet was found to be too strong, and Lord Thomas Howard ordered his ships to keep together, and avoid attack; but Sir Richard Grenville, in the "Revenge," believing that others would follow, boldly dashed into the enemy's armada, where he was left unaided, and fought desperately for fifteen hours with fifteen great ships out of a fleet of fifty-five, sinking two, and doing great damage to others. When the "Revenge" must needs be lost, and Grenville himself was wounded in the brain, he ordered his surviving men to blow up the vessel. But the "Revenge" was surrendered, Grenville's wounds were dressed by the Spanish surgeons, the Spaniards who stood by marvelling at his stout heart. As death drew near he said to them, in Spanish; "Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind, for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do that hath fought for his country, queen, religion, and honor: whereby my soul most joyful departeth out of this body, and shall always leave behind it an everlasting fame of a valiant and true soldier that hath done his duty, as he was bound to do." "A Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Iles of Azores this last Sommer Betwixt the 'Revenge,' one of her Majesties Shippes, and an Armada of the King of Spaine," was published by Raleigh in November, 1591.

Raleigh then had Sherborne Castle given to him, but was soon afterwards in the Tower, under her Majesty's displeasure, for an amour with Elizabeth Throgmorton, a maid of honor, whom he married after his release. He was in the Parliament of 1593, when a bill was brought in for suppression of the Brownists — a sect opposed to prelacy, and claiming equality and independence of all congregations. "Root them out," said Raleigh, "by all means; but there are twenty thousand of them, and if the men are put to death or banished, who is to maintain the wives and children?" Raleigh next planned an expedition to Guiana, tempted by the fables about El Dorado (the Gilded One, priest or king smeared with oil and covered with gold dust, an ideal god of wealth, lord of a city fabulously rich), and sailed with a little expedition in February, 1595, attacked the Spaniards in Trinidad, and destroyed the new city of San José. He then went up the Orinoco, picked up a legend of Amazons, which gave its European name to a great river, and, when the rains set in, came home, bringing a young cacique with him. Raleigh reached England about the end of July, 1595, lived in London in great state, and published, in 1596, "The Discoverie of the Empyre of Guiana, with a Relation of the Citie of Manoa (which the Spanyards call El Dorado), and of the Provinces of Emeria, Arromaia, Amapaia, etc. Performed in the year 1595." In 1596, he was with Essex in the expedition against Cadiz. On the accession of James I., his good fortune was at an end. In November, 1603, he was tried at Winchester — there being the plague then in London — and unjustly found guilty of participation in an attempt to place Arabella Stuart on the throne, and of a secret correspondence with the king of Spain. Raleigh was sentenced to death, but reprieved. His personal property, forfeited by the attainder, was also restored, and he was detained a prisoner in the Tower, where his wife obtained permission to live with him, and where his youngest son was born. It was during these twelve years in the Tower that Sir Walter Raleigh wrote his fragment of a "History of the World," which fills a substantial folio. It contains five books of the first part of the History, beginning at the Creation and ending with the Second Macedonian War. The theme of its opening chapter is "Of the Creation and Preservation of the World," and the argument of its first section, "that the Invisible God is seen in His creatures." Raleigh even discusses fate, foreknowledge, and free-will, before he begins the story of man's life on earth, and proceeds with historical detail that includes reasonings upon the origin of law and government. There was a poet's mind in him, though he shone most as a man of action. Spenser had taken pleasure in his verse. A poet's sense of the grand energies of life was in Raleigh's conception of a History of the World, to keep his busy mind astir during imprisonment. This folio was published in 1614, and in 1616, the year of Shakespeare's death, Raleigh, by bribing the king's favorite, and exciting other hopes of gain, obtained liberty without any formal pardon, and a patent under the Great Seal for establishing a settlement in Guiana. The expedition failed, and Raleigh was too faithful to the old traditions of his life. He returned in July, 1618, having lost his eldest son in an attack on the new Spanish settlement of St. Thomas; and to oblige Spain, James I. then caused him, at the age of sixty-six, to be executed, without trial, by carrying out the fifteen-year-old sentence, on the 29th of October, 1618.

15. **Richard Knolles**, who was a graduate of Oxford, and who died in 1610, aged about sixty-five, deserves remembrance as one of the best historians belonging to this period. His principal work is "The General History of the Turks," of which the first edition appeared in 1603. **Alexander Ross** was a busy ephemeral writer, with a bent towards religious history, who had been master of Southampton School and chaplain to Charles I., and who died in 1654. He had published, in 1617–19, a Latin poem on the History of the Jews; in 1634, a Life of Christ, in words and lines taken from Virgil ("Virgilius Evangelizans"); and after divers other books, in 1652, "Arcana Microcosmi; or, the Hid Secrets of Man's Bodie;" in the same year, in six books, a continuation or second part of Raleigh's "History of the World;" and, in 1653, "A View of all Religions."

16. **Edward Herbert** (afterwards known as **Lord Herbert of Cherbury**) was an elder brother of George Herbert, the poet. He was born in 1581, educated at Oxford, visited London in 1600, went abroad, joined English auxiliaries in the Netherlands, was an intrepid soldier, was knighted on the accession of James I., was sent in 1616 as ambassador to France, was recalled for a bold saying, sent back again, and in

1624 published at Paris a Latin treatise upon Truth—"De Veritate"—in which he denounced those who did not hold his own five fundamental truths of natural religion. He argued that heaven could not reveal to a part only of the world a particular religion. Yet he said, that, to encourage himself to oppose revelation, he asked for a sign, and was answered by a loud yet gentle noise from heaven. He returned from France to England at the beginning of the reign of Charles I., was made an Irish baron, and in 1631 an English peer, as Lord Herbert of Cherbury. In the civil war, he first sided with the Parliament, and then went to the king's side at great sacrifice. He died in 1648, and in the following year appeared his "History of the Life and Reign of Henry VIII.," in which little attention is paid to the religious movements of the time.

17. **John Spottiswoode,** Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had lived in London after his deposition, died in 1639, aged seventy-four. He left behind him a "History of the Church of Scotland, beginning the Year of Our Lord 203, and continued to the end of the Reign of King James VI.," which was first published in folio in 1655. It is an honest book, written by a strong upholder of Episcopacy. Ten years younger than Spottiswoode was another actor in ecclesiastical controversy, **David Calderwood,** a Presbyterian divine, who wrote history as a strong opponent of Episcopacy, and dealt with that part about which he could give valuable information in his "True History of the Church of Scotland from the beginning of the Reformation unto the end of the Reign of James VI." Calderwood died in 1651.

18. Thomas Fuller, born at Aldwinckle, Northamptonshire, in 1608, was educated at Queen's College, Cambridge. He became a popular preacher at St. Benet's, Cambridge, then obtained a prebend at Salisbury, and became rector of Broad Winsor, in Dorsetshire, when he married. His first publication, at the age of twenty-three, was a poem, in three parts, "David's Hainous Sinne, Heartie Repentance, Heavie Punishment." In 1639 appeared, in folio, Fuller's first work of any magnitude, "The History of the Holy Warre." In 1641 he came to London as lecturer at the Savoy Church, in the Strand, where his vivacity of speech not only brought together crowded audiences within the walls, but also procured him listeners outside the windows. In 1642, Fuller published one of the most characteristic of his works, "The Holy and Profane States," a collection of ingenious pieces of character-writing, moral essays, and short biographical sketches. Troubled as the times were, the book went through four editions before 1660. The quips and conceits of Fuller's style represent the Later Euphuism in its best form, for Fuller had religious feeling and high culture, good humor, liberality, quick sense of character, and lively wit, which the taste of the day enabled him to pour out in an artificial form, with a complete freedom from affectation. Culture and natural wit made his quaintness individual and true. He wrote during the Commonwealth his "Pisgah-Sight of Palestine" (1650), an account of Palestine and its people, illustrative of Scripture; his "Abel Redivivus" (1651), being "Lives and Deaths of the Modern Divines, written by several able and learned men;" and (in 1656), in folio, "The Church History of Britain," from the birth of Christ to 1648, which was not the less a piece of sound, well-studied work for being quaint in style, good-humored, and witty. Under Charles II., he was restored to his prebend of Salisbury, and made D.D. and chaplain to the king; but he lived only until August, 1661. His "History of the Worthies of England" appeared in 1662, and is the most popular of all his works.

19. Advance of scientific inquiry is a marked feature in the literature of the Stuart times, and it was aided greatly by **Francis Bacon,** who during the reign of James I. set forth his philosophy.

He was the son of Queen Elizabeth's Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and was born in London, at York House, in the Strand, on the 22d of January, 1561. Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, and Sir Nicholas Bacon, married two daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke. The sister, Anne, married by Sir Nicholas, was his second wife. She was an educated woman, with strong religious feeling, who took strong interest in the reformation of the church, and inclined to the Puritan side in later questions of its internal policy. It was she who translated Jewel's "Apology" into English. Sir Nicholas Bacon had by his former wife six children, and by his second wife two, Anthony and Francis; Anthony two years older than Francis, who was thus the youngest of eight in a household living sometimes in London, at York House, sometimes at Gorhambury, near St. Albans. In April, 1573, when Anthony was fourteen and Francis twelve, the two boys were entered as fellow-commoners at Trinity College, Cambridge. Of Francis Bacon's career at college, ending in his sixteenth year, we have this note from Dr. Rawley, his chaplain of after-days: "Whilst he was commorant in the university, about sixteen years of age (as his lordship hath been pleased to impart unto myself), he first fell into the dislike of the philosophy of Aristotle; not for the worthlessness of the author, to whom he would ever ascribe all high attributes, but for the unfruitfulness of the way; being a philosophy (as his lordship used to say) only strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of the production of works for the benefit of the life of man; in which mind he continued to his dying day."

It was intended that he should be trained for diplomatic life; and accordingly, in 1576, having entered at Gray's Inn, he went upon the suite of Sir Amyas Paulet, the English Ambassador to Paris. After a little more than two years of this training in France to diplomatic life, there came a cloud over the prospects of Bacon in the year 1579. In the February of that year his father died, after a few days' illness, before completing the provision he had meant to make for the younger son by his second marriage. Francis Bacon, then eighteen years old, came to London at the end of March, with commendations to the queen from Sir Amyas Paulet, and settled down at Gray's Inn to study the law as a profession.

He was admitted an utter barrister in June, 1582; and probably about this time, aged twenty-one, sketched briefly in a Latin tract, called "Temporis Partus Masculus," the first notion of his philosophy. In November, 1584, Bacon took his seat in the House of Commons, as member for Melcombe Regis, in Dorsetshire. In the next Parliament, which met in October, 1586, he sat for Taunton, and was one of those who presented a petition for the speedy execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. He was next member for Liverpool, active in public affairs, and presented to the ministry a wise paper of his own, called "An Advertisement Touching the Controversies of the Church of England." Its topic was the Marprelate Controversy, and it contained the germ of his essay "Of Unity in Religion." In October, 1589, there was given to Bacon the reversion of the office of Clerk of the Council in the Star Chamber, worth sixteen hundred or two thousand pounds a year, and the further advantage that its work was done by deputy. But for this Bacon had almost twenty years to wait; the holder of it lived till 1608. If that office had fallen to him early in life, Bacon might possibly have given up his career as a lawyer, and devoted himself wholly to the working out of his philosophy.

Having sat in Parliament for Melcombe Regis, Taunton, and Liverpool, he became member for Middlesex in the Parliament that met in February, 1593. One of the first questions before it was the granting of money to provide against danger from the Catholic powers by which England was threatened. The lords asked for a treble subsidy, payable within three years, in six instalments. Bacon assented to the subsidy, but raised a point of privilege in objection to the joining of the Commons with the Upper House in granting it. The point of privilege was overruled; the Lords and Commons did confer; the treble subsidy was granted; four years instead of three being allowed for the payment. Bacon had argued that the payment ought to extend over six years, for three reasons — the difficulty, the discontent, and the better means of supply than subsidy. His speeches on this occasion gave serious offence to the queen. He had no longer free access to her at court, and this displeasure made her less ready to give him, over the heads of older lawyers, the office of attorney-general, which presently fell vacant. The Earl of Essex, six years younger than Francis Bacon, was then looked to by both Anthony and Francis as their patron, and he did all that he could to influence the queen in Bacon's favor. The queen hesitated; dwelt on Bacon's youth and small experience — he was thirty-three — and in April, 1594, she gave the desired office to Sir Edward Coke, who was already Solicitor-General, who had large practice and high reputation as a lawyer, and was nine years older than Bacon. But Coke's appointment left vacant the office of Solicitor-General. For this suit was made with continued zeal, but in November, 1595, it was given to Sergeant Fleming. Essex, generous and impulsive, wished to make some amends to Bacon for his disappointment, and gave him a piece of land, which he afterwards sold for eighteen hundred pounds — say about twelve thousand pounds at the present value of money. Before July, 1596, Bacon was made Queen's Counsel. At the beginning of May in that year, Sir Thomas Egerton, who had been Master of the Rolls, became Lord-Keeper. Bacon then sought in vain to succeed Egerton as Master of the Rolls.

In 1597, having fallen into debt, he cherished a hope of marrying the rich young widow of Sir William Hatton, who died in March of that year. In that year, also, Bacon was returned to Parliament as member for Ipswich. Essex endeavored to help him in his widow hunt. The lady, in November, 1598, married Sir Edward Coke.

It was in 1597 that Bacon — then thirty-six years old — published, with a dedication to his brother, "Essayes. Religious Meditations. Places of Perswasion and Disswasion." The essays in this first edition were only ten in number, and they dealt exclusively with the immediate relations of a man to life; his private use of his own mind; his use of it in relation to the minds of others, in relation to the interests of others, in relation to his own interests — personally, as in case of money, health, and reputation, and also as they were mixed up with the business of mankind. Thus the ten essays were — 1. Of Study; 2. Of Discourse; 3. Of Ceremonies and Respects; 4. Of Followers and Friends; 5. Suitors; 6. Of Expense; 7. Of Regiment of Health; 8. Of Honour and Reputation; 9. Of Faction; 10. Of Negotiating. The relation of man to another world was left designedly beyond the range of this first little group of essays. The little book, no bigger than the palm of a man's hand, in which Bacon made his first appearance as an essayist, is thus, throughout, an illustration of that genius for analysis applied to the life of man which he applied in his philosophy to nature. He used the word "essay" in its exact sense. The Latin *exigere* meant to test very exactly, to apply to a standard, weight or measure. The late Latin word *exagium* meant a weighing, or a standard weight; thence came Italian *saggio*, a proof, trial, sample; and *assaggiare*, to prove or try; whence the French *essai*, and the English double forms, "assay" and "essay." An assay of gold is an attempt to ascertain and measure its alloys and to determine accurately its character and value. An essay of any thing in human nature submitted it to a like process within the mind: it was an "essay of" something, and not as we write — now that the true sense of the word is obscured — an "essay on." Strictly in that sense Bacon used the word, and the essays, at which we shall find his work running side by side with the development of his philosophy, have therefore a definite relation to it. The style of these brief essays, in which every sentence was compact with thought and polished in expression until it might run alone through the world as a maxim, had all the strength of Euphuism, and none of its weakness. The sentences were all such as it needed ingenuity to write; but this was the rare ingenuity of wisdom. Each essay, shrewdly discriminative, contained a succession of wise thoughts exactly worded. Take, for example, the first form of the first words of the first essay in this first edition: "Studies serve for pastimes, for ornaments, and for abilities. Their chiefe use for pastime is in privateness and retiring; for ornamente is in discourse, and for abilitie is in judgement. For expert men can execute, but learned men are fittest to judge or censure. To spend too much time in them is slouth, to use them too much for ornament is affectation: to make judgement wholly by their rules is the humour of a scholler. They perfect Nature, and are perfected by experience. Craftie men continue them, simple men admire them, wise men use them: For they teach not their owne use, but that is a wisedome without them: and above them wonne by observation. Reade not to contradict, nor to believe, but to waigh and consider." And so forth; words like these being themselves considered by their writer and made more weighty in subsequent editions. Small as the book was, the quality of Bacon's mind was proved by this first publication of his essays. In 1612, Bacon issued a second edition of his "Essays," in which the number was increased from ten to thirty-eight, and those formerly printed had been very thoroughly revised. The range of thought, also, was widened, and the first essay was "Of Religion." In 1625, he issued a third edition of the "Essays," with their number increased to fifty-eight, and again with revision and rearrangement of the earlier matter. The first essay in this final edition was "Of Truth;" and the essay "Of Religion," with its title changed to "Of Unity in Religion," was much enlarged and carefully modified, to prevent misconception of its spirit.

In 1598, the next year after the first publication of his Essays, Bacon, who had been living beyond his means, was arrested for debt; but in the spring of 1601 his worldly means were somewhat improved by the death of his brother Anthony. He obtained a gift of twelve hundred pounds, the fine of one of the accomplices of Essex; but he obtained no higher reward of his services before the death of Elizabeth, in 1603, and this notwithstanding his efforts to win the queen's favor by his services in securing the conviction of his benefactor, Lord Essex.

With the accession of James I., Bacon's outward prosperity began. He was made Sir Francis by his own wish, in July, 1603, that he might not lose grade, because new knights were multiplying, and there were three of them in his mess at Gray's Inn. Essex had been active for James. Bacon told the Earl of Southampton that he "could be safely that to him now which he had truly been before;" and adapted himself to the new political conditions by writing a defence of his recent conduct, as "Sir Francis Bacon his Apologie in certain Imputations concerning the late Earle of Essex." To the first Parliament of King James, Bacon was returned by Ipswich and St. Albans. He was confirmed in his office of King's Counsel in August, 1604; but when the office of Solicitor-General became vacant again in that year, he was not appointed to it. In 1605, about the time of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, there appeared, in English, "The Twoo Bookes of Francis Bacon. Of the Proficience and Advauncement of Learning, Divine and Humane. To the King." These two books of the Advancement of Learning form the first part of the groundwork of his "Instauratio Magna," or "Great Reconstruction of Science." It was dedicated to King James, as from one who had been "touched, yea, and possessed, with an extreme wonder at those your virtues and faculties which the philosophers call intellectual; the largeness of your capacity, the faithfulness of your memory, the swiftness of your apprehension, the penetration of your judgment, and the facility and order of your elocution." It was fit, therefore, to dedicate to such a king a treatise in two parts, one on the excellency of learning and knowledge, the other on the merit and true glory in the augmentation and propagation thereof.

In his first book Bacon pointed out the discredits of learning from human defects of the learned, and emptiness of many of the studies chosen, or the way of dealing with them. This came especially by the mistaking or misplacing of the last or furthest end of knowledge, as if there were sought in it "a couch whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a terrace for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort or commanding ground for strife and contention; or a shop for profit or sale; and not a rich storehouse for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate." The rest of the first book was given to an argument upon the Dignity of Learning; and the second book, on the Advancement of Learning, is, as Bacon himself described it, "a general and faithful perambulation of learning, with an inquiry what parts thereof lie fresh and waste, and not improved and converted by the industry of man; to the end that such a plot made and recorded to memory may both minister light to any public designation, and also serve to excite voluntary endeavors." Bacon makes, by a sort of exhaustive analysis, a ground-plan of all subjects of study, as an intellectual map, helping the right inquirer in his search for the right path. The right path is that by which he has the best chance of adding to the stock of knowledge in the world something worth laboring for, as labor for "the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate."

In May, 1606, Bacon married Alice Barnham, daughter of a London merchant who was dead, and whose widow had taken in second marriage Sir John Packington, of Worcestershire. The lady had two hundred and twenty pounds a year, which was settled on herself. In June, 1607, Sir Francis Bacon became Solicitor-General. While rising in his profession he was still at work on writings that set forth portions of his philosophy. In 1607 he sent to Sir Thomas Bodley his "Cogitata et Visa" — a first sketch of the "Novum Organum." In 1608 — the year of John Milton's birth — Bacon obtained the clerkship of the Star Chamber, of which the reversion had been given him in 1589. In February, 1613, Bacon contrived, for the gentlemen of Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple, a "Masque of the Marriage of the Thames and the Rhine," on the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine. In October, 1613, Bacon was made Attorney-General. The dispassionate mind that his philosophy required Bacon applied somewhat too coldly to the philosophy of life. Without hatreds or warm affections, preferring always a kind course to an unkind one, but yielding easily to stubborn facts in his search for prosperity, Bacon failed as a man, although he had no active evil in his character, for want of a few generous enthusiasms. In 1616 Bacon was made a Privy Councillor. While the Attorney-General was thus obedient to his master, he was suitor for the office of Lord-Keeper, which the bad health of Lord-Chancellor Ellesmere would probably soon cause him to resign. This office Bacon obtained in March, 1617. In January, 1618, he became Lord-Chancellor; six months afterwards he was made Baron Verulam. In October, 1620, he presented to the king his "Novum Organum," a fragment on which he had worked for thirty years, and which formed the second and main part of his "Instauratio Magna." Three months later he was made, on the 27th of January, 1621, Viscount St. Albans, and had reached his highest point of greatness. Then came his memorable fall.

On the 15th of March the report of a Parliamentary Committee on the administration of justice charged the Lord-Chancellor with twenty-three specified acts of corruption. Bacon's final reply was: "Upon advised consideration of the charge, descending into my own conscience, and calling my memory to account as far as I am able, I do plainly and ingenuously confess that I am guilty of corruption, and do renounce all defence, and put myself on the grace and mercy of your lordships." He then, as he had been required to do, replied upon each case, and pleaded guilty to four. The lords sent a committee of twelve to the Chancellor, to ask whether he had signed this, and would stand by his signature. He replied to the question: "My lords, it is my act, my hand, and my heart. I beseech your lordships to be merciful to a broken reed." He was sentenced by the House of Lords, on the 3d of May, 1621, to a fine of forty thousand pounds, which the king remitted; to be committed to the Tower during the king's pleasure, and he was released next day; thenceforth to be incapable of holding any office in the State, or sitting in Parliament. It was decided by a majority of two that he should not be stripped of his titles. Of worldly means there remained what private fortune he had, and a pension of twelve hundred pounds a year that the king had lately given him. The rest of his life Bacon gave to study, only applying, unsuccessfully, in 1623, for the provostship of Eton. In 1622 he published, in Latin, as the third part of his "Instauratio Magna," his Natural and Experimental History, — "Historia Naturalis et Experimentalis," — and his "Historie of the Raigne of K. Henry VII.," dedicated to Charles, Prince of Wales. In 1623 appeared, in Latin, his "History of Life and Death," as well as the Latin expansion into nine books of "The Advancement of Learning," as a first volume of his works. On the 9th of April, 1626, ten years after Shakespeare, Francis Bacon died.

Bacon arranged his writings for the "Instauratio Magna" into six divisions: — 1. The books on the "Dignity and Advancement of Learning" — the ground-plan. 2. The "Novum Organum," of which only the first part was executed, showing what was the new instrument, or method of inquiry, which he substituted for the old instrument, the "Organon" of Aristotle. 3. The Experimental History of Nature; or, Study of the Phenomena of the Universe. In this division Bacon's most complete work was the "Silva Silvarum; or, Natural History in Ten Centuries." Then came the science raised on these foundations, in, 4, the "Scala Intellectus;" or, Ladder of the Understanding, which leads up from experience to science. 5. The "Prodromi; or, the Anticipations of the Second Philosophy" — provisional anticipations founded on experience, which the investigator needs as starting-points in his research; and, 6, "Active Science" — experiment in the fair way to such gains of knowledge as may benefit mankind.

Bacon opposed to the "Organon" of Aristotle, which only analyzed the form of propositions, his "New Organon," which sought a method of analysis that would attain discoveries enlarging the dominion of man. "Human science," he said, "and human power, coincide." Invention must be based upon experience; experience be widened by experiment. Bacon's highest and purest ambition was associated with his life-long endeavor to direct the new spirit of inquiry into a course that would enable men "to renew and enlarge the power and dominion of the human race itself over the universe. . . . Now the dominion of men over things depends alone on arts and sciences; for Nature is only governed by obeying her." Bacon had no sympathy whatever with research that consists only in turning the mind back on itself. For him the mind was a tool, and nature the material for it to work upon. The only remaining way to health, he said, "is that the whole work of the mind be begun afresh, and that the mind, from the very beginning, should on no account be trusted to itself, but constantly directed." All knowledge comes to men from without, and the laws to which we can subject natural forces are to be learned only from the interpretation of nature. In former days invention had been left to chance, and science had been occupied with empty speculations. A way of inquiry should be used that will lead — be inductive — from one experience to another, not by chance, but by necessity. Hence Bacon's method has been called inductive; but the second and main part of his philosophy was, after arriving by this method at a truth in nature, to deduce therefrom its uses to man. Having found, for example, by inductive experiment, a general truth about electricity, the crowning work of the Baconian philosophy would be to deduce from it the Atlantic cable.

Bacon taught that the inquirer was to take as frankly as a child whatever truths he found. He compared human knowledge with divine, of which it is said, "Except ye become as little children ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." And he too said, "Little children, keep yourselves from idols." "The idols," Bacon said, "and false notions which have hitherto occupied the human understanding, and are deeply rooted in it, not only so beset the minds of men that entrance is hardly open to truth, but, even when entrance is conceded, they will again meet and hinder us in the very reconstruction of the sciences, unless men, being forewarned, guard themselves as much as possible against them." He therefore classified the common forms of false image within the mind to which men bow down. They are Idols (1) of the Forum or Market-place (*Idola Fori*), when we take things not for what they are, but for what the common talk, as of men in the market-place, considers them to be; they are Idols (2) of the Theatre (*Idola Theatri*), when we bow down to authority, or fear to differ from those who have played great parts on the world's stage; Idols (3) of Race or Tribe (*Idola Tribus*) are "founded," says Bacon, "in the very tribe or race of men. It is falsely asserted that human sense is the standard of things," for the human intellect, blending its own nature with an object, distorts and disfigures it. There are Idols also (4) of the Cave or Den (*Idola Specus*); these are the accidental faults and prejudices of the individual inquirer.

On his guard against these idols, the philosopher who follows Bacon's teaching trusts to pure experience. Every thing in nature appears under certain conditions. Comparative experiments can be made to determine which of these conditions are essential, and which accidental. Thus we may advance from fact to fact, till, by successive testings and comparisons of facts, we reach one of the laws by which the course of nature is determined. So we ascend, by the method of induction, from the experiment to the axiom. But experiment may seem to have found a law with which some fact — some "negative instance" — is at odds. This contradiction must not be put out of sight, but taken simply as against acceptance of the law till it be reconciled with it. Nay, more, the investigator must use all his wit to invent combinations able to disprove his fact, if it be no fact; he must seek to invent negative instances, acting as counsel against himself until assured that his new fact will stand firm against any trial. "I think," said Bacon, "that a form of induction should be introduced which from certain instances should draw general conclusions, so that the impossibility of finding a contrary instance might be clearly proved." When so assured that it stands firm, the inquirer may announce his new truth confidently, and either deduce from it himself, or leave others to deduce its use to man.

In this philosophy Bacon did no more than express formally, distinctly, and with great influence over the minds of others, what had always been the tendency of English thought. His namesake, Roger Bacon, in the thirteenth century, had pursued science very much in the same spirit, and had nearly anticipated Francis Bacon's warning against the four idols, in his own four grounds of human ignorance. We must not forget, also, when we find feebleness in the scientific experiments of Francis Bacon and his followers, with the retention of much false opinion about nature, that what he professed was to show, not grand results, but the way to them. He bade his followers "be strong in hope, and not imagine that our 'Instauratio' is something infinite and beyond the reach of man, when really it is not unmindful of mortality and humanity; for it does not expect to complete its work within the course of a single age, but leaves this to the succession of ages; and, lastly, seeks for science, not arrogantly within the little cells of human wit, but humbly, in the greater world."

20. Bacon's philosophy had arisen out of that part of the energy of thought, quickened along its whole line, which prompted free inquiry into nature. It gave new impulse and a definite direction to the movement that produced it. Scientific studies had new charms for many minds, and there was an enthusiasm for experiment in the Baconian way. Many a quiet thinker, to whom civil war was terrible, turned aside from the tumult of the times, and found rest for his mind in the calm study of nature. Such men were drawn together by community of taste, driven together also by the discords round about them; and the influence of Bacon's books upon the growing energy of scientific thought was aided by the civil war.

But years before the civil war, the spirit of inquiry began to be active for advance of science. **John Napier**, of Merchistoun, used the same mind which had spent its energies, in 1593, upon "A Plaine Discovery of the whole Revelation of St. John," upon the discovery of the use of Logarithms, and set forth his invention, in 1614, as "Mirifici Logarithmorum Canonis Descriptio." In the following year, 1615, **William Harvey** probably first brought forward, in lectures at the College of Physicians, his discovery of the circulation of the blood, afterwards more fully established and set forth in a small book, early in the reign of Charles I. Harvey at first lost practice by his new opinions, and his doctrine was not received by any physician who was more than forty years old; but he was made, in 1623, Physician Extraordinary to James I., and in 1632 Physician to Charles I.

21. John Wilkins was born in 1614, the son of a goldsmith, at Oxford, was educated there, graduated, took orders, and was chaplain, first to Lord Say, then to the Count Palatine of the Rhine. When the civil war broke out, he took the Solemn League and Covenant. In 1638 he published anonymously, "The Discovery of a New World; or, a Discourse tending to prove that 'tis probable there may be another Habitable World in the Moon." In 1640 this was followed by a "Discourse concerning a New Planet; tending to prove that 'tis probable our Earth is one of the Planets." Wilkins's book on the world in the moon closed with an argument for the proposition "that 'tis possible for some of our posterity to find out a conveyance to this other world; and if there be inhabitants there, to have commerce with them." His other tract, in support of the doctrine set forth by Copernicus, in 1543, and developed in the time of Charles I. by Galileo, included a temperate endeavor to meet those prevalent theological objections to which Galileo had been forced to bend. In 1641, he called attention to various methods of cipher-writing, as well as of telegraphing, by his "Mercury; or, the Secret and Swift Messenger: Shewing how a Man may with Privacy and Speed Communicate his Thoughts to a Friend at a Distance." In 1668, he was made Bishop of Chester; and in the same year his most interesting work, "An Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language," was printed by the Royal Society. This applied natural philosophy to language, and labored towards the deduction from first principles of quickened intercourse among men, by an easy common language in which significant signs were to build up the meaning of each word. Bishop Wilkins died in 1672, at his friend Tillotson's house in Chancery Lane.

22. Samuel Hartlib was of a good Polish family; ancestors of his had been Privy Councillors to Emperors of Germany. He came to England about 1628, and his active beneficent mind brought him into friendship with many of the earnest thinkers of the time. In 1641, Hartlib published "A Brief Relation of that which hath been lately attempted to procure Ecclesiastical Peace among Protestants," and a "Description of Macaria," his ideal of a well-ordered state. In the midst of the strife of civil war, Hartlib was wholly occupied with scientific study, having especial regard to the extension and improvement of education, and the development of agriculture and manufactures. In 1642 he translated from the Latin of a Moravian pastor, John Amos Comenius, two treatises on "A Reformation of Schooles." His zeal for the better education of the people, as a remedy for their distresses, caused him not only to give thought to the education of the poor, but also to attempt the establishment of a school for the improved education of the rich; and he asked Milton to print his ideas on the subject; hence the tract of eight pages published by Milton, in 1644, without titlepage, but inscribed on the top in one line, "Of Education. To Mr. Samuel Hartlib." In 1651 Hartlib edited a treatise on "Flemish Agriculture," which gave counsel that added greatly to the wealth of England. Among Hartlib's schemes was a plan for a sort of guild of science, which should unite students of nature into a brotherhood while they sought knowledge in the way set forth by Francis Bacon.

23. A young man of science who did not separate himself from the contest of the time was the mathematician, **John Wallis**, born in 1616, son of a rich incumbent of Ashford, Kent. His father died when he was six years old, his mother educated him for a learned profession, he went at sixteen to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and is said to have been the first student who maintained Harvey's new doctrine of the circulation of the blood. There was no study of mathematics then in Cambridge; the best mathematicians were in London, and their science was little esteemed. Wallis graduated, obtained a fellowship at Queen's College, took orders in 1640, and acted as chaplain in private families until the Civil War. He then took the side of the Parliament, and used his mathematical skill in reading the secret ciphers of the Royalists. In 1643, he obtained the living of St. Gabriel, Fenchurch Street. In the same year the death of his mother gave him independent fortune. In 1644 he married, and was one of the secretaries of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. In 1645 he was among the men of science, and took part in the meetings which led to the formation of the Royal Society. In 1648 he was rector of a church in Ironmonger Lane. He remonstrated against the execution of Charles I., and in 1649 he was appointed Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford. He died in 1703.

CHAPTER VII.

FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: RELIGIOUS, PHILOSOPHICAL, AND POLITICAL WRITERS.

1. Owen Feltham. — 2. Henry More. — 3. Richard Sibbes. — 4. Jeremy Taylor. — 5. William Prynne. — 6. Peter Heylin. — 7. William Chillingworth. — 8. Philip Hunton; Sir Robert Filmer. — 9. John Gauden. — 10. John Milton.

1. THE religious mind of England had in the days of James I. and of Charles I., as always, manifold expression. There were many readers of the "Resolves, Divine, Moral, and Political," published about 1628, by **Owen Feltham**, a man of middle-class ability, with a religious mind, who was maintained in the household of the Earl of Thomond. His Resolves are one hundred and forty-six essays on moral and religious themes, the writing of a quiet churchman, who paid little attention to the rising controversies of his day.

2. **Henry More** represented Platonism. He was born in 1614, at Grantham, in Lincolnshire, educated at Eton and Christ Church, Cambridge, where he obtained a fellowship. He abandoned Calvinism, was influenced by Tauler's "Theologia Germanica," and fed his spiritual aspirations with writings of Plato and the Neoplatonists, Plotinus and Iamblichus, and Platonists of Italy at the time of the revival of scholarship. Henry More was for a time tutor in noble families, obtained a prebend at Gloucester, but soon resigned it in favor of a friend. Content with a small competence, he declined preferment, and sought to live up to his own ideal as a Christian Platonist. He lived on through the reign of Charles II., and died in 1687, aged seventy-three. The Platonism which had been a living influence upon Europe at the close of the fifteenth century had its last representative in Henry More. In 1642 he published "*Ψυχώδια* Platonica; or, a Platonical Song of the Soul," in four books;

with prefaces and interpretations, published in 1647, as "Philosophicall Poems." The first book, "Psychozoia" (the Life of the Soul), contained a "Christiano-Platonicall display of life." The Immortality of the Soul was the theme of the second part, "Psychathanasia," annexed to which was a metrical "Essay upon the Infinity of Worlds out of Platonick Principles." The third book contained "A Confutation of the Sleep of the Soul, after Death," and was called "Antipsychopannychia," with an Appendix on "The Præ-existency of the Soul." Then came "Antimonopsychia," or the fourth part of the "Song of the Soul," containing a confutation of the Unity of Souls; whereunto is annexed a paraphrase upon Apollo's answer concerning Plotinus's soul departed this life. This poem was throughout written in the Spenserian stanza, with imitation also of Spenser's English. The books were divided into cantos, and each canto headed in Spenser's manner. Thus, the first canto of Book I. is headed:

> "Struck with the sense of God's good will,
> The immortality
> Of souls I sing; praise with my quill
> Plato's philosophy."

But there is no better reason why it should not have been all written in prose, than the evidence it gives that Platonism came as poetry to Henry More, although he was not himself a great poet. He also published, with a dedication to Cudworth, the Hebrew Professor at Cambridge, his "Conjectura Cabbalistica," a triple interpretation of the three first chapters of Genesis, with a "Defence" of it. The Jewish Cabala was conceived to be a traditional doctrine or exposition of the Pentateuch, which Moses received from the mouth of God while he was on the mount with him. Henry More's book expounded "a threefold Cabala," which was, he said, "the dictate of the free reason of my mind, heedfully considering the written text of Moses, and carefully canvassing the expositions of such interpreters as are ordinarily to be had upon him." The threefold division of his "Cabala" was into literal, philosophic, and moral. More wrote also against atheism, and on theological topics.

3. Intense religious feeling, Puritan in tone, was expressed in the ser-

mons and books of **Richard Sibbes** (born in 1577), who was master of Catherine Hall when Milton was at Cambridge, and a frequent preacher in the university. Of the two great English universities, Cambridge was the stronghold of the Puritans. Sermons by Sibbes were published as his "Saints' Cordials," in 1629. To his "Bruised Reede and Smoking Flax," in which other sermons were collected, Baxter said that he owed his conversion. Richard Sibbes died in 1635.

4. **Jeremy Taylor** was born at Cambridge, in August, 1613, the son of a barber, who, according to one account, sent him, when three years old, to a free school then just founded by Dr. Stephen Perse. At thirteen, Jeremy Taylor left this school to enter Caius College as a sizar, or poor scholar. He had proceeded to the degree of B.A., and been ordained, by the time he was twenty-one. A college friend then asked young Taylor to preach for him at St. Paul's. He had, like Milton, outward as well as inward beauty, and a poet's mind. Archbishop Laud heard of his sermons, called him to preach at Lambeth, and became his friend. Laud having more patronage and influence at Oxford than at Cambridge, Taylor was incorporated there, and the archbishop procured for him a fellowship of All Souls, by using his sole authority as Visitor of the College to overrule the statutes which required that candidates should be of three years' standing in the university. Laud also made the young divine his chaplain; and in March, 1638, obtained for him the rectory of Uppingham, in Rutlandshire. One year later, in May, 1639, Taylor was married. Three years afterwards his youngest son died, in May, 1642, and his wife died shortly afterwards. He was left with two infant sons, at the time when the breach between the king and Commons had become irreparable. Then he was made one of the king's chaplains, and joined the king; perhaps when, in August, the latter was on his way to hoist the royal standard at Nottingham. In October, 1642, the Parliament resolved on sequestration of the livings of the loyal clergy. Jeremy Taylor, like Herrick and others, was deprived. The indecisive battle of Edge Hill was fought in the same month. In November, the king marched upon London; there was a fight at Brentford. The Londoners mustered their trained bands. It was the occasion of Milton's sonnet, "When the

Assault was Intended to the City." But the Royalists retired, and at the end of November the king was at winter-quarters in Oxford. There Jeremy Taylor published his "Episcopacy Asserted," and was rewarded, at the age of twenty-nine, with the degree of Doctor of Divinity. On the 26th of January, 1643, Parliament passed a bill for the utter abolition of Episcopacy. Early in 1644, Jeremy Taylor was a chaplain with the royal army in Wales. He was imprisoned for a time, after the defeat at Cardigan; then married a Welsh lady, Joanna Bridges, who had some property at Llangadock, in Carmarthenshire; and with two companions — William Nicholson, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, and William Wyatt, afterwards a Prebendary of Lincoln — Jeremy Taylor kept a school, Newton Hall, in Carmarthenshire, at Llanvihangel Aberbythyrch. In this Welsh village Taylor wrote his best works, and first, in 1647, his "Liberty of Prophesying," a plea for freedom to all in the interpretation of the Bible, with one simple standard of external authority, the Apostles' Creed. In this book Jeremy Taylor showed, of course, the natural bent of his mind towards authority in Church and State. He would have a church of every country contained within its political boundaries, and allowed the ruler more power to secure uniformity than would be practically consistent with his theory; but this represents only the form of thought which was as natural to him as his different form of thought to Milton. It was warmed in Jeremy Taylor with true fervor of devotion, and brought home to the sympathies of men by a pure spirit of Christian charity. The mischiefs of prevailing discord came, he said, "not from this, that all men are not of one mind, for that is neither necessary nor possible, but that every opinion is made an article of faith, every article is a ground of quarrel, every quarrel makes a faction, every faction is zealous, and all zeal pretends for God, and whatsoever is for God cannot be too much. We by this time are come to that pass, we think we love not God except we hate our brother."

And these were the last words in the book: "I end with a story which I find in the Jews' books. When Abraham sat at his tent-door, according to his custom, waiting to entertain strangers, he espied an old man stooping and leaning on his staff, weary with age and travail, coming towards him, who was an hundred years of age: he received him kindly, washed his feet, provided supper, caused him to sit down; but observing that the old man ate and prayed not, nor begged for a blessing on his meat, he asked him why he did not worship the God of heaven. The old man told him that he worshipped the fire only, and acknowledged no other god: at which answer Abraham grew so zealously angry that he thrust the old man out of his tent, and exposed him to all the evils of the night and an unguarded condition. When the old man was gone, God called to Abraham, and asked him where the stranger was. He replied, 'I thrust him away because he did not worship thee.' God answered him, 'I have suffered him these hundred years, although he dishonored me; and couldst not thou endure him one night, when he gave thee no trouble?' Upon this, saith the story, Abraham fetched him back again, and gave him hospitable entertainment and wise instruction. 'Go thou and do likewise,' and thy charity will be rewarded by the God of Abraham."

In 1649, he published "The Great Exemplar of Sanctity and Holy Life, according to the Christian Institution, described in the History of the Life and Death of Christ;" in 1650, his "Holy Living," with "Prayers for our Rulers," altered afterwards to "Prayers for the King;" in 1651, his "Holy Dying;" and the first volume for the "Summer Half-year" of "A Course of Sermons for all the Sundays in the Year." His friend, Lady Carbery, died in October, 1650, and Taylor preached her funeral sermon with the tender piety of friendship. When he wrote verse, he failed as a poet. He was no master in that form of expression: but natural grace of mind, with a fine culture, liveliness of fancy, the unaffected purity of his own standard of life upon earth, and, in the midst of all the tumult of the time, "the strange evenness and untroubled passage" with which he was himself, as he said of Lady Carbery, sliding towards his ocean of God and of infinity with a certain and silent motion, has filled his prose with the true poetry of life. In 1655 he applied the name of Lord Carbery's house to a book of devotion, "The Golden Grove; or, a Manual of Daily Prayers and Litanies fitted to the Days of the Week: also, Festival Hymns, according to the Manner of the Ancient Church." He was imprisoned twice during the Commonwealth, and brought down on himself a controversy upon original sin by his "Unum Necessarium; or, The Doctrine and Practice of Repentance." In 1657 he published a "Discourse on the Measures and Offices of Friendship," addressed to Mrs. Catherine Philips, with whom we shall meet again as the first Englishwoman who earned good fame as a poet. At this time Jeremy Taylor was preaching in London, and had John Evelyn among his friends. Lord Conway, who had a residence at Portmore, offered him the post of alternate lecturer at Lisburn, nine miles from his house. Taylor accepted it, and went to Ireland in the summer of 1658. Even then he was not left wholly in peace; "for," he wrote, "a Presbyterian and a madman have informed against me as a dangerous man to their religion, and for using the sign of the cross in baptism." He was taken to Dublin, but obtained easy acquittal.

In June, 1660, he published his "Ductor Dubitantium; or, the Rule of Conscience in all her General Measures," a book of casuistry, which he had designed to be the great work of his life. It was dedicated to Charles II., and was followed in two months by "The Worthy Communicant." In August he was nominated Bishop of Down and Connor; he was made also Vice-Chancellor of Dublin University, and a member of the Irish Privy Council. In April, 1661, he had the adjacent bishopric of Dromore united with Down and Connor, in consideration of his "virtue, wisdom, and industry." At the opening of the Irish Parliament, in May, 1661, Jeremy Taylor preached, and admonished his hearers to oppress no man for his religious opinions, to deal equal justice to men of all forms of faith, and to "do as God does, who in judgment remembers mercy." He still lived near Portmore, and made pious use of his newly-acquired wealth. He apprenticed poor children, maintained promising youths at the university, and rebuilt the choir of Dromore Cathedral. In 1664 he issued, with addition of a second part, his "Dissuasive from Popery," first published in 1647. He died, aged fifty-five, on the 13th of August, 1667, in the year of the publication of "Paradise Lost."

5. **William Prynne**, born in 1600, at Swainswick, near Bath, edu-

cated at Oriel College, Oxford, and then a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, represented Puritan opinion by writing, in 1628, "Health's Sickness, or the Sinfulness of Drinking Healths," and a tract on "The Unloveliness of Lovelocks." His tracts in the reign of Charles I. were very numerous, and upon every point of controversy maintained by the Puritans. In 1633 he published, against plays, masques, balls, and other such entertainments, "Histrio-mastix: the Players' Scourge or Actors' Tragedie." For this book Prynne was committed to the Tower, prosecuted in the Star Chamber, and sentenced to pay a fine to the king of five thousand pounds, to be expelled from the University of Oxford, from the Society of Lincoln's Inn, and from his profession of the law; to stand twice in the pillory, each time losing an ear; to have his book burnt before his face by the hangman; and to suffer perpetual imprisonment. In 1637, for another libel, he was condemned by the same court to lose what was left of his ears, to have his cheeks branded, to pay another fine of five thousand pounds, and to be confined for life in Caernarvon Castle. At the meeting of the Long Parliament, he returned in triumph to London, became a member of the House of Commons, and was leading manager in the prosecution of Archbishop Laud. Then, having ended his battle with Episcopacy, and had his revenge on Laud, he turned his bitterness against the Independents. He was strong for reconcilement with the king. Under the Commonwealth he was in opposition to the Independents, openly defied Cromwell's authority, and was imprisoned. He assisted in the Restoration, sat for Bath in Parliament, and became under Charles II. Keeper of the Records in the Tower, with a salary of five hundred pounds a year. In this reign he published the three folios known as Prynne's Records, "An Exact Chronological and Historical Demonstration of our British, Roman, Saxon, Danish, Norman, English Kings' Supreme Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in and over all Spiritual or Religious Affairs, etc." These records of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the kings of England extend to the end of the reign of Edward I. Prynne died in 1669.

6. Prynne's controversial activity against Laud and his policy was met by that of **Peter Heylin**, a divine of Laud's own school, who had published, in 1622, "Microcosmus, or a little Description of the great World," and, in 1629, became chaplain to Charles I. Dr. Heylin, who was born in 1600 and died in 1662, was a prolific writer, bitter against Puritans, and very faithful in maintaining the divine authority of church and king.

7. **William Chillingworth** was born at Oxford, in 1602, and had Laud for his godfather. Chillingworth became a fellow of Trinity, was converted to the Roman faith by John Fisher, the Jesuit, reconverted by Laud, returned to Oxford, inquired freely into religion, and published, in 1637, dedicated

to Charles I., his "Religion of the Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation." Chillingworth's inquiry led him to dissent from the Athanasian Creed and some points of the Thirty-nine Articles. That stayed his promotion; but in 1638 he was induced to subscribe as a sign of his desire for peace and union, but not of intellectual assent. He then obtained preferment in the church, and was in the civil war so thoroughly Royalist that he acted as engineer at the siege of Gloucester. He was taken prisoner at the siege of Arundel, and died in 1644. One of the worst examples of the bitterness of theologic strife was published immediately after his death, by Francis Cheynell, in a pamphlet called "Chillingworthi Novissima; or, the Sickness, Heresy, Death, and Burial of William Chillingworth." He was the friend of Laud, and therefore counted as an enemy by Francis Cheynell; but he was a man of the best temper, as well as a clear, close reasoner.

8. **Philip Hunton**, a Nonconformist minister, published in 1643–44 a treatise on Monarchy, in two parts, with a Vindication. Part One inquired into the nature of Monarchy; Part Two argued that the sovereignty of England is in the Three Estates — King, Lords, and Commons. This doctrine was afterwards, in 1683, condemned by the Convocation of the University of Oxford, and the book publicly burnt. Two or three years later it was answered by **Sir Robert Filmer**, an upholder of absolute monarchy, who based it upon patriarchal authority, and combated every form of the assertion that men were born equal. Filmer's reply to Hunton, published in 1646, was entitled "Anarchy of a Mixed and Limited Monarchy." Sir Robert was the son of Sir Edward Filmer, of East Sutton, in Kent. He entered Trinity College as a student in 1604, and died in 1688. The book for which he is remembered, his "Patriarcha," written about 1642, was not published until 1680; but in 1648 he expressed much of his argument in a pamphlet on "The Power of Kings, and in Particular of the King of England," which sets out with this practical definition of the king's absolute power not subject to any law: "If the sovereign prince be exempted from the laws of his predecessors, much less shall he be bound by the laws he

maketh himself; for a man may well receive a law from another man, but impossible it is in nature for to give a law unto himself." Filmer published, also in 1648, "The Freeholder's Grand Inquest touching our Sovereign Lord the King and his Parliament," endeavoring to prove from history that the king alone makes laws and is supreme judge in Parliament; that "the Commons by their writ are only to perform and consent to the ordinances of Parliament," and that the Lords "are only to treat and give counsel to Parliament." In 1652 he published "Observations upon Mr. Hobbes's Leviathan, Mr. Milton against Salmasius, and H. Grotius De Jure Belli et Pacis, concerning the Originall of Government." Filmer repudiated Hobbes's notion of authority established by a covenant among men naturally equal, his own faith being that authority was given by divine appointment from the first.

9. **John Gauden,** born in 1605, was educated at Cambridge, and became rector of Brightwell, Berkshire. In November, 1640, he preached before the House of Commons a sermon on "The Love of Truth and Peace," which so pleased them that they gave him a silver tankard, and the rich deanery of Bocking, Essex. As the conflict went on between the king and the Parliament, Dr. Gauden turned wholly to the former; and in 1649, about a fortnight before the execution of Charles I., Gauden published his "Religious and Loyal Protestation against the present Declared Purposes and Proceedings of the Army and others, about the Trying and Destroying our Sovereign Lord the King. Sent to a Collonell to bee presented to the Lord Fairfax, and his Generall Councell of Officers, the first of January," 1648 (New Style, 1649). This was "Printed for Richard Royston;" and Richard Royston was then printing another work of Gauden's, which was not issued until a few days after the execution, but its appearance at such a time made it a power. It was called "*Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*" (Eikōn Basilikē, the Royal Image), "The True Pourtraicture of His Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings." It was written in the first person, professing to be the work of Charles himself, displaying his piety while it set forth an explanation of his policy. It was in twenty-eight sections, as: 1. "Upon his Majes-

ties calling this last Parliament;" 2. "Upon the Earl of Strafford's Death;" and so forth, usually giving, as from the king's own lips, a popular interpretation of his actions, and each section ending with a strain of prayer. One section, the twenty-fifth, consisted wholly of "Penitential Meditations and Vows in the King's Solitude at Holmby;" the twenty-seventh was fatherly counsel "To the Prince of Wales;" and the twenty-eighth closed the series with "Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addresses, and his Majesty's closer Imprisonment in Carisbrook Castle." When Gauden was at work upon his book for the king, he showed his design to Anthony Walker, Rector of Fifield, who agreed with his strong desire to aid the king, but doubted the morality of personating him; to which Gauden replied, "Look on the title, 'tis 'The Pourtraicture,' etc., and no man draws his own picture." Dr. Walker was with Gauden when he called on the Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Duppa), left Gauden and the bishop to a private talk, and was told afterwards that the bishop had liked the work, but thought there should be sections added on "The Ordinance against the Common Prayer Book," and "Their Denying his Majesty the attendance of his Chaplains." As bishop and as chaplain to the king, Duppa felt strongly on these points, and he had agreed to write the sections upon them (sixteenth and twenty-fourth in the printed book). The book being finished, a copy of it was sent to King Charles by the hands of the Marquis of Hertford, when he went to the Isle of Wight. This was the copy found with corrections upon it in the king's handwriting. Time pressed, and it was thought the better course to publish at once, without waiting for his Majesty's permission. The press was corrected by Mr. Simmonds, a persecuted minister, and the last part of the manuscript was taken by Anthony Walker on its way to the printer's on the 23d of December, 1648. The Marquis of Hertford afterwards told Mrs. Gauden that the king had wished the book to be issued not as his own, but as another's; but it was argued that Cromwell and others of the army having got a great reputation with the people for parts and piety, it would be best to be in the king's name, and his Majesty took time to consider of it. When the book appeared its authorship was known to the Marquis of Hertford, Lord Capel, Bishop Duppa, Bishop Morley, and a few other persons. After the restoration, Charles II. said to Gauden, that if it had come out a week sooner it would have saved his father's life. It would not have done that; but it touched the religious feeling of the people, and excited a strong sympathy. At home and abroad fifty thousand copies were circulated in a twelvemonth.

Dr. Gauden, who was not backward in pressing upon the restored monarch his own claims to gratitude, was made Bishop of Exeter before the end of 1660; had in a few months twenty thousand pounds in fines for the renewal of leases; thought himself poorly rewarded; pressed for Winchester, got Worcester, and died six months afterwards. Lord Clarendon, vexed by Gauden's importunities, wrote to him (March 13, 1661) when he was Bishop of Exeter: "The particular which you often renewed, I do confesse was imparted to me under secrecy, and of which I did not take myself to be at liberty to take notice: and truly when it ceases to be a secret, I know nobody will be gladd of it but Mr. Milton. I have very often wished I had never been trusted with it."

10. In the principal strifes of the civil war and the Commonwealth, **John Milton** bore a brave and strong part, turning away from his high plans as a poet, and giving to controversial prose the best years of his manhood.

In 1641 the great argument was for and against Episcopacy. Bishop Hall's "Humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament" appeared at the end of January, in defence of the Liturgy and of Episcopal Government. Towards the close of March appeared "An Answer to a Book entituled 'An Humble Remonstrance' . . . Written by Smectymnuus." This name was compounded of the initials of the five divines who took part in its production, — Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow. A few weeks later, when the Bishops' Exclusion Bill was awaiting the decision of the Lords, and when the Commons, on the 27th of May, had expressed their mind more strongly by passing the first and second reading of a "Root and Branch" Bill, "For the utter abolishing and taking away of all Archbishops,

Bishops," etc., Milton published his first pamphlet, entitled, "Of Reformation touching Church Discipline in England, and the Causes that hitherto have hindered it: Two Books, written to a Friend." In the first book he argued, that, in and after the reign of Henry VIII., Reformation of the church was most hindered by retaining ceremonies of the Church of Rome, and by giving irresponsible power to bishops, who, though they had removed the Pope, yet "hugged the popedom, and shared the authority among themselves." In his second book, Milton argued from history that the political influence of prelacy had always been opposed to liberty. This pamphlet of ninety pages was followed quickly by a shorter pamphlet in twenty-four pages, entitled "Of Prelatical Episcopacy; and whether it may be deduc'd from the Apostolical Times by vertue of those Testimonies which are alleg'd to that purpose in some late Treatises, one whereof goes under the Name of James, Archbishop of Armagh." While the controversy was at its height, Milton's pen had no rest, and he soon came out with a third pamphlet, "Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus." In the first months of 1642 he published, near the time when the king gave his assent to the bill excluding bishops from the House of Lords, the fourth of his pamphlets on this subject, now first setting his name upon the title-page. This was "The Reason of Church Government urg'd against Prelaty, by Mr. John Milton: In Two Books." His fifth pamphlet came soon afterward, "An Apology against a Pamphlet call'd A Modest Confutation of the Animadversions of the Remonstrant against Smectymnuus."

Five pamphlets within a year had now represented Milton's part in the argument upon Episcopacy, and he had delivered his mind on the subject. In his fourth pamphlet, Milton expressed his spirit, as a writer, in the midst of strife on questions of this kind.

The duty was burdensome. "For, surely, to every good and peaceable man, it must in nature needs be a hateful thing to be the displeaser and molester of thousands; much better would it like him doubtless to be the messenger of gladness and contentment, which is his chief intended business to all mankind, but that they resist and oppose their own true happiness. But when God commands to take the trumpet and blow a dolorous or a jarring blast, it lies not in man's will what he shall say, or what he shall conceal. . . . For me, I have determined to lay up, as the best treasure and solace of a good old age, if God vouchsafe it me, the honest liberty of free speech from my youth, where I shall think it available in so dear a concernment as the church's good." If the end of the struggle be oppression of the church, how shall he bear in his old age the reproach of the voice within himself, saying, "When time was, thou couldst not find a syllable of all that thou hadst read or studied to utter in her behalf? Yet ease and leisure was given thee for thy retired thoughts out of the sweat of other men. Thou hadst the diligence, the parts, the language of a man, if a vain subject were to be adorned or beautified; but when the cause of God and His Church was to be pleaded, for which purpose that tongue was given thee which thou hast, God listened if He could hear thy voice among His zealous servants, but thou wert dumb as a beast; from henceforward be that which thine own brutish silence hath made thee." In this spirit Milton maintained throughout his prose writing that which he believed to be the cause of liberty. Were he wise only to his own ends, he said, he would write with leisurely care upon such a subject as of itself might catch applause, and "should not choose this manner of writing, wherein knowing myself inferior to myself, led by the genial power of nature to another task, I have the use, as I may account, but of my left hand." Many a man of genial temper and predominating gentleness of life has gone as a soldier into battle, and struck death about him without stopping to discriminate the true merits of those whose skulls he cleft. He knew only that one of two sides was to prevail, and while the battle raged he was to do his duty as a soldier. In bloodless war of controversy for a vital cause, where the appeal is on a few broad questions to national opinion, there may be like need to beat roughly down opposing arguments, to roll in the dust and march over the credit of opposing reasoners, without staying a blow to an opponent's credit as a reasoner from just consideration of his feelings and impartial weighing of his merits. The day may come when we shall all argue with philosophical precision, and call equal attention to the merits and the faults of those over whom we struggle to prevail. It certainly is nearer than it was in Milton's time. Controversy then was simply a strong wrestle, with the single desire in each wrestler to secure the fall of his antagonist. So Milton wrestled, and gave many a rough hug with his intellectual arm, but he sought only the triumph of his cause by strife of mind with mind: his antagonists opposed to him argument rough as his own, with coarse abuse; and their supporters, when they could, had argued with the prison and the pillory. But Milton never called for pains and penalties on an opponent.

The next subject of controversy in which Milton engaged was that relating to divorce,—a subject pressed upon his attention by his own unfortunate marriage. It was in May or

June, 1643, that he married his first wife, Mary Powell, of a Royalist family with which Milton had long been intimate. She was then in her eighteenth year, and he was almost thirty-five. Her experience was of a Cavalier country gentleman's way of free housekeeping and social enjoyment. The philosophic calm of the house in Aldersgate Street was new to her, and at first irksome. Milton's young wife was allowed or encouraged by her family to fly from the first difficulty. "By the time," says Milton's nephew, "she had for a month or thereabout led a philosophical life, her friends, possibly incited by her own desire, made earnest suit by letter to have her company the remaining part of the summer." She was to return at Michaelmas, but did not. Milton sought in vain to win back his wife; and having nothing of matrimony but its chain, his mind was left to pursue its course of thought upon the bond of marriage. Already, in August, 1643, he had published his treatise in two books on "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce," addressed to the Parliament and the Westminster Assembly then sitting, written wholly without passion or personal reference, and arguing from a pure and spiritual sense of marriage as a bond for the mutual aid and comfort of souls rather than of bodies. He asked that among reforms then under discussion there might be included a revisal of the canon law, which allowed divorce only on grounds less valid than "that indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind, arising from a cause in nature unchangeable, hindering, and ever likely to hinder, the main benefits of conjugal society, which are solace and peace." When marriage was found to be rather an unconquerable hindrance than a help to the true ends of life, Milton desired that it might be ended by deliberate consent of both husband and wife, religiously, in presence of the church. Right or wrong in opinion, Milton wrote this treatise in no spirit of bitterness. His last words in it are: "That God the Son hath put all other things under His own feet, but His commandments he hath left all under the feet of Charity." In a second pamphlet, published in the next year, 1644, Milton supported his case by translating and abridging the like opinions of Martin Bucer from a book of his on "The Kingdom of

Christ," addressed to Edward VI. This pamphlet was addressed also to the Parliament, as "The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce." To these, in the year 1645, he added two other pamphlets in reply to objections that had been made to his doctrine of divorce: "Tetrachordon," and "Colasterion." And, thus, upon the subject of divorce, also, Milton had now said what he had to say.

But in 1644, the year in which Milton began his publications on that subject, he addressed to the Parliament another writing, which is the noblest of his English prose-works: "Areopagitica; a Speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of Vnlicenc'd Printing, to the Parlament of England." John Selden had said in Parliament, in 1628, "There is no law to prevent the printing of any books in England; only a decree of the Star Chamber." But the Long Parliament, which had abolished the Star Chamber, set up a Committee of Examinations for control of printers, search for books and pamphlets disapproved by them, and seizure of the persons by whom such works were published or sold; and on the 14th of June, 1643, the Lords and Commons ordered the publication of their ordinance "for the regulating of printing, and for suppressing the great late abuses and frequent disorders in printing many false, scandalous, seditious, libellous, and unlicensed pamphlets, to the great defamation of religion and government." Milton met this by publishing, in November, 1644, a noble protest, as his plea for liberty of thought and utterance.

> "Why," he asked, "should we then affect a rigor contrary to the manner of God and of Nature, by abridging or scanting those means, which books freely permitted are, both to the trial of virtue and the exercise of truth." "And though all the windes of doctrin were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licencing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falshood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the wors, in a free and open encounter. Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing. . . . When a man hath bin labouring the hardest labour in the deep mines of knowledge, hath furnisht out his findings in all their equipage, drawn forth his reasons as it were a battel raung'd, scatter'd and defeated all objections in his way, calls out his adversary into the plain, offers him the advantage of wind and sun, if he please, only that he may try the matter by dint of argument, for his opponents then to sculk, to lay

ambushments, to keep a narrow bridge of licencing where the challenger should passe, though it be valour enough in shouldiership, is but weaknes and cowardise in the wars of Truth. For who knows not that Truth is strong next to the Almighty; she needs no policies, no strategems, no licencings to make her victorious; those are the shifts and the defences that error uses against her power." In this little book, Milton uttered nobly his own soul and the soul of England on behalf of that free interchange of thought which Englishmen, permitted or not, have always practised, and by which they have labored safely forward as a nation.

Milton published also, in 1644, his short letter on "Education," addressed to Samuel Hartlib.

In 1645, Milton's wife, alarmed by the probability that he would put into practice his theory of divorce, returned to him, and was forgiven; and for the subsequent four years, Milton took no part in public controversies. He was living the life of a quiet scholar, and was writing his "History of Britain," when the execution of Charles I., Jan. 30, 1649, raised, not only before England, but before the civilized world, questions in the discussion of which Milton's learning, and logic, and eloquence were needed. Within a month after the death of the king, Milton published his "Tenure of Kings and Magistrates," which he began to write during the struggle between the Presbyterians and Independents. The Presbyterians brought Charles to the block, and the Independents executed him. The Presbyterians sought mastery over the Independents by separating themselves from the act. As a Royalist said, their grief was "that the head was not struck off to the best advantage and commodity of them that held it by the hair." Since the deed was done, Milton's desire was that it should not have been done in vain, but that it should be held to signify what was for him the central truth of the great struggle; that the chief magistrate of a nation, whatever he be called, has no power to dispense with laws which are the birthright of the people; that he is bound to govern in accordance with them, is himself under them, and answerable for the breach of them. Milton sought to give to so momentous an act its true interpretation, as a violent expression of the principle towards which the question of the limit of authority was tending, the principle that, forty years later, was to be finally established at the Revolution.

This principle, the essence of the struggle, was what Milton kept in mind, and for this, throughout his prose-writing under the Commonwealth, he sought chiefly to win assent from wise and simple. He "wrote nothing," he said in a later book, "respecting the regal jurisdiction, till the king, proclaimed an enemy by the Senate, and overcome in arms, was brought captive to his trial and condemned to suffer death. . . . Neither did I then direct my argument or persuasion personally against Charles; but, by the testimony of many of the most eminent divines, I proved what course of conduct might lawfully be observed towards tyrants in general. . . . This work was not published till after the death of the king; and was written rather to tranquillize the minds of men than to discuss any part of the question respecting Charles, a question the decision of which belonged to the magistrates, and not to me, and which had now received its final determination."

Early in 1649, Milton also published "Observations upon the Articles of Peace with the Irish Rebels."

These two works had been published, when the Council of State called upon Milton to write an answer to "Eikon Basilike," which was producing a powerful impression on the public. Later in the same year, Milton's answer came, entitled "Eikonoklastes." In his preface Milton said, "I take it on me as a work assign'd rather than by me chosen or affected, which was the cause both of beginning it so late, and finishing it so leisurely in the midst of other employments and diversions." He treated the book as the king's, and said, "As to the author of these soliloquies, whether it were undoubtedly the late king, as is vulgarly believ'd, or any secret coadjutor, and some stick not to name him, it can add nothing, nor shall take from the weight, if any be, of reason which he brings." It was a time for forbearance, but if the king left this new appeal behind him to truth and the world, the adversaries of his cause were compelled "to meet the force of his reason in any field whatsoever, the force and equipage of whose arms they have so often met victoriously." Milton accordingly replied, section by section, to each of the twenty-eight parts of the "Eikon Basilike."

ENGLISH LITERATURE.

SECOND HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

POETS.

John Milton.
Edmund Waller.
Abraham Cowley.
Henry Vaughan.
Sir William Davenant.
Earl of Roscommon.
Earl of Dorset.
Earl of Mulgrave.
Catherine Philips.
Nahum Tate.
George Stepney.
Thomas Creech.
Richard Duke.
John Pomfret.
John Dryden.

SATIRISTS.

Samuel Butler.
Andrew Marvell.
Samuel Pordage.
Earl of Rochester.
John Oldham.
Sir Samuel Garth.
William King.
Thomas Brown.
John Dryden.

DRAMATISTS.

Sir William Davenant.
Thomas Killigrew.
Sir Charles Sedley.
Duke of Buckingham.
Sir George Etherege.
Thomas Shadwell.
Elkanah Settle.
John Crowne.
Nathaniel Lee.
Thomas Otway.
Aphra Behn.
Sir Robert Howard.
Edward Howard.
Thomas D'Urfey.
William Wycherley.
William Congreve.
Sir John Vanbrugh.
George Farquhar.
Thomas Southern.
George Granville.
John Dryden.

CRITICS.

Thomas Rymer.
William Walsh.
John Dryden.

SCHOLARS, PHILOSOPHERS, AND MEN OF SCIENCE.

Thomas Hobbes.
James Harrington.
Robert Boyle.
Robert Hooke.
John Ray.
Thomas Sprat.
Thomas Sydenham.
Sir Thomas Browne.
Elias Ashmole.
Sir Kenelm Digby.
Sir Isaac Newton.
Thomas Mun.
Sir Josiah Child.
Sir William Petty.
Algernon Sidney.
Izaak Walton.
Ralph Cudworth.
John Locke.

HISTORIANS, BIOGRAPHERS, DIARISTS, AND ESSAYISTS.

Lord Clarendon.
Samuel Pepys.
John Aubrey.
Anthony à Wood.
Gilbert Burnet.
Roger North.
John Strype.
Humphrey Prideaux.
John Evelyn.
Sir William Temple.
Marchmont Needham.
Sir Roger L'Estrange.
Jeremy Collier.
Gerard Langbaine.

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS WRITERS.

John Bunyan.
Richard Baxter.
John Howe.
George Fox.
Robert Barclay.
William Penn.
Sir George Mackenzie.
Isaac Barrow.
John Tillotson.
Robert Leighton.
William Beveridge.
Samuel Parker.
Thomas Ken.
George Morley.
William Sherlock.
Robert South.
Edward Stillingfleet.
Thomas Tenison.

CHAPTER VIII.

SECOND HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: POETS, WITS, AND DRAMATISTS.

1. John Milton; his Life and Writings from the Year 1650.—2. Beginning of the Era of French Literary Influence in England.—3. The New Criticism; Thomas Rymer.—4. Edmund Waller.—5. Abraham Cowley; Henry Vaughan.—6. Samuel Butler.—7. Andrew Marvel.—8. Sir William Davenant.—9. Dryden's Earlier Contemporaries.—10. Thomas Killigrew; Sir Charles Sedley.—11. Buckingham.—12. Dorset; Rochester.—13. Roscommon.—14. Mulgrave.—15. Thomas D'Urfey.—16. Sir George Etherege.—17. Samuel Pordage.—18. Thomas Shadwell.—19. Elkanah Settle.—20. John Crowne.—21. Nathaniel Lee.—22. Thomas Otway.—23. Aphra Behn.—24. Catherine Philips.—25. John Dryden's Life and Writings.—26. Dryden's Later Contemporaries; William Wycherley.—27. William Congreve.—28. John Vanbrugh.—29. George Farquhar.—30. Thomas Southern.—31. John Oldham.—32. Nahum Tate.—33. George Stepney.—34. Thomas Creech; Richard Duke.—35. Samuel Garth.—36. John Pomfret; William Walsh; William King; Thomas Brown; George Granville.

1. Milton had been appointed Foreign Secretary to the Council of the Commonwealth, when, late in the year 1649, appeared a book, written in Latin, with the royal arms of England on its title-page, and entitled "Salmasius's Royal Defence of Charles I., addressed to his legitimate heir, Charles II." The author was Claude Salmasius, one of the most renowned scholars in Europe; and his book was an artful and powerful arraignment of the people of England for the crime of murdering their king.

Milton was called upon by the Council of State to reply to Salmasius. His health was already weak, the sight of his left eye already gone, and he was told he would lose his eyesight altogether if he undertook this labor. But to maintain before Europe in Latin, as he had maintained before his countrymen in English, what was for him, and, as he believed, for England, the living truth involved in the great struggle, with all its passions and misdeeds, was the next duty in his intellectual war.

Milton wrote his "Defence of the People of England," and the sight of the remaining eye then gradually vanished. Yet he said, in a sonnet to his old pupil, Cyriac Skinner, — for Milton loved alike those who had taught him and those whom he had taught, —

"Yet I argue not
Against Heaven's hand or will, nor bate a jot
Of heart or hope, but still bear up and steer
Right onward. What supports me, dost thou ask?
The conscience, friend, to have lost them overplied
In Liberty's defence, my noble task,
Of which all Europe rings from side to side.
This thought might lead me through the world's vain masque,
Content, though blind, had I no better guide."

His "Defence for the People of England" was published early in 1651, and is, above all things, Milton's argument for the responsibility of kings against the theory of their divine right to an absolute command over their subjects. Salmasius said, "As to the pretended pact between a king and his subjects, certainly there is none in kingdoms born of force of arms, as almost all existing kingdoms are;" and he thought it simply ridiculous to say, as the English did, that a king was the minister and servant of his people, and waged not his own wars, but theirs. Milton wrote to convince the many and the few. To the thinkers the great body of argument was addressed; for them he appealed out of his own highest nature to their highest sense of right; but he satisfied the many, too, by blending with his answer vigorous combat of the kind that alone would win attention from the thoughtless. He not only cast back the contumelies of Salmasius against the English people, but scorned an advocacy that, upon a question of the welfare of humanity, was on a vital point, not what the writer thought, but what he had agreed to say. He trusted still to the fair battle of thought. At the end of the preface to his reply he said, "And I would entreat the illustrious States of Holland to take off their prohibition, and suffer the book to be publicly sold; for when I have detected the vanity, ignorance, and falsehood that it is full of, the farther it spreads the more effectually it will be suppressed." In the noble close to his "Defence," Milton urged on the people of England that they must themselves refute their adversary, by a constant endeavor to outdo all men's bad words with their own good deeds. God had heard their prayers, but now, he said, you must show "as great justice, temperance, and moderation in the maintaining your liberty as you have shown courage in freeing yourselves from slavery."

This book first gave to Milton European reputation, and was commonly regarded as a complete victory over Salmasius. But in the next year, 1652, appeared "The Cry of Royal Blood to Heaven against the English Parricides," reputed to have been written by one Alexander Morus, a Scotch divine of doubtful character, actually written by one Pierre Dumoulin, a Frenchman, who was afterwards made prebendary of Canterbury. Salmasius, who had avowed his purpose of replying to Milton, died in 1653.

Milton's rejoinder to this second attack forms his "Second Defence for the People of England," published in 1654. He calls Cromwell "father of his country," and earnestly admonishes him that his country has intrusted to his hands her freedom. In the duties before him there are, said Milton, difficulties to which those of war are child's play. He must not suffer that liberty for which he encountered so many perils to sustain any violence at his own hands, or any from those of others; and he must look for counsel to men who had shared his dangers, "men of the utmost moderation, integrity, and valor; not rendered savage or austere by the sight of so much bloodshed and of so many forms of death; but inclined to justice, to the reverence of the Deity, to a sympathy with human suffering, and animated for the preservation of liberty with a zeal strengthened by the hazards which for its sake they have encountered." Of his countrymen during the struggle they had gone through, Milton says here: "No illusions of glory, no extravagant emulation of the ancients, influenced them with a thirst for ideal liberty; but the rectitude of their lives and the sobriety of their habits taught them the only true and safe road to real liberty; and they took up arms only to defend the sanctity of the laws and the rights of conscience." Of himself he says: "No one ever knew me either soliciting any thing myself or through my friends. I usually kept myself secluded at home, where my own property, part of which had been withheld during the civil commotions, and part of which had been absorbed in the oppressive contributions which I had to sustain, afforded me a scanty subsistence."

In 1654, gradual loss of sight in the remaining eye ended in Milton's complete blindness. The disease was not in the eyes themselves, which remained unimpaired, but in the nerve of sight; its exciting cause was exhaustion of nervous power by excessive use of his eyes in study from childhood.

The Commonwealth, held together by the might of Cromwell, fell after his death. His amiable son Richard called a Parliament which vanished before the power of the army, and Richard Cromwell passed from the Protectorate to private life. He lived to see the Revolution, and he died a country gentleman in 1712. The attempt to revive the Long Parliament as a central authority failed also to restrain the army. George Monk marched out of Scotland to subdue, as he said, the military tyranny in England, but it was soon evident that there was no hopeful way out of the discord but a restoration of the monarchy.

In these days John Milton, first fearing predominance of the Presbyterians, had addressed to the Parliament called by Richard Cromwell "A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes," showing that it is not lawful for any power on earth to compel in matters of religion. To the revived Long Parliament, which succeeded the short-lived Parliament called by Richard Cromwell, Milton addressed "Considerations touching the Likeliest Means to Remove Hirelings out of the Church," in which he argued that each pastor should be maintained by his own flock. On the 20th of October, 1659, Milton wrote "A Letter to a Friend concerning the Ruptures of the Commonwealth." A few months later he published a pamphlet called "The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth, and the Excellence thereof compared with the Inconveniences and Dangers of Readmitting Kingship in this Nation." He urged, to the last moment of hope, the first principles of what he said is not called amiss "the good old cause;"

adding, "Thus much I should perhaps have said, though I was sure I should have spoken only to trees and stones, and had none to cry to but, with the prophet, 'O Earth, Earth, Earth!' to tell the very soil itself what her perverse inhabitants are deaf to. Nay, though what I have spoke should happen (which Thou suffer not who didst create mankind free, nor Thou next who didst redeem us from being servants of men!) to be the last words of our expiring liberty."

At the Restoration, in 1660, Milton withdrew from danger to a friend's house in Bartholomew Close, while his prosecution was voted by the Commons, and his "Iconoclastes" and "Defence of the People of England" were ordered to be burnt by the hangman It is said that his brother-poet, Sir William Davenant, a Royalist, who had been befriended by Milton in Cromwell's time, now saved Milton from being placed among the exceptions to the Act of Oblivion passed on the 30th of August. Milton was nevertheless arrested; but his release was ordered by the House of Commons on the 15th of December, and he appealed against the excessive fees charged for his imprisonment. For about a year he lived in Holborn, near Red Lion Square. In 1662 he was in Jewin Street; and subsequently he removed to a small house in Artillery Walk, by Bunhill Fields, his home for the rest of his life. In 1662, he married for the third time. His first wife, Mary Powell, had died, probably in 1652, leaving him three daughters. He had married a second time in 1656; but this marriage, which was a happy one, had ended after a duration of fifteen months, by the death of the wife. At the time of his third marriage, Milton was fifty-four years of age; his wife was about twenty; his eldest daughter, Anne, was sixteen; his second daughter, Mary, was fifteen; and Deborah, his youngest, ten. Milton's home life was simple. He rose at four in summer, five in winter, heard a chapter of the Hebrew Bible, and was left till seven in meditation. After breakfast he listened to reading and dictated till noon. From twelve to one he walked, or took exercise in a swing. At one he dined; then until six he was occupied with music, books, and composition. From six to eight he gave to social chat with friends who came to visit him. His youngest daughter, Deborah, said of Milton, many years after his death, "that he was delightful company; the life of the conversation, not only on account of his flow of subject, but of his unaffected cheerfulness and civility." At eight Milton supped, then smoked a pipe, and went to bed at nine.

One of those who read to him was a young Quaker, **Thomas Ellwood.** "The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood . . . Written by his Own Hand," is a most interesting record of personal incidents in the reign of Charles II. Ellwood says that during the plague, in 1665, Milton took a house in the country, at Chalfont St. Giles, where one day the young Quaker paid him a visit. "After some common discourses had passed between us, he called for a manuscript of his, which, being brought, he delivered to me, bidding me take it home with me and read it at my leisure, and when I had so done return it to him with my judgment thereupon. When I came home, and had set myself to read it, I found it was that excellent poem which he entitled 'Paradise Lost.' After I had, with the best attention, read it through, I made him another visit, and returned him his book, with due acknowledgment of the favor he had done me in communicating it to me. He asked me how I liked it, and what I thought of it, which I modestly but freely told him; and, after some further discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, 'Thou hast said much here of Paradise Lost, but what hast thou to say of Paradise Found?' He made me no answer, but sat some time in a muse; then brake off that discourse, and fell upon another subject. After the sickness was over, and the city well cleansed and become safely habitable again, he returned thither. And when afterwards I went to wait on him there (which I seldom failed of doing whenever my occasions drew me to London), he showed me his second poem, called 'Paradise Regained,' and in a pleasant tone said to me, 'This is owing to you; for you put it into my head by the question you put to me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of.'" It is still the same John Milton, sociable and kindly to the last. "Paradise Lost," then, was finished before the end of 1665; and "Paradise Regained" probably was written before April 27, 1667, the date of Milton's agreement with Samuel Simmons to sell him the copyright of "Paradise Lost" for five pounds, with conditional payment of another five pounds when thirteen hundred copies had been sold, and of another five pounds after the sale of thirteen hundred copies of the second edition, and of the third — each edition to be of not more than fifteen hundred. Milton received altogether in his lifetime ten pounds for "Paradise Lost;" and his widow received eight pounds for her remaining interest in the copyright. The poem, divided at first into ten books, was well printed in a little quarto volume, price three shillings. It was without preface or note of any kind, and had no "Arguments" before the books. It was simply "Paradise Lost: a Poem written in Ten Books by John Milton," and published in 1667.

Dryden was among the visitors of the companionable poet in his later years; and in the preface to his "Fables," Dryden wrote: "Milton is the poetical son of Spenser. Milton has confessed to me that Spenser was his original." Spenser and Milton, indeed, have a distinct relation to each other as combatants on the same side in the same battle at two different points. Each, with his own marked individuality, expressed also, as a representative Englishman, the life of his own time. Different as their two great poems are in form and structure, there is likeness in the difference; for the "Faery Queen," in which all qualities of mind and soul are striving heavenward, was a religious allegory on the ways of men to God. "Paradise Lost" was designed to approach the national religion from the other side, and show the relation, justify the ways, of God to men. Milton furnished his epic with sublime machinery, after the manner of Homer and Virgil, by taking from the Fathers of the church the doctrine of angels and archangels, and the story of the fall of Lucifer, which had from old time been associated with the Scripture narrative. The use of this machinery, and that of the archangels, enabled Milton to place Adam on earth between the powers of heaven and hell, and represent the contest vividly to the imagination. To represent the unseen by new combinations of the seen was inevitable. It is simply impossible to describe that of which no man has ever had experience on earth. Therefore Raphael tells Adam:

"What surmounts the reach
Of human sense I shall delineate so,
By likening spiritual to corporal forms,
As may express them best; though what if earth
Be but the shadow of heaven, and things therein
Each to other like, more than on earth is thought?"

Milton's poetry shows deep traces of his study of Plato; and this last question enables the mind of the reader to pass from admission that new combinations of the known must represent the unknown, through philosophic thought, into a livelier acceptance of the narrative so prefaced.

The poem, as we now have it in twelve books, falls naturally into three equal parts. We begin in the midst of the story. In the first four books, Heaven, Earth, and Hell are opened to the imagination, and man is placed at his creation between the contending powers of good and evil. The next four books contain Raphael's narrative of the Past, through which we learn the events that concerned man before Adam was created. In the last four books we have the Fall and its consequence, with Michael's vision of the Future. This includes the Redemption of Man, and the whole dealing of God with him through Christ:

"Now amplier known, thy Saviour and thy Lord:
Last, in the clouds, from heaven to be revealed
In glory of the Father, to dissolve
Satan with his perverted world; then raise
From the conflagrant mass, purged and refined,
New heavens, new earth, ages of endless date,
Founded in righteousness, and peace, and love;
To bring forth fruits, joy and eternal bliss."

"Paradise Lost" is not to be judged prosaically by the standard of each reader's personal opinion on points of faith. It is the religion of its time, intensely Biblical, and deals only with great features of national theology. Milton's chief argument for divine justice is in answer to the questions: "Why was man permitted to fall?" and, "Man having fallen, how has God dealt with him?" The answer to the first question came from

Milton's soul: God made man free. Man made a wrong use of his freedom; but had he been formed capable only of choosing one of two courses, he would have had no choice, no liberty, no use of reason. The spirit of Milton's answer to the second question is expressed in the words of Adam:

> "O goodness infinite, goodness immense!
> That all this good of evil shall produce,
> And evil turn to good; more wonderful
> Than that which by creation first brought forth
> Light out of darkness! Full of doubt I stand,
> Whether I should repent me now of sin
> By me done and occasion'd; or rejoice
> Much more, that much more good thereof shall spring;
> To God more glory, more good-will to men
> From God, and over wrath Grace shall abound."

Not unwilling to dwell on this theme, Milton, in the four books of "Paradise Regained," represented in another form the contest of Christ with the Power of Evil, by taking for his subject the Temptation in the Wilderness. But this is no sequel to "Paradise Lost," which, including the whole reach of time, began and ended in infinity. The reader whose form of religion is not Milton's may find its spirit at the heart of "Paradise Lost" in the predominant conviction that God is supreme in wisdom and beneficence, and the resolve to draw for himself and his countrymen this truth of truths out of the national theology. "Paradise Lost" repays long and close study of the distribution of its parts, the subtle skill of its transitions, the blending of sweet echoes from the noblest wisdom of the past with the fresh thought of a poet who can approach the Mount of God, hymning His praise, can make the hollow deep resound with bold defiance of Omnipotence, can sing with tender grace of Eve in Paradise, and out of his own innocence can speak her purity. Milton's precision in the use of words, conspicuous in his early poems, fills "Paradise Lost" with subtle delicacies of expression. Thus, when it is asked in hell who shall cross the dark unbottomed infinite abyss to the new world,

> "Upborne with indefatigable wings
> Over the vast abrupt, ere he arrive
> The happy isle;"

familiar as we are with books in which we had better not look at each word with all our understanding, we may not stay to observe that "arrive" strictly means "come to the shores of." So Chaucer said of his Knight:

"In the greete see
At many a noble arrive hadde he be."

Among passages in "Paradise Lost" interesting for their relation to the life and times of Milton are the reference to his blindness in the opening of Bk. III., ll. 1–55; the reference to hirelings in Bk. IV., ll. 183–193; and the reference to the evil days on which he had fallen, in Bk. VII., ll. 1–39.

In 1674, seven years after its first publication, Milton published the second edition of "Paradise Lost," almost without change beyond the placing of the Arguments before the books, and changing the number of the books from ten to twelve, by dividing what had been the seventh and tenth books into those which are now the seventh and eighth, eleventh and twelfth. There is all the grace of his youth in Milton's manner of introducing these new breaks. Raphael's narrative of the seven days of creation is in the seventh book. In the first edition the discourse now in the eighth book followed without break, the lines running together thus:

"If else thou seek'st
Aught not surpassing human measure, say.
To whom thus Adam gratefully replied."

Milton did not make his break by simply writing "Book VIII.," but made a poet's pause by this fresh opening:

"The angel ended, and in Adam's ear
So charming left his voice, that he awhile
Thought him still speaking, still stood fix'd to hear;
Then, as new wak'd, thus gratefully replied."

The first five lines of Book XII. were added for the same good reason.

In November of the same year in which he brought out the second edition of "Paradise Lost," Milton died, aged sixty-six. Three years before that, in 1671, while the town was being amused by the buffooneries of the stage, he published not only "Paradise Regained," but his austere and noble drama, "Samson Agonistes." There is a double sense in the word Agonistes. It may mean a striver in actual contest, or a striver in games for the amusement of the people. Samson was both. Milton, at last working out his early notion of a sacred drama moulded on those of the Greek tragedians, took for his theme Samson as a type of the maintainers of what Milton knew as "the good old cause" in England. Their party was now as Samson, blind, powerless, the scorn of the Philistines of Charles II.'s court. Samson was called to make them sport, was for them Agonistes in the second sense, while for himself and God true striver; and he would yet prevail. Although the mockers had the mastery to-day, God was not mocked. The drama closely followed the Greek model, even in the construction of its choruses, which had only a few rhymes interspersed among their carefully constructed metres. In nearly all the poetry of this last period of Milton's life, the grandeur of the poet's thought and his supreme skill in the use of language caused him almost wholly to put aside the ornaments of rhyme — "invention," as he now called it, "of a barbarous age, to set off wretched matter and lame metre." Samson's lament for his blindness (ll. 67–109) could, of course, be realized by the blind poet. He blended with his argument a thought of his own temperate life ending in pains of gout, the scourge of the luxurious, when the chorus gave dramatic expression (ll. 667–709) to the question of God's dealings with the nation and with many a true Agonistes of the Commonwealth; not

> "Heads without name no more remember'd,
> But such as thou hast solemnly elected,
> With gifts and graces eminently adorn'd,
> To some great work, thy glory,
> And people's safety, which in part they effect;
> Yet toward these thus dignified, thou oft
> Amidst their highth of noon
> Changest thy countenance, and thy hand, with no regard
> Of highest favors past
> From thee on them, or them to thee of service."

They are left open to the hostile sword,

> "Or else captiv'd,
> Or to th' unjust tribunals under change of times,
> And condemnation of th' ungrateful multitude.
> If these they 'scape, perhaps in poverty
> With sickness and disease thou bow'st them down—
> Painful diseases, and deform'd,
> In crude old age:
> Though not disordinate, yet causeless suffering
> The punishment of dissolute days."

But the doubt is expressed only like the doubt in Lycidas:

> "Were it not better done as others use,
> To sport with Amaryllis in the shade?"

expressed, because the answer is to follow in the last lines of the play. And they were Milton's last words as a poet:

> "All is best, though we oft doubt
> What the unsearchable dispose
> Of Highest Wisdom brings about,
> And ever best found in the close.
> Oft He seems to hide his face,
> But unexpectedly returns;
> And to his faithful champion hath in place
> Bore witness gloriously; whence Gaza mourns,
> And all that band them to resist
> His uncontrollable intent:
> His servants He, with new acquist
> Of true experience from this great event,
> With peace and consolation hath dismiss'd,
> And calm of mind, all passion spent."

In 1673, the year before his death, there was a second and enlarged edition—only the second edition—twenty-eight years after the first, of Milton's "Poems both Latin and English." In the same year he published one more prose tract upon a question of the day, "Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism, and Toleration." The Duke of York, heir to the throne, was a Roman Catholic. Protestant England looked with dread to his succession, and the argument over Catholicism was again active. Milton pleaded still for perfect liberty of conscience, but held that the Roman Catholics, by maintaining a foreign despotism that weighed alike on civil and religious liberty, shut themselves out from a full toleration. He would not have civil penalties inflicted on them, but he shared the common dread of their predominance, and wished to restrain them where that could be done without denying them what they thought necessary to salvation.

2. Upon the death of Milton, "the great Elizabethan age of imaginative poetry" had said its last word; and fully fourteen years before his death, the spirit of literature had undergone a total change in England. With the Restoration of Charles II. begins the period of French influence upon English literature, — an influence that was not effectually broken until the time of the French Revolution, one hundred and thirty years afterward. The literary influence of France, we should have felt sooner if we had been less intent upon our own affairs during the civil wars and Commonwealth; for the foundations of it were laid while Charles I. was our king. Precisely what was the literary influence of France upon England may be best gathered from a glance at Boileau's "Art of Poetry" ("L'Art Poétique"), in which, though it did not appear until 1672, are expressed the genius and the limitations of French literature at this time. Its four cantos embodied the main doctrine of Boileau, the Poet of Good Sense. In idea and execution it was inspired by Horace's "Art of Poetry;" but its polished maxims, applied specially to French poetry, are more systematically arranged. The order of its cantos is: — 1. General rules, with a short digression on the history of French poetry from Villon to Malherbe. 2. Rules and characteristics of the eclogue, elegy, ode, sonnet, epigram, balade, madrigal, satire, and vaudeville. 3. Rules of tragedy, comedy, and epic. 4. General advice to poets on the use of their powers; choice of a critic; origin, rise, and decline of poetry; praise of Louis XIV. The critical shortcomings of this work, which may be said to have given the law for some years to French and English literature, nearly all proceed from a wholesome but too servile regard for the example of the ancient classic writers. The chief authors of Greece and Rome were to be as much the models of good literature as the Latin language was a standard of right speech. This led, indeed, to a sound contempt of empty trivialities, but it left the critic with faint powers of recognition for a Dante, a Shakespeare, or a Milton. Boileau was even hindered by it from perceiving how far Terence was surpassed by his friend Molière. His discipline thus tended obviously to the creation of an artificial taste for forms of correct writing, excellent in themselves, but as means of perfect expression better suited to the genius of the French than of the English people. He was a true Frenchman, and English writers erred by imitation even of his excellence, in adopting too readily for a nation Germanic in origin and language forms that harmonized better with the mind and language of a Latin race. But, at the same time, they shared with their neighbors the benefit of assent to the appeal in his "L'Art Poétique" on behalf of plain good sense against the faded extravagances of that period of Italian influence from which life and health had departed:

"Évitons ces excès. Laissons à l'Italie
De tous ces faux brillants l'éclatante folie.
Tout doit tendre au Bon Sens."

These lines declare the living spirit of the poem, in which, if we are to see only in one foremost work the altered temper of a generation, it may especially be said that the period of Italian influence ended, and French influence became supreme.

3. We are now, therefore, to find in English literature a rising race of critics who test every thing by Latin forms. The English must be, for dignity, as Latin as possible in structure, because so the French had determined. That was obedience to them in the letter, not in the spirit. In origin and structure, their language was chiefly Latin: they, therefore, other things being equal, preferred words of Latin origin. In origin and structure, our language is Teutonic; and had we really followed French example, we should, other things being equal, have preferred words of Teutonic origin. Critics now abounded in France, and an era of criticism, rather than of creation, was about to begin in England.

One of these new English critics was **Thomas Rymer**, born about 1638, educated at Cambridge and at Gray's Inn, who applied French laws to English literature, by publishing, early in 1678, "The Tragedies of the Last Age Consider'd and Examin'd by the Practice of the Ancients, and by the Common Sense of all Ages. In a Letter to Fleetwood Shepheard, Esq." The plays here suggested for criticism were Beaumont and Fletcher's "Rollo," "King and No King," and "Maid's Tragedy;" Shakespeare's "Othello" and "Julius Cæsar;" and Ben Jonson's "Catiline." But Rymer brought his letter to an end when he had criticised the three plays by Beaumont and Fletcher, and summed up with this opinion of the noblest epoch of dramatic literature in the world's history: "I have thought our poetry of the last age as rude as our architecture; one cause thereof might be, that Aristotle's treatise of poetry has been so little studied amongst us." Mr. Rymer reserved the discussion of the other plays, and said, "With the remaining tragedies I shall also send you some reflections on that 'Paradise Lost' of Milton's which some are pleas'd to call a poem, and assert rime against the slender sophistry wherewith he attacques it." Mr. Rymer called the poetry of times before the French influence came in "rude as our architecture." The new polite taste condemned also Gothic architecture, because it was not based on Greek or Roman models. St. Paul's Cathedral, at this time being rebuilt after the fire of London, is our noblest result of the classical Renaissance that in architecture began in the time of Charles I., and had Inigo Jones for its leader.

4. Upon passing into the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century we meet with several poets, who, like Milton, were but continuing literary labors which they had entered upon during the first half of that century. The most notable of these poets are Waller, Cowley, Butler, Marvell, and Davenant.

Edmund Waller was born in 1605, at Coleshill, Herts. His father died in his infancy, and left him an income of thirty-five hundred pounds a year; say, ten thousand in present value. His mother was John Hampden's sister. He was educated at Eton and Cambridge, entered Parliament when young, and soon became known at court as a poet. He added to his wealth by marrying a city heiress, who died in 1630, leaving Waller a gay courtier of five and twenty, writing verse-worship of the Earl of Leicester's eldest daughter, Lady Dorothea Sidney, as Sacharissa, and of another lady of the court, perhaps Lady Sophia Murray, as Amoret. The lady whom he took as second wife has no place in his verses. In the civil wars, Waller at first took part with his kinsman Hampden; but he opposed abolition of Episcopacy, showed good will to the king, spoke freely in the Parliament, — by which he was sent, in 1642, as one of the commissioners to the king at Oxford,—and, in 1643, plotted against it. He saved himself ignobly, and escaped, after a year's imprisonment, with a fine of ten thousand pounds and exile to France, where he lived chiefly at Rouen. He returned to England about 1653, and was received into favor by Cromwell, to whom the poet addressed a "Panegyric." On the return of Charles, he adapted himself with equal facility to the new order of things; wrote verses of welcome to the king; and in his love-songs and occasional work for the stage yielded easily to the shallow and ignoble fashions of the time. He died in 1687, aged eighty-two; and had then, and for a good while afterwards, a preposterous reputation as "the first refiner of English poetry."

5. **Abraham Cowley** was born in 1618, after the death of his father, who was a grocer in London. His mother, who lived to be eighty, struggled to educate him well: and he got his first impulse to poetry as a child from Spenser, whose works lay in his mother's parlor. His mother got him into Westminster School, where he wrote a pastoral comedy called "Love's Riddle;" and in his fifteenth year (in 1633) appeared Cowley's "Poetical Blossoms," with a portrait of the author at the age of thirteen, and including "The Tragical History of Pyramus and Thisbe," written at the age of ten, and "Constantia and Philetus," written at the age of twelve. In 1636 he went to Cambridge. In 1638 the play of "Love's Riddle," written at school, was published; and in 1639 a Latin comedy, "Naufragium Joculare," acted at Trinity College in that year. At the beginning of the civil war, Cowley's play of "The Guardian" was acted before the prince as he passed through Cambridge. In 1643, Abraham Cowley, M.A., ejected from Cambridge, went to St. John's College, Oxford, and wrote satire against the Puritans. He went afterwards with the queen to Paris, and was employed in ciphering and deciphering letters between her and the king. His love-poems appeared in 1647, under the title of "The Mistress." They are musical, ingenious, and free in tone, but strictly works of imagination. It is said that Cowley was in love but once, and that he was then too shy to tell his passion. He remained in France till 1656, and then

returned to England, was taken prisoner by messengers in search for another man, and released upon security given for him by a friend. He remained quietly in London till the death of Cromwell; published in 1656, in folio, the first edition of his "Works," declaring in the preface that his desire had been for some years past, and did still vehemently continue, to retire himself to some of the American plantations, and forsake this world forever. In 1657 he was made M.D. of Oxford; and with a poet's sense of the charm of science, he devoted himself to the study of botany. Dr. Cowley took a lively interest in the fellowship of men of science, and the best way of advancing scientific knowledge. At the death of Cromwell he returned to France, but upon the Restoration he came home again. He was neglected by the court, and owed his means of retirement to the good will of Lord St. Albans, whom he had served as secretary, and the Duke of Buckingham. His "Cutter of Coleman Street," which was his juvenile play of "The Guardian" in an altered form, was censured as a satire upon the king's party. He was also guilty of an ode in which Brutus was honored, and it is said that a request to the king for some recognition of his faithful service to the royal family in its adversity was met by Charles II. with the answer, "Mr. Cowley's pardon is his reward." He published in 1662 two books in Latin verse "Of Plants," which sang of herbs in the manner of the elegies by Ovid and Tibullus. Four other books were added: two upon flowers, in the various measures of Catullus and Horace; and two upon trees, in the manner of Virgil's "Georgics." The last book is patriotic and political. The British oak, in an assembly of the trees, enlarges upon the king's troubles and the beginning of the Dutch War. This work, "Plantarum, Libri VI.," was first published complete with Cowley's other Latin poems, in 1668. He translated two of Pindar's odes, the Second Olympic and the Third Nemean, turned into a Pindaric ode the thirty-fourth chapter of Isaiah, and wrote odes of his own in the same manner. He had a lively fancy and a generous mind, capable of real elevation of thought, although for high flight as a poet his wings were too much clogged with ornament. He died in July, 1667, the year of the publication of that "Annus Mirabilis" in which the writing even of Dryden still had traces of the Later Euphuism. But the Pindaric ode, as an imitation from the ancients, became one of the recognized forms of verse under the new influence. Neither Cowley nor any other of these new writers of Pindarics came near to Ben Jonson, whose noble "Pindaric Ode on the Death of Sir H. Morison" was true to the ancient model. But now, if a poet, bound by rule, and condemned to the heroic couplet as the safe classical measure, wished for a little liberty to be wilful in metre and audacious in thought, he could still be polite and classical by taking out his freedom under shadow of the name of a Pindaric ode.

Cowley remained true to his opinions on the great conflict of his time; but he had nothing in common with the intellectual foppery of the Restoration, or with the course of life at the court of Charles II. He passed, therefore, his last seven or eight years by the Thames, in "calm of mind, all passion spent," away from the stir of London, first at Barn-Elms, where he had a dangerous fever, and then at Chertsey. The wise thoughtfulness of these last years is shown by Cowley's "Essays in Verse and Prose." Although he was a man who found much pleasure in solitude, and is said often to have left the room when a woman entered, he animated these essays with the love of liberty in a social form. Solitude meant liberty to think. "The first Minister of State," said Cowley, "has not so much business in public as the wise man has in private." The private station, not in bonds to poverty nor under the restraints of artificial form, was his ideal of a freeman's life: "with so much knowledge and love of piety and philosophy (that is, of the study of God's laws and of his creatures) as may afford him matter enough never to be idle, though without business; and never to be melancholy, though without sin or vanity." And again:

"If life should a well-order'd poem be
(In which he only hits the white
Who joins true profit with the best delight),
The more heroic strain let others take,
Mine the Pindaric way I'll make;
The matter shall be grave, the numbers loose and free.
It shall not keep one settled pace of time,

In the same tune it shall not always chime,
Nor shall each day just to his neighbor rhyme.
A thousand liberties it shall dispense,
And yet shall manage all without offence
Or to the sweetness of the sound, or greatness of the sense."

One source of the charm of Cowley's Essays is that they came straight from the heart, and that there is this unity of thought in their variety of treatment. Whatever his theme — Liberty, or Solitude, or Obscurity, or Greatness, or Avarice, or the Dangers of an Honest Man in Much Company, or the Shortness of Life and the Uncertainty of Riches, or Nature in the Fields and in the Garden, or if he was only giving verse translation of Claudian's "Old Man of Verona," Horace's "Country Mouse," or those lines from the second book of Virgil's "Georgics" which begin "O fortunatos nimium," or Martial's "Vis fieri liber?" — the theme is always one, — Peace in the form of life which gives the highest Freedom to fit use of a full mind.

Henry Vaughan (b. 1621; d. 1695) studied at Oxford, and spent his life as a physician in Wales. His published writings are "Poems, with the Tenth Satire of Juvenal Englished," 1646; "Silex Scintillans," 1650; "Olor Iscanus," 1651; "The Mount of Olives," 1652; "Flores Solitudinis," 1654; and "Thalia Rediviva, The Pastimes and Diversions of a Country Muse," 1678.

6. In excuse for the king's indifference to Cowley, it may be said that as there was no possible accord in the vibration of the two minds, one could get no tone out of the other. Why, then, did Charles also neglect **Samuel Butler,** who aided the court party with lively jest against the Puritans, and was in much need of friendly patronage? Charles shone in shallow mimicry of earnest men, and could put all his mind into the telling of an idle story; he enjoyed ridicule of his adversaries, and he therefore found much to enjoy in "Hudibras." But it was the work of a man who labored and read, and who liked work. His Majesty liked sauntering through life. He preferred the company of Killigrew and men whose jests were idle; but even then he was apt to forget their faces if they were a week out of his sight, and Butler was too proud to stand in the throng of the court suitors. Samuel Butler was born in February, 1612, at Strensham, Worcestershire, the fifth of seven children of a small farmer, who had sent him to the college school at Worcester. He began life as clerk to a justice of the peace, Thomas Jefferies, of Earl's Croombe, and he then amused himself with music and painting. Probably at this time he compiled in law French a complete syllabus of "Coke upon Littleton;" there also existed in Butler's handwriting a French Dictionary, compiled and transcribed by him. Afterwards Butler came into the service of the Earl of Kent, at Wrest, in Bedfordshire. He was then about seventeen. Selden, acting as solicitor and steward to the family, employed Butler to write and translate for him. Here Butler had access to books, and must have been an active and attentive reader. After several years at Wrest, he passed into the service of Sir Samuel Luke, at Wood End, or Cople Hoo Farm, three miles from Bedford. Sir Samuel Luke was a wealthy man, justice of the peace, colonel in the army of the Parliament, and member for Bedfordshire in the Long Parliament. Sir Samuel Luke and his Puritan friends seem to have suggested to Butler his burlesque poem; indeed, Butler, in closing the first canto of his first part, indicated Sir Samuel Luke in a blank, when he made "Hudibras," preparing "to keep the peace 'twixt dog and bear," say:

"'Tis sung there is a valiant Mameluke
In foreign land, yclep'd —
To whom we have been oft compared
For person, parts, address, and beard;
Both equally reputed stout,
And in the same Cause both have fought.
He oft, in such attempts as these,
Came off with glory and success;
Nor will we fail in th' execution
For want of equal resolution."

After the Restoration, Butler was made secretary to Lord Carbery, and steward of Ludlow Castle; for Lord Carbery, Jeremy Taylor's friend, had become Lord President of Wales. In Ludlow Castle, Butler prepared for the press the first part of "Hudibras," which appeared in 1662. As a burlesque romance it is in the octosyllabic rhyme of our old metrical romances, with a frequent use of extra syllables for comic double and treble rhymes, like those which have kept alive the name of Alexander Ross:

> "There was an ancient sage philosopher
> That had read Alexander Ross over,
> And swore the world, as he could prove,
> Was made of fighting and of love."

So Butler, at the opening of "Hudibras," spoke of the times "when civic fury first grew high,"

> "And pulpit, drum ecclesiastic,
> Was beat with fist instead of a stick."

So of the stocks, described as a castle:

> "In all the fabric
> You shall not see one stone nor a brick."

Or the single rhyme could be made whimsically, as

> "If animal, both of us may
> As justly pass for bears as they;
> For we are animals no less,
> Although of different specieses."

The form of Butler's mock heroic was influenced by his reading of "Don Quixote," whom he quoted now and then. "Don Quixote" had been translated by Thomas Shelton, from an Italian version, and first published in two quarto volumes, in 1612 and 1620, afterwards in one folio volume, in 1652. Hudibras, on a horse clearly related to Rosinante, went "a colonelling" as a Presbyterian Quixote, and had his Sancho in Squire Ralpho, through whom Butler caricatured the Independents. In the debates between Hudibras and his squire, the points of difference between Presbyterians and Independents are touched lightly; and what story there is proceeds, in good romance fashion, no faster than Chaucer's "Sir Thopas." But the whimsical dialogues, descriptions, and turns of fancy that make up the poem, sparkle with keen wit applied incessantly to the real life and deeper thought of England in its day. The man of true genius never spends his energy on the mere outward fashions of his time. The story of the first part of the poem told how Sir Hudibras and Ralpho went forth to make an end of a bear-baiting, were drubbed in battle with the folk concerned in the bear-baiting, but were left, by the escape of the bear, masters of the field and of a one-legged fiddler, whom they carried off and put in the stocks. The escaped bear having been rescued, his friends came in search of the warriors, beset the house of Hudibras, and when he came out with Ralpho betimes in the morning, being stirred by a sense of victory to present himself with new hope to a disdainful widow who had goods and chattels, he was in trouble again, and finally vanquished in single combat by a woman. Trulla then claimed his arms, adorned him with her petticoat, caused Hudibras and Ralpho to be put in the stocks from which the one-legged fiddler was released. So they were left, Presbyterian and Independent, in high argument together about synods. There was no book so popular at court as "Hudibras" when it came out. The king quoted its couplets; Lord Clarendon hung Butler's portrait on his wall; it was, as Pepys records, the book most in fashion.

The second part, equally popular, appeared in 1664. Butler married, but not money. The king and court did nothing for him; and, according to one account, which has been disputed, he was saved from absolute starvation only by the liberality of a bencher of the Middle Temple, William Longueville, who at last paid for his funeral. The discredit of this neglect was felt by other men of genius who were Butler's contemporaries. Dryden, in asking for unpaid arrears of his own salary, wrote, "It is enough for one age to have neglected Mr. Cowley, and starved Mr. Butler." Otway, not long before he died in hunger, wrote in the prologue to a play:

> "Tell 'em how Spenser died, how Cowley mourned,
> How Butler's faith and service were returned."

And Oldham asked, "On Butler, who can think without just rage?" After publishing two parts of "Hudibras," Butler turned from his labor sick at heart. There was an interval of fourteen years, during which he lived in obscurity, before the third part appeared, in 1678; and he died in September, 1680.

7. Andrew Marvell, born in November, 1620, was son of a clergyman who was master of the Grammar School at Kingston-upon-Hull. He was sent at fourteen to Trinity College, Cambridge. He graduated as B.A. in 1638, and about 1642 went abroad, spending four years in foreign travel. After his return he was at Bilbrough, in Yorkshire, teaching languages to the only daughter of Lord Fairfax; and his first poems were upon the Hill and Grove at Bilbrough and upon the House at Nun-Appleton, another seat of Fairfax's, in Yorkshire. In 1653, Milton recommended the appointment of Marvell as his assistant secretary, but at that time without success. He described him, both from report and personal converse, as of "singular desert;" told that he had been four years abroad, in Holland, France, Italy, and Spain, knew the languages of those countries, and was well read in Latin and Greek. With characteristic kindliness, Milton added to his recommendation of young Marvell: "This, my lord, I write sincerely, without any other end than to perform my duty to the public in helping them to an humble servant; laying aside those jealousies and that emulation which mine own condition might suggest to me by bringing in such a coadjutor."

Milton sent, in 1654, his "Second Defence for the People of England" to Cromwell by Andrew Marvell's hand; and in 1657 Cromwell made Marvell tutor to young Mr. Dutton, the son of an old friend who had died leaving the Protector his boy's guardian. Andrew Marvell's quality had now made itself known, and in the same year, 1657, he obtained the office of assistant secretary to Milton for the foreign correspondence. What was written officially for foreigners was Latin; but unofficial correspondence and conversation in the chief languages of Europe would be required also, and for this Milton and Marvell were both qualified.

Andrew Marvell, who had followed Cromwell's career with his verse, was among those who sincerely mourned that great man's death. Under the Restoration, Marvell surrendered neither to the social nor to the political corruption of the time. He represented Hull in Parliament, and fought for liberty of conscience with satire, the one weapon effective among triflers in high places. According to the custom of an older time, Hull paid its members; and private news-letters then furnishing what we find now in the newspapers, Marvell maintained a steady correspondence with his constituents, sending almost every post-night an account of the proceedings of Parliament. He seldom or never spoke in the House; but his pen was a known power. Indolent King Charles relished the sharpness of it, although his own follies and vices were not spared. The court party would have been glad to secure the one lively satirist who was not on their own side. Lord Danby found his way up to Marvell's second floor in a court leading from the Strand, with message of regard from the king, and expression of his Majesty's desire to serve him. Marvell answered that his Majesty had it not in his power to serve him. When a place at court was suggested, Marvell replied that if he accepted it he must either be ungrateful to the king in opposing court measures, or a traitor to his country in complying with them. His Majesty must believe him a loyal subject, and true to the king's real interest in remaining independent. Lord Danby ended with offer of a present of a thousand pounds from his Majesty, and that was refused as firmly. In one of his verse satires, "Hodge's Vision from the Monument, December, 1675," the member for Hull refers to the bribery of members of Parliament:

"See how in humble guise the slaves advance
To tell a tale of army, and of France,
Whilst proud prerogative in scornful guise,
Their fear, love, duty, danger does despise.
There, in a bribed committee, they contrive
To give our birthrights to prerogative:
Give, did I say? They sell, and sell so dear
That half each tax Danby distributes there.
Danby, 'tis fit the price so great shall be,
They sell religion, sell their liberty."

Marvell told the king in his verse, that, as the astronomer described spots in the sun, he loyally described his faults, and pointed out that those who seemed his courtiers were but his disease. He attacked those who for their own advantage

"About the common prince have raised a fence;
The kingdom from the crown distinct would see,
And peel the bark to burn at last the tree.
As Ceres corn, and Flora is the spring,
As Bacchus wine, the Country is the king."

Let him get rid of his "scratching courtiers"—"The smallest vermin make the greatest waste"—let him choose for his companions and counsellors generous men too noble to flatter, and too rich to steal:

"Where few the number, choice is there less hard;
Give us this court, and rule without a guard."

The spots in the sun were assuredly not spared in Marvell's rhymes. In the dialogue between the horses of the two statues, that of Charles I. at Charing Cross, set up by Lord Danby, and that of Charles II. at Woolchurch, set up by Sir Robert Viner, they agreed in lament

"To see *Dei Gratia* writ on the throne,
And the king's wicked life say, 'God there is none.'"

The horse of Charing said to the horse of Woolchurch:

"Thy rider puts no man to death in his wrath,
But is buried alive in lust and in sloth;"

and thought he "had rather bear Nero than Sardanapalus."

" *Woolchurch.* What is thy opinion of James, Duke of York?
Charing. The same that the frogs had of Jupiter's stork.
With the Turk in his head, and the Pope in his heart,
Father Patrick's disciples will make England smart.
If e'er he be king I know Britain's doom,
We must all to a stake, or be converts to Rome.
Ah Tudor! ah Tudor! of Stuarts enough;
None ever reigned like old Bess in the ruff."

And presently we have this question and answer:

"'But canst thou devise when things will be mended?'
'When the reign of the line of the Stuarts is ended.'"

So spoke the verse of Marvell, whose satire both in verse and prose dealt only with the vital questions of his time. Thus, when Samuel Parker not only attacked the Nonconformists, but argued for the supreme power of a king to bind the consciences of his subjects, he brought Andrew Marvell down in unmerciful prose satire on himself and his cause. Marvell never lost sight of the principle for which he was contending in the form of battle then most likely to prevail. Simply direct reasoning would have been read only by those who agreed with it already, but the worrying of Doctor Parker and his cause with reason in the form of a shrewd bantering satire, not free from a coarseness and rough personality more pleasant and convincing then than now, was a delightful spectacle even to Doctor Parker's friends. There was no better way of knocking the support from under a shallow and intemperate apostle of a king's right to direct the consciences of his people. Anthony à Wood says that Parker "judged it more prudent to lay down the cudgels than to enter the lists again with an untowardly combatant, so hugely well versed and experienced in the then but newly refined art, though much in mode and fashion ever since, of sporting and jeering buffoonery. It was generally thought, however, by many of those who were otherwise favorers of Parker's cause, that the victory lay on Marvell's side, and it wrought this good effect on Parker, that forever after it took down his great spirit." Burnet says he "withdrew from the town, and ceased writing for some years." But Samuel Parker, who was made Bishop of Oxford by James II., and died in 1687, poured out his impotent rage against his adversary in a Latin History of his Own Time (from 1660 to 1680). "De Rebus sui Temporis Commentariorum Libri IV.," which was not printed until 1726, appeared in an English translation by Thomas Newlin in 1727, and became known as "The Tory Chronicle." Marvell's next prose satire was called forth about three years later by Dr. Francis Turner. The Bishop of Hereford, Dr. Croft, had published a book urging forbearance and charity upon all the contending parties in religion. This book, called "The Naked Truth; or, the True State of the Primitive Church: by a Humble Moderator," had been attacked without forbearance or charity by Dr. Turner, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, in "Animadversions on the Naked Truth." That was in 1675, when the popular new play (printed in 1676) was Etherege's "Man of Mode." Marvell at once fitted Dr. Turner with a character out of it, as "Mr. Smirke; or, the Divine in Mode," and again charged home on the court party with allusion fresh from the last new play, and a force of satire that cut off the unlucky Dr. Turner from the support and fellowship he looked for. Marvell added to his "Mr. Smirke" "A Short Historical Essay concerning General Councils, Creeds, and Impositions in Matters of Religion." In 1677 Marvell defended John Howe against three assailants of a book of his on "Divine Prescience;" and in the following year he published "An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government in England." In August, 1678, he died.

8. Sir William Davenant, son of an Oxford innkeeper, was born in 1606, was educated at the Oxford Grammar School and at Lincoln College, went to court as page to the Duchess of Richmond, and was then in the household of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, until the murder of his patron in 1628. Davenant then turned to the stage, and began, in 1629, with a tragedy, "Albovine, King of the Lombards;" followed next year by two plays, "The Cruel Brother," and "The Just Italian." In 1634, he wrote a masque, "The Temple of Love," to be presented at Whitehall by the queen and her ladies. In 1635, he published, with other poems, "Madagascar," a poem on an achievement at sea by Prince Rupert. Davenant remained in favor at court for his masques and plays; and, after the death of Ben Jonson, took his place. In 1639, he was made governor of the company acting at the Cockpit in Drury Lane. Outbreak of civil war brought him into danger. He escaped, returned, was the Earl of Newcastle's Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, and, in 1643, was knighted for his service at the siege of Gloucester. As an exile in Paris at the end of the king's reign, he was writing "Gondibert," an heroic poem. He was living with Lord Jermyn in the Louvre, when, in January, 1650, he dated the "Discourse upon Gondibert, an Heroic Poem," addressed to Thomas Hobbes, who had been reading the poem as it was written. It occurred to him to go to the loyal colony of Virginia with a body of workmen; but the vessel in which he sailed was taken by one of the ships of the Parliament, and Davenant was carried to the Isle of Wight, where he was imprisoned in Cowes Castle. There he continued "Gondibert" to the middle of the third book, and as that was half the poem — for his plan was to have five books answering to five acts of a play, with cantos answering to scenes — he wrote a "Postscript to the Reader," dated "Cowes Castle, Oct. 22, 1650," and sent it to the press. With its prefatory discourse and postscript this half of the poem, which was left a fragment, appeared in 1651. Davenant was brought to London for trial, and his life was saved, some say by two aldermen of York, some say by Milton. He was detained a prisoner for two years, but treated with indulgence. Davenant and his "Gondibert" were laughed at, in 1653, by four writers of "Certain Verses written by several of the Author's Friends, to be Reprinted in the Second Edition of Gondibert;" and these critics were not "temperate and benign." But the book has interest for the student. The long, grave, half-philosophical preface, prosing about rhyming, marks very distinctly that influence of France upon our literature of which the grounds were then fully established, and which came in with the Restoration. As to metre, the use in a heroic poem of what Davenant called his "interwoven stanza of four" was preferred, he said, because he "believed it would be more pleasant to the reader, in a work of length, to give this respite or pause between every stanza (having endeavored that each should contain a period) than to run him out of breath with continued couplets. Nor doth alternate rhyme by any lowliness of cadence make the sound less heroic, but rather adapt it to a plain and stately composing of music; and the brevity of the stanza renders it less subtle to the composer, and more easy to the singer, which, in 'stilo recitativo,' when the story is long, is chiefly requisite." He adds that he was chiefly influenced by hope that the cantos of his poem might really be sung at village feasts. Dryden for a time followed Davenant's adoption of this measure as the heroic stanza, which Davenant found ready perfected in Sir John Davies's "Nosce Teipsum." In its design, the poem blends something of the political philosophy of Hobbes with the keen interest in nature quickened by Bacon, and seeks to build on them a song of love and war, designed, as Davenant said of it in his Postscript, "to strip Nature naked, and clothe her again in the perfect shape of virtue."

The Lombard Aribert rules in Verona; his only child is a daughter, Rhodalind. Either Prince Oswald or Duke Gondibert, both mighty in war, might wed the damsel, and succeed to empire. Oswald is brilliant, and ambitious of rule; Gondibert has ambition of a higher kind. Each has his camp and faction. There is a hunting of Gondibert's, leading to an ambush of Oswald's, and a duel, in which Gondibert is wounded, Oswald slain. Then, at the close of the first book, Gondibert is taken, by advice of the aged Ulfin, to the house of Astragon, the wise and wealthy.

"Though cautious Nature, check'd by Destiny,
Has many secrets she would ne'er impart;
This famed philosopher is Nature's spie,
And hireless gives th' intelligence to Art."

In the next book, after four cantos of events at Verona, the seat of empire, where Rhodalind can give supreme rule with her hand, we find Gondibert in the house of Astragon, which is more full of signs of deep inquiry into nature than John Evelyn found the lodgings of "the most obliging and universally curious Dr. Wilkins." Over one gate is written, "Great Nature's Office," where old busy men are laboring as Nature's registrars; there is a garden, "Nature's Nursery;" a skeleton soom, called "The Cabinet of Death:"

"Which some the Monument of Bodies name;
The Arke, which saves from graves all dying kindes;
This to a structure led, long known to Fame,
And call'd the Monument of Vanish'd Minds.

"Where, when they thought they saw in well-sought books
Th' assembled soules of all that Men held wise,
It bred such awfull rev'rence in their looks,
As if they saw the bury'd writers rise."

There is also a triple Temple, dedicated "To Days of Praise, and Penitence, and Prayer." In this half mythical house of Astragon there is Birtha, daughter of Astragon, who tends Gondibert's wounds, and whose womanhood is partly an ideal of the simple beauty and beneficence of Nature. Her Gondibert loves, though Aribert had destined him for Rhodalind. When Gondibert seeks Astragon's assent to this love, he has to give an account of himself to the lady's father, and expresses much of the main thought of the poem by telling in what way he is ambitious. He has vanquished the Huns, he would conquer the world, but only because division of interest is the main cause of discord (here Thomas Hobbes approved the writer's principles), and Gondibert wished to bring the universe, for its own peace, under a single monarchy. A great warlike ambition; but, he says:

"But let not what so needfully was done,
Though still pursued, make you ambition feare;
For could I force all monarchys to one,
That universal crown I would not weare.

"He who does blindly soar at Rhodalind,
Mounts like seeld Doves, still higher from his ease;
And in the lust of empire he may finde,
High hope does better than fruition please.

"The victor's solid recompence is rest:
And 'tis unjust that chiefs who pleasure shunn,
Toyling in youth, should be in age opprest
With greater toyles, by ruling what they wonn.

"Here all reward of conquest I would finde;
Leave shining thrones for Birtha in a shade;
With Nature's quiet wonders fill my minde,
And praise her most because she Birtha made."

Davenant is artificial in his praise of nature, but there is true dignity in many passages of "Gondibert," with frequent felicity of expression; there is such aim at ingenuity as we find in the Later Euphuists, modified by the new influence of the French critical school. Its chance of a good reception was not improved by Hobbes's declaration, made in its behalf, that "Gondibert" deserved to last as long as the "Æneid" or "Iliad." The jest was ready against a book not serious enough for one-half of the public and too serious for the other, that said, laughing:

"Room for the best of poets heroic,
If you'll believe two wits and a stoic.
Down go the Iliads, down go the Æneidos:
All must give place to the Gondiberteidos."

After his release from imprisonment, Davenant evaded the interdict upon dramatic entertainments by opening Rutland House, Charterhouse Yard, on the 21st of May, 1656, for what he called operas. Blending of music with dramatic action had its origin in Italy. An Italian drama with musical accompaniments had been represented at the Castle of St. Angelo, in 1480; but the first real opera was performed early in the seventeenth century. Davenant, therefore, was following a new Italian fashion that had already found its way to France. At Rutland House, Davenant produced the first part of his "Siege of Rhodes," with various scenery, each entry prepared by instrumental music, with dialogue in recitative interspersed with songs and choruses; his attempt was that of the musician in his "Play-house to Let," who says:

"I would have introduc'd heroique story
In stilo recitativo."

With the Restoration arose two patented dramatic companies, servants of the king and of his brother, the Duke of York. Sir William Davenant's company was that of the Duke of York's players, acting first at a theatre in Portugal Row, Lincoln's Inn Fields, and afterwards in Dorset Gardens. Thomas Betterton was the best actor in this company. The king's players acted at the Cockpit until they were ready, in April, 1663, with a new Theatre Royal, on the site of the present house in Drury Lane. Davenant was also made poet-laureate. A clause in his patent as manager of the Duke of York's players said, "Whereas the women's parts in plays have hitherto been acted by men in the habits of women, at which some have taken offence, we do permit and give leave for the time to come that all women's parts be acted by women on the stage." The actress's profession, therefore, became established at the Restoration, and women acted at both houses. Actresses began to appear in the time of Charles I. In "The Court Beggar," a comedy by Ben Jonson's old servant, Richard Brome, acted in 1632, although not printed till 1653, Lady Strangelove says, "The boy's a pretty actor, and his mother can play her part. The women now are in great request." Changes of scenery, also, which had been introduced by Davenant under the Commonwealth, became at the Restoration an established custom in both theatres. In 1662, Davenant revised his "Siege of Rhodes," and produced the second part, still including music and variety of measures, but using the rhymed couplet as the staple of heroic dialogue. It was the first English play of its time that did so. Davenant had, in his former plays, written what had come to be taken for blank-verse; but its degeneration had been rapid, and blank-verse in Davenant yielded such lines as these:

> "How did the governors of the
> Severe house, digest th' employment my
> Request did lay upon their gravities?"

In the "Siege of Rhodes," Davenant held by the extension of that theory of Hobbes's to contending nations as well as to contending men of the same country, which he had made the ground of Gondibert's ambition to subdue the world. His life was too much given to low pleasures, and he was called upon to entertain the frivolous. If Davenant could have felt with Milton, that he who would excel in poetry should be himself a poem, his genius had wings to bear him higher than he ever reached. Among the musical love-passions of the "Siege of Rhodes," he was still aiming at some embodiment of his thought that the nations of Christendom fail in their work for want of unity. They let the Turks occupy Rhodes because they could not join for succor. In his dedication of the published play to the Earl of Clarendon, Davenant (referring with honor to "the great images represented in tragedy by Monsieur Corneille") says: "In this poem I have revived the remembrance of that desolation which was permitted by Christian princes, when they favored the ambition of such as defended the diversity of religions (begot by the factions of learning) in Germany; whilst those who would never admit learning into their empire (lest it should meddle with religion, and intangle it with controversy) did make Rhodes defenceless; which was the only fortified academy in Christendom where divinity and arms were equally professed."

In 1667 appeared a new version of Shakespeare's "Tempest," based upon a suggestion by Davenant that Shakespeare's play of a woman who had never seen a man could be improved by adding to it a man who had never seen a woman. This adaptation of Shakespeare to the taste of the court of Charles II. was one of Davenant's latest devices. He died in April, 1668, aged sixty-two, and Dryden succeeded to his dignity as poet-laureate.

9. After the death of John Milton, the greatest poet and man of letters in England during the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century, was **John Dryden,** who wrought in almost every form of literary labor, in prose and verse. He is the representative of the best and the worst qualities in English literature during this period; and before proceeding to the study of his career and of what he wrote, we will group together some of his earlier contemporaries — poets, dramatists, and satirists — who were brought into some contact with him.

10. Thomas Killigrew (b. 1611, d. 1682) was son of Sir Robert Killigrew, of Hanworth, near Hampton Court, chamberlain to Queen Henrietta Maria. Thomas Killigrew had been page of honor to Charles I., and had married a maid of honor. He was witty and profligate, amused Charles II., who made him Groom of the Bedchamber, and was one of the king's familiar companions. Killigrew published, in 1664, eleven "Plays," and thought it worth noting that he had written them in nine different cities — London, Paris, Madrid, Rome, Turin, Florence, Venice, Naples, and Basle.

Sir Charles Sedley, the Lisideius of the "Essay of Dramatic Poesie," was about twenty-one years old at the Restoration, and another of the dissolute clever light wits of the court. In 1677, he had just written a tragedy on "Antony and Cleopatra" (published 1677); and in 1688, his comedy of the "Mulberry Garden" was very successful. He had skill in frivolous love-verses, of which the Earl of Rochester wrote:

> "Sedley has that prevailing, gentle art
> That can with a resistless charm impart
> The loosest wishes to the chastest heart."

He died about 1701.

11. George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, was born in 1627, was with Prince Charles in Scotland, was at the battle of Worcester in 1651, and, in November, 1657, married Andrew Marvell's pupil, the heiress and only daughter of Lord Fairfax. By this marriage he saved the greater part of his own estate. At the Restoration he had an income of twenty thousand pounds a year, became Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber, Privy Councillor, and Master of the Horse. He was lively, careless, extravagant, and variously clever, with taste for chemistry and literature, for music and intrigue. In 1671, he caused to be produced at the King's Theatre his celebrated play, "The Rehearsal," a burlesque on the heroic dramas of the day. He had begun to write it when Davenant was laureate, and had given to his hero, Bayes, who wore the laurel, some of Davenant's characteristics. Now Dryden wore the bays, and Dryden presently produced some notable examples of heroic sound and fury. The jest, therefore, was now pointed more especially at Dryden. It was really a plea for good sense against showy nonsense; merry, and free from the indecency then common in dramatic jests. It was only in the preceding year, 1670, that Dryden had the grant of the office of Poet-Laureate, vacant in 1668; but there was joined to it the office of Historiographer Royal, vacant since 1666. In "The Rehearsal," Smith from the country and Johnson of the town meet; plays are talked of. Mr. Bayes passes across the stage, and is caught as an author. He has a new play in his pocket, explains his method of producing plays, is going to the rehearsal of his new play, takes them to it, instructs the actors, and discourses with Smith and Johnson over a jumble of burlesque scenes, which would be recognized by playgoers of the time as caricatures of passages in plays of Davenant, Dryden, Sir Robert Howard, and others. There is a plot, which is no plot, of their gentleman usher and physician against the two kings of Brentford; there is an army concealed at Knightsbridge; there is Prince Volscius, who falls in love as he is pulling on his boots, and makes his legs an emblem of his various thought; there is a Drawcansir, whose name pairs with Dryden's Almanzor. Almahide, in "The Conquest of Granada," says to Almanzor, "Who dares to interrupt my private walk?" Almanzor replies:

"He who dares love, and for that love must die,
And knowing this, dares yet love on, am I."

Usurping King Physician says to Drawcansir, "What man is this that dares disturb our feast?" Drawcansir replies:

"He that dares drink, and for that drink dares die,
And knowing this, dares yet drink on, am I."

And so forth. The last words of the Epilogue were:

"May this prodigious way of writing cease.
Let's have, at least once in our lives, a time
When we may hear some Reason, not all Rhyme:
We have these ten years felt its influence;
Pray let this prove a year of Prose and Sense."

12. It was on the eve of a deadly encounter between the English and the Dutch fleets, in 1665, that **Charles Sackville**, Lord Buckhurst, afterwards **Earl of Dorset** (b. 1637, d. 1706), produced his "Song written at Sea, in the First Dutch War, 1665, the Night before an Engagement." Charles Sackville, in these days, was a licentious wit of the court; but he had taste, and came into much honor among patrons of literature. His song before the battle has always passed as his best piece, and it represents him with no thought but of court gallantry to the ladies, on the eve of a conflict that would scatter death around him:

"To pass our tedious hours away
We throw a merry main;
Or else at serious ombre play;
But why should we in vain
Each other's ruin thus pursue?
We were undone when we left you.
With a fa la, la, la, la."

It does not follow that the writer had no serious thought when he wrote thus; but serious thought was out of fashion at the court of Charles II.

John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, was one of the court wits who trifled in verse. His best piece of verse is "Upon Nothing."

13. A courtier and poet of much higher mark was **Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon**, born about 1633, nephew and godson to the Earl of Strafford. He was at the Protestant College at Caen when, by the death of his father, he became Earl of Roscommon, at the age of ten. He remained abroad, travelled in Italy till the Restoration, when he came in with the king, became captain of the band of Pensioners, took for a time to gambling, married, indulged his taste in literature, strongly under the French influence, and had a project for an English academy like that of France. He translated into verse Horace's "Art of Poetry," translated into verse Virgil's sixth Eclogue, one or two Odes of Horace, and a passage from Guarini's "Pastor Fido." Of his original writing the most important piece is "An Essay on Translated Verse," carefully polished in the manner of Boileau, sensible, and often very happy in expression. Himself, in a corrupt time, a poet of "unspotted lays," he was true to his doctrine that

"Immodest words admit of no defence;
For want of decency is want of sense."

When he tells the translator that he must thoroughly understand what he is translating, he says:

"While in your thoughts you find the least debate,
You may confound, but never can translate.
Your style will this through all disguises show,
For none explain more clearly than they know."

He pities from his soul unhappy men compelled by want to prostitute the pen; but warns the rich:

"Let no vain hope your easy mind seduce,
For rich ill poets are without excuse."

And let no man mistake every stir to write verse for a sign of power:

"Beware what spirit rages in your breast;
For ten inspired, ten thousand are possest."

With all its great faults, the court of the Restoration must be credited with a good society of men of high rank who made it a point of fashion to cultivate their minds, acquire, according to the new standard of France, a fine critical taste, write verse themselves, — as Lord Mulgrave wrote, "Without his song no fop is to be found," — receive sweet incense of praise from poorer writers, and give in return for it a kindly patronage. He died in 1684.

14. **John Sheffield** (b. 1649, d. 1721) became by his father's death **Earl of Mulgrave**, at the age of nine. At seventeen he was in the

fleet against the Dutch, and he served afterwards also in fleet and army. He was made Duke of Buckinghamshire in 1703. In the days of Charles II. he wrote light pieces of verse, and two poems in the new critical fashion, which were his chief efforts — an "Essay on Satire," in 1675, and an "Essay on Poetry," which is a little "Art of Poetry" applied to England. The wholesome stress is still laid on good sense, in strong re-action against the paste brilliants of the decayed Italian school. "'Tis wit and sense that is the subject here," he writes:

> "As all is dulness when the Fancy's bad;
> So, without Judgment, Fancy is but mad:
> And Judgment has a boundless influence
> Not only in the choice of Words or Sense,
> But on the World, on Manners, and on Men;
> Fancy is but the Feather of the Pen;
> Reason is that substantial, useful part,
> Which gains the Head; while t'other wins the Heart."

Lord Mulgrave placed Shakespeare and Fletcher at the head of modern drama; but wrote some years afterwards two tragedies, "Julius Cæsar," and "Marcus Brutus," in which he set his own taste above Shakespeare's. Profoundly ignorant of the real unity of plan in Shakespeare's "Julius Cæsar," and of the place of tyrannicide at the heart of the drama, the polite patron and cultivator of literature in the new manner of France saw that Shakespeare could not be saved by the dramatic gospel of Corneille, and reconstructed his "Julius Cæsar," with the unities respected: "This play begins the day before Cæsar's death, and ends an hour after it." His rebuilding threw out material enough for another play, the tragedy of "Marcus Brutus." Here "the play begins the day before the battle of Philippi, and ends with it;" but Lord Mulgrave regretted the inevitable change of scene from Athens to Philippi, whereby, he said, he

> "Commits one crime that needs an Act of Grace,
> And breaks the Law of Unity of Place."

Comparison of Shakespeare in his habit as he lived, with Shakespeare as dignified with a Louis Quatorze wig by Lord Mulgrave, illustrates very well the weak side of the French influence on English literature. The polite lord even corrected Antony's speech over Cæsar's body. Shakespeare made him say:

> "The evil that men do lives after them,
> The good is oft interred with their bones."

Bones! Vulgar and unpleasant. His lordship polished this into "The good is often buried in their graves." Each play has a closing thought to mark the adapter's want of sympathy with Brutus. Indeed, Lord Mulgrave had written an ode in depreciation of Brutus as reply to Cowley's in his praise.

15. **Thomas D'Urfey**, born in Devonshire about 1630, lived to be very old, was known in the reign of George I. as one of the wits of the

time of Charles II., and was "Tom" to the last, so that even the stone over his grave recorded of him "Tom D'Urfey: died February 26, 1723." He wrote plays, operas, poems, and songs, and was a diner-out among great people, whom he entertained by singing his own songs to his own music. That was his chief title to honor, and he was so well known that a country gentleman who came to London must not go home till he was able to say that he had met Tom D'Urfey. In 1676, D'Urfey began with "Archery Revived," a heroic poem; a tragedy, "The Siege of Memphis;" and a comedy, "The Fond Husband; or, The Plotting Sister." Comedies, with an occasional tragedy or tragi-comedy, then followed one another fast. In 1682, D'Urfey, who had nothing of Butler's substance in him, published a satire, called "Butler's Ghost; or, Hudibras, the Fourth Part: with Reflections on these Times." A volume of songs by D'Urfey appeared in 1687, and the collection made from time to time was completed in six volumes by the year 1720, as "Wit and Mirth; or, Pills to Purge Melancholy: being a large Collection of Ballads, Sonnets, etc., with their Tunes."

16. **Sir George Etherege**, after some university training at Cambridge, some travel abroad, and some reading of law, gave himself to easy enjoyment of life among the men of fashion. He made himself a comrade of George Villiers, Sedley, Rochester, and their friends, by the success of his first comedy, "The Comical Revenge; or, Love in a Tub," published in 1664. This was followed, in 1668, by "She Would if She Could;" and, in 1676, by his third and last comedy, "The Man of Mode; or, Sir Fopling Flutter." There was ease and liveliness in these images of the corrupt life gathered about Charles II. by one who found enjoyment in its baseness. Etherege got his knighthood to enable him to marry a rich widow; was sent as English minister to Ratisbon; and died there about 1694, by breaking his neck in a fall down stairs, when, as a drunken host, he was lighting his guests out of his rooms.

17. Of the Whig replies to Dryden's satire "Absalom and Achitophel," in 1681, one, "Azaria and Hushai," was by **Samuel Pordage**, son of the Rev. John Pordage, of Bradfield, in Berkshire, deprived of his living in 1654, on a charge of conversation with evil spirits. Pordage was a member of Lincoln's Inn, and had published in 1660, with notes, "The Troades," from Seneca, and a volume of poems. He was the author, also, of two tragedies, "Herod and Mariamne," in 1673, and the "Siege of Babylon," in 1678, and of a romance called "Eliana." Samuel Pordage replied to Dryden's satire with a temperance rare in the controversies of that time. Unlike other opponents, he gave Dryden credit for his genius; and the only lines in the reply that have any resemblance to the usual coarseness of abuse are those which comment on the opening lines of Dryden's poem, which were meanly complaisant to the king's vices.

18. **Thomas Shadwell**, of a good Staffordshire family, was

born in 1640, at Stanton Hall, Norfolk. He was educated at Caius College, Cambridge, studied law in the Middle Temple, went abroad, came home, and at once became popular as a dramatist. He began, in 1668, with "The Sullen Lovers," a comedy. This was followed by the comedies of "The Humorists" and "The Miser." The tragedy of "Psyche," in 1674, was followed by the tragedy of "The Libertine" and the comedy of "Epsom Wells." In 1678, Shadwell made the requisite improvements in "Timon of Athens," which he said in the dedication "was originally Shakespeare's, who never made more masterly strokes than in this; yet I can truly say I have made it into a play." Shadwell's "Lancashire Witches and Teague O'Divelly, the Irish Priest," first printed in 1681, held the stage for some time, and contains one of the earliest specimens of the stage Irishman. This play not only ridiculed the Roman Catholics, but was spoken of before its production as containing an attack on many clergy of the Church of England, in the character of Smerk, chaplain to Sir Edward Hartfort, "foolish, knavish, Popish, arrogant, insolent; yet for his interest slavish." Abuse of the office of domestic chaplain was satirized in this character, and also the spirit of church intolerance against the Nonconformists; a great part of the dialogue that developed Mr. Smerk was struck out by the Master of the Revels, and appeared only in the published play, where it was printed in Italics. Thus it was said to Smerk:

"With furious zeal you press for discipline,
With fire and blood maintain your great Diana,
Foam at the mouth when a Dissenter's named;
(With fiery eyes, wherein we flaming see
A persecuting spirit) you roar at
Those whom the wisest of your function strive
To win by gentleness and easy ways."

The stage Irish of that time had a touch of the stage Welsh. One says to Teague, "You are a Popish priest?" He answers, "Ah, but 'tis no matter for all daat, Joy: by my shoul, but I will taak de oades, and I think I vill be excus'd; but hark vid you a while, by my trott, I shall be a Papist too for all dat, indeed, yes." In such comedies of Shadwell as "Epsom Wells," "Bury Fair" (1689), and "The Scowrers" (1690), we have a clear surface reflection of certain forms of life in the later Stuart time. He died in 1692.

19. Elkanah Settle, born at Dunstable in 1648, studied at Trinity College, Oxford, but left the university without a degree, came to London, and in 1673 achieved a great success with his tragedy in rhyme of "The Empress of Morocco." Settle showed some vanity in the dedication of the play, which was published with illustrative engravings — a frontispiece of the outside of the Duke's Theatre, and pictures of the stage set with the chief scenes. His fellow-dramatists did not admire the young man's self-satisfied contempt of "the impudence of scribblers in this age," that "has so corrupted the original design of dedication." Having no very great genius to be proud of, he sneered at Dryden's critical dedications and prefaces with a "But, my lord, whilst I trouble you with this kind of discourse, I beg you would not think I design to give rubs to the Press as some of our tribe have done to the Stage." Settle's popular play was open to criticism, and his vanity invited it. "The Empress of Morocco" was accordingly pulled to pieces in a pamphlet written chiefly by John Crowne, with aid from Shadwell and Dryden. Settle replied, and the controversy seemed to give him more importance with his public. Other tragedies by Settle followed: "Love and Revenge," in 1675; then "The Conquest of China by the Tartars;" "Ibrahim, the Illustrious Bassa," from Madelène de Scuderi's novel; "Pastor Fido," from Guarini's pastoral drama; "Fatal Love;" "The Female Prelate, being a History of the Life and Death of Pope Joan." Settle lived to old age, but fell into such poverty that he took part in the low dramatic performances exhibited in a booth at Bartholomew Fair. He died in the Charterhouse in 1724.

20. John Crowne, who had been foremost in attack on Settle's "Empress of Morocco," was the son of an Independent minister in Nova Scotia. He was for a time gentleman usher to an old lady of quality; but in 1671 he appeared as a dramatist with the tragi-comedy of "Juliana," the first of about eighteen plays written by him. He attached himself to the court party, and in 1675 satirized the Whigs in a comedy called "City Politics." In the same year he produced at court the masque of "Calisto." In 1677 Crowne brought out a tragedy in two parts on "The Destruction of Jerusalem." It is said that, after the appearance of this play, Rochester, who introduced Crowne at court, ceased to be his friend; also that he made enemies and hindered his future success by attacking the Whigs in his "City Politics." The king promised to do something for him when he had written one comedy more, and gave him for groundwork a Spanish play by Moreto, "No Puede Ser" ("It Cannot Be"). This was the origin of Crowne's most successful comedy, "Sir Courtly Nice;" but Charles II. fell fatally ill on the last day of its rehearsal, and the dramatist had afterwards to live as he could by his talent. He died about 1703.

21. Nathaniel Lee (d. 1692), the son of Dr. Lee, Incumbent of Hatfield, was educated at Westminster School and at Trinity College, Cambridge; but, left to his own resources, he took to the stage, and, in 1672, played at the Duke's Theatre the part of Duncan in "Macbeth." Although an admirable reader, he was unable to get his living as an actor. He then produced, at the age of twenty-five, the first of his eleven plays, "Nero;" and between 1675 and 1684, this was followed by eight other plays of his own, including his two most popular, "The Rival Queens; or, Alexander the Great" (1677), and "Theodosius; or, the Force of Love" (1680). He also joined Dryden in the plays of "Œdipus" (1679) and "The Duke of Guise" (1683). There was a wildfire of imagination in Lee, and he drank too freely. In November, 1684, he was received into Bedlam, where he remained four years. A scribbler said to him when he was there, "It is easy to write like a madman." "No," said Lee, "it is not easy to write like a madman; but it is very easy to write like a fool." Between his recovery and his death, at the age of about forty, Lee wrote, in 1689 and 1690, two more plays, "The Princess of Cleve" and "The Massacre of Paris;" but he was chiefly dependent upon ten shillings a week from the Theatre Royal. He brought elevation of thought and occasional pathos, with frequent passion of love, into the sound and fury of the heroic style. There was more in him of the finer touch of nature than in any other of the dramatists of his time but Otway.

22. Thomas Otway, son of the Rev. Humphrey Otway, Rector of Woolbeding, was born at Trotton, near Midhurst, Sussex, in March, 1651. He was educated at Winchester School, and then at Christ Church, Oxford; but he left Oxford without a degree, and became an unsuccessful actor in the Duke of York's company, failing at once in Mrs. Behn's tragedy of "The Jealous Bridegroom." He produced "Alcibiades" in 1675, and soon afterwards, "Don Carlos, Prince of Spain," which was a great success, was played for thirty successive nights, and brought Otway some money. He took his plot (as

Schiller did long afterwards) from "Dom Carlos, Nouvelle Historique," published in 1672 by the Abbé de St. Réal, a clever French writer of that time. In 1677 Otway published his tragedy of "Titus and Berenice," from Racine's "Bérénice." Otway followed in his own way Racine's plot, using the same characters, and compressing the piece into three Acts. With his version of "Bérénice," Otway published "The Cheats of Scapin," a version of one of Molière's comedies. A comedy, "Friendship in Fashion," which reflected the low morals of the court, was followed, in 1680, by two tragedies very different in character. One of them, "Caius Marius," illustrated the predominance of the French school and the neglect of Shakespeare; for here Otway, not indeed with the self-sufficiency of a Lord Mulgrave, but with expression in the prologue of a poet's reverence for Shakespeare, mixed with his play a great part of "Romeo and Juliet," in a form that suited the new sense of the polite in literature. The classical discords of Marius and Sulla replaced those of the Capulets and Montagues, and Romeo became a Marius Junior. Some speeches of Mercutio were given to Sulpitius; Nurse remained Nurse, but Juliet was changed into Lavinia. Otway's other play, produced in 1680, was "The Orphan." In both these plays Otway abandoned rhyme, and adopted blank-verse as the fit measure for tragedy. In "The Orphan" he abandoned also the French faith in kings and queens, princes and princesses, as the sole objects of tragic interest. The tragedy is a domestic drama, written in verse with much care. Animal passion is too obtrusively the mainspring of the plot; but the appeal was meant to be throughout to the higher feelings of the audience, and "The Orphan" held the stage for years as a touching picture of innocence and beauty cast down into uttermost distress. If the passions were overstrained, they yet had truth of nature for their starting-point; and Otway drew natural tears from many who found only an artificial excitement in heroic plays which did not "servilely creep after sense." Having found in blank-verse the fitting instrument, Otway put out his strength again in a play, "Venice Preserved," which is still occasionally acted. He took his story from another book of the same French writer to whom he was indebted for the plot of his "Don Carlos." "Venice Preserved" is founded on the best book written by St. Réal, entitled "Histoire de la Conjuration que les Espagnols formerent, en 1618, contre la République de Venise," published in 1674, and, like the "Dom Carlos," a passage of history transformed into historical romance. Otway, who produced in "The Orphan" and "Venice Preserved" the two best plays of the later Stuart drama, and who was a stout supporter of the Royal cause in detached poems as well as through his plays, was suffered to die of want. He died in April, 1685, in a public-house on Tower Hill, in which he had taken refuge to escape a debtor's prison. It is said that, in passion of hunger, he asked a shilling from a gentleman, who gave him a guinea; that he at once bought bread, and was choked in eager swallowing of the first mouthful. Probably that is an invention; but it is an invention founded on the fact of Otway's absolute distress and poverty. In his "Orphan," although he laid the scene in Bohemia, there was England meant in the old noble's language of devotion to the king, but he said to his sons, bitterly:

> "If you have Children, never give them Knowledge,
> 'Twill spoil their Fortune, Fools are all the Fashion.
> If you've Religion, keep it to yourselves:
> Atheists will else make use of Toleration,
> And laugh you out on't; never shew Religion,
> Except ye mean to pass for Knaves of Conscience,
> And cheat believing Fools that think ye honest."

23. One woman was among those who maintained the more corrupt form of the later Stuart drama. This was **Aphra Behn**, born at Canterbury, in 1642, daughter of a General Johnson, who obtained through his kinsman, Lord Willoughby, the post of Governor of Surinam and the thirty-six West-India Islands. He went when Aphra was very young, and died on the passage; but his widow and family settled in Surinam, where Aphra became acquainted with the African prince, Oroonoko, a slave who suffered torture and death for his love of liberty. Upon his story she founded afterwards the best of her novels. Aphra returned to England after some years in

South America, married Mr. Behn, a Dutch merchant in London, and was soon left a widow. Charles II. delighted in her, and sent her in 1666, during the Dutch War, to use her charms of wit and liveliness as a political spy at Antwerp. She obtained an ascendency over Van der Albert, an influential man, who enabled her to report home De Ruyter's design of coming up the Thames, but her report was not believed. Van der Albert died afterwards when he was about to marry Mrs. Behn. On her way home she was nearly shipwrecked. Her character suffered by the freedom of her manners. She began her career as a dramatist in 1671, and wrote for her livelihood seventeen plays, chiefly comedies, which reflected the gross manners of the court, and now and then belabored the Roundheads, who gave their name to one comedy produced in 1682. Her most popular play was "The Rover; or, the Banished Cavaliers," in 1677, followed by a second part in 1681. She translated Rochefoucauld's "Maxims" and Fontenelle's "Plurality of Worlds," wrote model love-letters, wrote poems, and was called "the divine Astræa." She wrote also short novels, among which, and among all her writings, "Oroonoko; or, the Royal Slave," stands foremost, generous in temper, pure in tone, and the first book in our literature that stirred English blood with a sense of the negro's suffering in slavery. The story was a romance founded on fact, told as from the writer's personal experience in Surinam, in clear, good, unaffected English. Mrs. Behn, with a slave for her hero, known as Cæsar among the planters, a slave whose thirst for freedom drew other slaves from their work, who was flogged and rubbed with pepper, and at last was hacked to death limb by limb, represented him as a man with high and tender feeling. When she had told of his fortitude, she wrote of the unhappy negro as "this great man." "Thus," she says, "died this great man; worthy of a better fate, and a more sublime wit than mine to write his praise; yet I hope the reputation of my pen is considerable enough to make his glorious name to survive to all ages, with that of the brave, the beautiful, and the constant Imoinda." The second strong call upon Englishmen for sympathy with the slave was produced by this novel, — Southern's best play, "Oroonoko," which was founded upon it, and enforced its argument upon the stage. Mrs. Behn died in 1689.

24. Of another lady known as a writer, who died early in the reign of Charles II., and who was praised in style of the "Précieuses" as "the matchless Orinda," none but pleasant memories remain. She was **Catherine Philips**, for whom Jeremy Taylor wrote his treatise on Friendship, and who was worthy to be Jeremy Taylor's friend. Although praised at court, she preferred quiet life with her husband in Wales, and died of small-pox in 1664, when only thirty-three years old. She published nothing in her lifetime. A few months before her death a publisher had collected copies of her poems that had passed among her friends, and issued them without her consent, as "Poems by the Incomparable Mrs. K. P." Five years after her death a friend edited the first full and accurate edition of her works, as "Poems by the most deservedly Admired Mrs. Katherine Philips, the Matchless Orinda. To which is added Monsieur Corneille's Pompey and Horace Tragedies. With several other Translations out of French." Cowley was among the writers of the prefatory verses in her honor. There is one note never absent from the praise:

> "She does above our best examples rise
> In hate of vice, and scorn of vanities."

The Duke and **Duchess of Newcastle** were much praised in their own time for their writings in prose and verse. The Duke was born in 1592, and died in 1676. His writings consist of poems, several plays, and a large treatise on horsemanship. The Duchess, who died in 1673, was the more gifted and the more voluminous writer. Among her works are "The World's Olio," "Nature's Pictures," "Allegories," "Philosophical Fancies," "Orations," "Sociable Letters," "Life of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle," and numerous plays.

25. We now turn from the earlier literary contemporaries of Dryden to the study of Dryden himself, who for many years was a sort of literary autocrat in England.

John Dryden, born Aug. 9, 1631, at Aldwinckle, in Northamptonshire, of good family, was educated at Westminster School, where he wrote some Euphuistic verse, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his degree of B.A. in 1654, the year of his father's death. He seems to have come to London in the summer of 1657, and was at first in the home of his cousin, and Cromwell's friend, Sir Gilbert Pickering. He was in his twenty-eighth year when Cromwell died, on the 3d of September, 1658, and he wrote, after the funeral, one of the many tributes to his memory, "Heroic Stanzas on the Death of Oliver Cromwell," using the measure of "Gondibert." With customary strain to be ingenious, there was a simple close. He was among those who welcomed the new order of things, and his "Astræa Redux," in honor of the Restoration, was published at once by Henry Herringman. Although this poem follows in Dryden's works the "Heroic Stanzas on the Death of Cromwell," it must be remembered that there was an interval of eighteen months between their dates — months busy with events that would be strong argument to a mind like Dryden's against the political faith in which he had been bred. Until the death of Cromwell, nothing occurred to change the course of family opinion which Dryden had inherited and drew from those about him; but the disposition of his mind placed him among those whose nature it is to seek peace by the upholding of authority. The experience of the last eighteen months of the Commonwealth made him no mere flatterer of Monarchy, but, throughout the reign of Charles II., the most active supporter of its claim to the obedience of all. In religion, the same tendency of mind led him at last to find peace in reliance upon the supreme authority of Rome. He left opinions in which he had been bred for those to which he had been born, and never swerved from them. Maintenance of one central authority was the principle on which philosophers, statesmen, poets, and a large part of the common crowd of men, based a consistent view of what was best for the well-being of society. In 1661, Dryden addressed a panegyric "To his Sacred Majesty," on his coronation, and New-Year's day verses, in 1662, "To my Lord Chancellor," Lord Clarendon.

John Dryden's first comedy, in prose — "The Wild Gallant," produced in February, 1663, by the king's company — was a failure. He had no aptitude for the licentious light comedy now in favor; but "The Wild Gallant" was followed, at the same theatre, before the end of the year, by a tragi-comedy, "The Rival Ladies," which brought into play some of his higher powers, and was a success. Dryden was at the same time working with **Sir Robert Howard** at his play of "The Indian Queen," which was produced at the king's theatre, with rich scenery and dresses, in January, 1664. Sir Robert Howard, born in 1626, was the youngest son of the Earl of Berkshire. He had been educated at Magdalene College, Oxford, was now member for Stockbridge, and had shown his literary tastes by publishing, in 1660, "A Panegyric to the King;" "Songs and Sonnets;" "The Blind Lady, a Comedy;" "The Fourth Book of Virgil's Æneid;" "Statius his Achilleis, with Annotations;" and "A Panegyric to General Monk." Very complimentary lines by Dryden were prefixed to that volume. Sir Robert Howard, who was now one of the better dramatists of the time, must not be confounded with his contemporary, the **Hon. Edward Howard**, who wrote worse plays, whose poem of "The British Princes" (1669) became a jest of the wits, and whose verse the Earl of Dorset called the "solid nonsense that abides all tests." A friendship had been established between John Dryden and Sir Robert Howard. Dryden went with his friend to the Earl of Berkshire's house at Charlton, in Wiltshire, worked with him at "The Indian Queen," and won his sister Elizabeth for wife. They were married in December, 1663, and "The Indian Queen," all written in heroic couplets, was produced in the following month. Dryden's "Rival Ladies" had been written in blank-verse, with the tragic scenes in the heroic couplet. In the dedication of the published play (1664) to Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, Dryden discussed his reasons for rhyme.

Dryden's argument for rhyme is interesting for the evidence it gives of the depths into which blank-verse had fallen while Milton was using it for the measure of his "Paradise Lost." It should be remembered, that, with insignificant exception, blank-verse had never been used in our literature as the measure of a great narrative poem. On both sides of the controversy it was being taken for granted that the measure was too mean for that; the question was only whether its resemblance to common prose did not make it proper for the dialogue of plays. Dryden, following Corneille, though he repudiated a French influence, now began to argue that the dignity of tragedy demanded rhyme. This was not, he said, a new way so much as an old way revived; "for many years before Shakespeare's plays was the tragedy of 'Queen Gorboduc' in English verse." Gorboduc was a king, not a queen; and the play — except the choruses — was in blank-verse, not in rhyme, as Dryden supposed. But supposing, he went on, the way were new, "Shall we oppose ourselves to the most polished and civilized nations of Europe?" All the Spanish and Italian tragedies he had seen were in rhyme; for the French, he would not name them, because we admitted little from them but "the basest of their men, the extravagances of their fashions, and the frippery of their merchandise." Shakespeare, "to shun the pains of continual rhyming, invented that kind of writing which we call blank-verse, but the French more properly *prose mesurée.*" Rhyme leads to inversions, but not in a skilful writer, and if they be avoided it "has all the advantages of prose besides its own. But the excellence and dignity of it were never fully known till Mr. Waller taught it; he first made writing easily an art; first showed us to conclude the sense most commonly in distichs, which in the verse of those before him runs on for so many lines together that the reader is out of breath to overtake it." Dryden was here one of the first to show that ignorance of our literature before the Commonwealth which characterized the English critics of the French school. Out of this ignorance arose false estimates which have passed from book to book, and would lead the unwary to suppose that the art of writing good English in all its forms was discovered by men who were alive to flatter one another in the reign of Charles II. Dryden then specified these advantages of rhyme over blank-verse, — (1) aid to memory; (2) sweetness of rhyme adding grace to the smartness of a repartee; and (3) that it bounds and circumscribes the fancy, which, without it, tends to outrun the judgment. In 1665, Dryden produced with success a play of his own, "The Indian Emperor," a sequel to "The Indian Queen," but it was not published until 1667. In the same year, 1665, the Plague in London closed the theatres, and Dryden went to the house of his father-in-law, at Charlton, and there still discussed rhyme and blank-verse with Sir Robert Howard. Dryden's eldest son was born at Charlton, in 1665 or 1666, for he remained there in 1666, the year of the fire of London and of a great sea-fight with the Dutch. Both these events he celebrated in a poem, "Annus Mirabilis," the wonderful year; and his reply to his brother-in-law in discussion of the question of blank-verse, also written at Charlton, formed part of his "Essay of Dramatic Poesy."

Dryden published his "Annus Mirabilis" in January, 1667, a heroic poem, in 1,216 lines of Davenant's heroic stanza, in which there is yet some trace of that taste for ingenious conceit, derived of old from Italy, which caused Mr. Pepys's minister to say in his sermon that London had been reduced by the great fire from folio to decimo-tertio. But the vigor of a master's hand appears in this attempt of Dryden's at heroic treatment of events yet fresh, dignifying the king's cause by the places given in the poem to Charles and his brother. In 1667 appeared also Dryden's "Essay of Dramatic Poesy," a dialogue between Eugenius (Charles Sackville, Lord Buckhurst), Lisideius (Sir Charles Sedley), Crites (Sir Robert Howard), and Neander (Dryden). In June, 1665, he says, they went down the river towards Greenwich to hear the noise of cannon in the sea-fight with the Dutch. As the sound seemed to recede they judged that the Dutch were retreating, and conversation turned on the plague of bad verse that would follow victory. So they passed to an argument on ancient and modern poets, soon limited to Dramatic Poesy. The dialogue so introduced dealt with the subject of a play, "the famous rules which the French call Des Trois Unités," action, place, and time. Lisideius spoke of the beauty of French rhyme, and of the just reason he had to prefer that way of writing in tragedies before ours in blank-verse, and then the argument went through all its points. Crites reproduced Sir Robert Howard's case against rhyme. Neander answered "with all imaginable deference and respect, both to that person from whom you have borrowed your strongest arguments, and to whose judgment, when 1 have said all, I finally submit." In the year 1668, Sir Robert published his tragedy of "The Duke of Lerma," and took occasion in its preface to reply, on behalf of blank-verse, to the arguments of Dryden in his essay. The controversy amused polite readers, to whom it supplied matter of talk, but there was not a trace in it of private quarrel; although Shadwell afterwards, in a scurrilous attack on Dryden, said that he and his brother-in-law nearly fought.

Dryden continued to earn money by writing for the stage. In March, 1667, his "Secret Love" was produced with success at the king's theatre, and printed next year. Nell Gwyn shone in it as Florimel. Dryden's "Sir Martin Mar-all," a version of Molière's "L'Etourdi," was produced in the same year; and in 1668 "An Evening's Love; or, the Mock Astrologer," a careless version of the French comedy "Le Feint Astrologue," by Corneille's younger brother Thomas. In 1669 Dryden produced a tragedy, called "Tyrannic Love; or, the Royal Martyr," on the story of St. Catherine. In the prologue to this, he extended Horace's "serpit humi tutus" into

"He who servilely creeps after sense
Is safe, but ne'er will reach an excellence."

He knew very well that he was often pleasing his audiences with ranted nonsense in heroic strain. Porphyrius defying the tyrant Maximin, at the end of the fourth Act, replied to him in this fashion:

"*Max.* The Sight with which my eyes shall first be fed
Must be my Empress and this Traitor's head.
"*Por.* Where'er thou stands't, I'll level at that place
My gushing blood, and spout it at thy Face.
Thus, not by Marriage, we our Blood will join:
Nay, more, my Arms shall throw my Head at thine."

Dryden's next play was "Almanzor and Almahide; or, the Conquest of Granada," in two parts, of which the first appeared in 1670. In 1672, Dryden printed his "Conquest of Granada," with an essay prefixed to it, "Of Heroick Plays." Here he assumed the question of rhyme in heroic plays to be settled by the fact that "very few Tragedies in this age shall be receiv'd without it." He gave Davenant the place of honor as originator of the heroic play, taking his music from Italian operas, and heightening his style from the example of Corneille. He said that his own plays, with love and valor for their proper theme, were based on principles of the heroic poem, and that he formed his much-abused Almanzor from Homer's Achilles, Tasso's Rinaldo, and Calprenède's Artaban.

In 1673, when Settle published his "Empress of Morocco," Dryden wrote a poor tragedy to encourage public feeling against the Dutch after the breaking of the Triple Alliance. This was "Amboyna; or, the Cruelties of the Dutch to the English Merchants." He printed also "Marriage à la Mode," acted the year before, in which he blended prose scenes with blank-verse again, as well as heroic couplets. Another play, produced in 1672, unsuccessfully, "The Assignation," was in prose, with a little blank-verse, chiefly in the last Act. In "Amboyna," the dialogue is chiefly a loose blank-verse printed as prose. In 1674, the year of Milton's death, Dryden published — it was not acted — an opera based on his "Paradise Lost," called "The State of Innocence and Fall of Man." It is in heroic rhyme, with little provision for song, but much for machinery and spectacle. The adaptation was made in good faith, but it is instructive to compare Milton's dialogue between Adam and Eve in their innocence with Dryden's endeavor to reproduce its effect on the minds of people who enjoyed the comedies of Etherege and Mrs. Behn. John Dryden was among those who had visited John Milton, for, in the preface to his "Fables," Dryden quotes from a conversation with him. He is said to have asked Milton's leave to adapt "Paradise Lost," and to have been answered with a good-humored "Ay, you may tag my verses." In 1675, Dryden produced a heroic play, "Aureng-Zebe; or, the Great Mogul," which remained popular. It was the last play written by him in heroic rhyme, and he expressed in its dedication to Lord Mulgrave some weariness of play-writing, with a manifest feeling that he had not, as a dramatist, done justice to himself. Instead of rhyming plays, he was hoping for leisure to rhyme a great poem. "If I must be condemn'd to rhime," he said, "I should find some ease in my change of punishment. I desire to be no longer the Sisyphus of the Stage; to rowl up a stone with endless labour (which, to follow the proverb, gathers no moss), and which is perpetually falling down again; I never thought myself very fit for an employment where many of my predecessors have excell'd me in all kinds; and some of my contemporaries, even in my own partial judgment, have outdone me in comedy. Some little hopes I have yet remaining, and these too, considering my abilities, may be vain, that I may make the world some part of amends for many ill plays by an heroick poem. Your lordship has been long acquainted with my design, the subject of which you know is great, the story English, and neither too far distant from the present age, nor too near approaching it. Such it is, in my opinion, that I could not have wished a nobler occasion to do honour by it to my king, my country, and my friends; most of our ancient nobility being concerned in the action. And your lordship has one particular reason to promote this undertaking, because you were the first who gave me the opportunity of discoursing it to his Majesty and his Royal Highness. They were then pleas'd both to commend the design, and to encourage it by their commands. But the unsettledness of my condition has hitherto put a stop to my thoughts concerning it. As I am no successor to Homer in his wit, so neither do I desire to be in his poverty. I can make no rhapsodies, nor go a-begging at the Grecian doors, while I sing the praises of their ancestors. The times of Virgil please me better, because he had an Augustus for his patron. And to draw the allegory nearer you, I am sure I shall not want a Mæcenas with him. 'Tis for your lordship to stir up that remembrance in his Majesty, which his many avocations of business have caus'd him, I fear, to lay aside." This invocation is not equal to Milton's:

"Chiefly Thou, O Spirit, that dost prefer
Before all temples the upright heart and pure,
Instruct me . . . .
. . . . what in me is dark
Illumine, what is low raise and support."

But no heroic poem came of a looking up to the divine majesty of Charles II.

After "Aureng-Zebe," Dryden did cease for a time from writing plays, his next being in 1678, an ambitious revision of Shakespeare's "Antony and Cleopatra," as "All for Love; or, The World Well Lost." In his preface, he said, "I have endeavour'd in this play to follow the practice of the ancients, who, as Mr. Rymer has judiciously observed, are, and ought to be, our masters. . . . In my stile I have profess'd to imitate the divine Shakespear; which, that I might perform more freely, I have disincumber'd myself from rhyme. Not that I condemn my former way, but that this is more proper to my present purpose." Dryden's plays, in 1679, were "Œdipus," with Nathaniel Lee, and a reconstruction of Shakespeare's "Troilus and Cressida," both in blank-verse, with "Limberham," a comedy in prose. The book of "Troilus and Cressida" had not only a dedication, with incidental criticism, but also a "Preface to the Play," in which Dryden discussed at some length the grounds of criticism in tragedy. The critical discussions in the dedications and prefaces to Dryden's published plays greatly assisted the sale of his play-books, and, when printed by themselves, they show their strength as by far the best and most characteristic criticism upon forms of poetry produced during the reign of Charles II. In the preface to "Troilus and Cressida" Dryden no longer disdained a servile creeping after sense, but wrote, "'Tis neither height of thought that is discommended, nor pathetic vehemence, nor any nobleness of expression in its proper place; but 'tis a false measure of all these, something which is like 'em and is not them: 'tis the Bristol stone which appears like a diamond" — ("Evitons ces faux brillants," Boileau had said) — "'tis an extravagant thought, instead of a sublime one; 'tis roaring madness, instead of vehemence; and a sound of words instead of sense" — ("Tout doit tendre au bon sens," Boileau had said). Dryden felt the genius of Shakespeare, had a sense even of smallness in the wit of what he held to be his own more refined age; and if there had been the strength of Dryden in many writers, our literature would have profited by the just demand for good sense in poetry as a re-action from the Later Euphuism, without losing height of thought, pathetic vehemence, or nobleness of expression. But the times, and his relation to them, gave Dryden little opportunity of touching the ideal that lay only half recognized within him. In December, 1679, he was waylaid and cudgelled by ruffians, employed, it was believed, by the Earl of Rochester, who wrongly supposed him to have had a hand in Lord Mulgrave's "Essay on Satire," which contained sharp lines not only on Rochester, but also on the vices of the king. In 1679 Dryden's salary and pension began to fall into arrears, and continued to do so during the next four years. In 1680 he published a translation of the "Epistles of Ovid," by various hands besides his own. In the spring or summer of 1681, Dryden produced a play addressed to the popular feeling of the day against the Roman-Catholic priesthood, called "The Spanish Friar; or, the Double Discovery." It has earned special praise for the dramatic skill with which it makes an underplot unite with the main action of the piece.

It was in the autumn of 1681 that Dryden aided the king in his conflict with the Earl of Shaftesbury, by writing a political pamphlet in verse, his satire of "Absalom and Achitophel." Its aim was to assist in turning a current of opinion against Shaftesbury; to secure, as far as pamphlet could, the finding of a true bill against him. The satire appeared anonymously, on the 17th of November, 1681. The accident of a second poem has caused this to be known as the first part of "Absalom and Achitophel," but it is a complete work. Monmouth as Absalom, and Shaftesbury as Achitophel, had occurred before in the paper war; and the use of such allegory was an appeal to the religious feeling of a people among whom those most likely to follow Shaftesbury were those most likely to be persuaded by a Scripture parallel. Charles, therefore, was David; Cromwell, Saul; the Duke of Buckingham figured as Zimri; Titus Oates, as Corah; the Roman Catholics were Jebusites; the Dissenters, Levites; and so forth. The argument of the poem was to this effect. The outcry over the asserted Popish plot gave heat to faction, and of this Shaftesbury took advantage. He reasoned thus and thus, to persuade Monmouth to rebellion; Monmouth, answering thus and thus, yielded to the persuasion. Who were the lesser associates in this rebellion, the sprouting heads of the hydra? Here followed sketches, from life, of other leaders of the opposition, and among them

George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, as Zimri. Monmouth appealed thus and thus to the people. The rebellion grew. What friends had King Charles? Here followed sketches of some of the chief friends of the king. Next came counsel of the king's friends; and then the poem ended with the king's own purpose, expressed in David's speech. I have been, he said, forgiving till they slight my clemency. "'Tis time to show I am not good by force."

> "Oh that my power to saving were confined!
> Why am I forced, like Heaven, against my mind
> To make examples of another kind?
> Must I at length the sword of justice draw?
> Oh, curst effects of necessary law!
> How ill my fear they by my mercy scan!
> Beware the fury of a patient man.
> Law they require: let Law then show her face.
>
> . . . .
>
> He said: the Almighty, nodding, gave consent,
> And peals of thunder shook the firmament.
> Henceforth a series of new time began,
> The mighty years in long procession ran;
> Once more the godlike David was restored,
> And willing nations knew their lawful lord."

The success of the satire as a poem was all it deserved to be. At once vigorous and highly finished, its characters of the chief men on either side, its lines and couplets, neatly fitted to express much that the king's party had to say, were quoted and parodied, praised and abused. Two dozen lines repaid Buckingham's "Rehearsal" fifty-fold, if Dryden thought at all — as probably he did not — of a mere jest of the stage, when dealing with a vital question that seemed to have brought the nation once more to the verge of civil war, and writing what might help to send the chief opponent of Charles to the scaffold. The literary triumph was great, but that was all. The prophecy of the closing lines was not fulfilled. The poem was published on the 17th of November. On the 24th the indictment was presented to the grand jury at the Old Bailey, and returned ignored. There were great public rejoicings, and a medal was struck to commemorate the triumph.

The medal struck to commemorate the rejection of the bill against Shaftesbury was the subject of Dryden's next piece in this series, "The Medal: a Satire against Sedition. By the Author of 'Absalom and Achitophel.'" It was published early in March, 1682, with a prefatory "Epistle to the Whigs." It was invective against Shaftesbury, blended with expression of Dryden's faith in the unity maintained by holding firmly to a fixed succession, and believing the inherent right of kings. "If true succession from our isle should fail," the various religious sects, political parties, even individual men, would strive together:

"Thus inborn broils the factions would engage,
Or wars of exiled heirs, or foreign rage,
Till halting vengeance overtook our age,
And our wild labors, wearied into rest,
Reclined us on a rightful monarch's breast."

The only temperate reply was that of Samuel Pordage. Dryden had dwelt on Shaftesbury, whose image was upon the obverse of the medal. On the reverse side was the Tower, and Pordage took this for his text in "The Medal Revers'd: a Satyre against Persecution.—By the Author of 'Azaria and Hushai.'" To complete the parallel, this opened with an introductory epistle to the Tories. Dryden was still recognized as "Our Prince of Poets," and there was nothing harder said of him than that he was on the side of the strong with Cromwell, and is so again with Charles. He found on one side of the medal Sedition under a statesman's gown. Reverse the medal, and upon the other side there is an image of the Tower, badge of as bad a hag, Persecution:

"Let then his satire with Sedition fight,
And ours the whilst shall Persecution bite;
Two hags they are, who parties seem to make:
'Tis time for satires them to undertake.
See her true badge, a prison or the Tower;
For Persecution ever sides with Power."

Very different in its character was Shadwell's answer, "The Medal of John Bayes: a Satyr against Folly and Knavery." This also had its introductory epistle to the Tories; but not dealing at all with the great controversy before the nation, it was a savage personal attack on Dryden. As for the verses, in some parts unutterably coarse, let their closing triplet indicate their tone:

> "Pied thing! half wit! half fool! and for a knave
> Few men than this a better mixture have:
> But thou canst add to that, coward and slave."

This brutal attack provoked a delicate revenge. In October, 1682, appeared "Mac Flecknoe. By the Author of 'Absalom and Achitophel.'" This was a mock heroic in rhymed couplets, setting forth how that aged prince, Richard Flecknoe, an Irish writer who had died about four years before, and who

> "In prose and verse was owned without dispute
> Through all the realms of Nonsense absolute,"

chose in his last days Shadwell for successor:

> "Shadwell alone of all my sons is he
> Who stands confirmed in full stupidity.
> The rest to some faint meaning make pretence,
> But Shadwell never deviates into sense."

The coronation of Shadwell was in the Nursery at Barbican, a theatre established in 1662 for the training of children to the stage; and there he swore "Ne'er to have peace with wit, nor truce with sense." There he received the sceptre, and was crowned with poppies, and "on his left hand twelve reverend owls did fly." Then, in prophetic mood, Flecknoe blessed and counselled his successor, till he was, after the manner of Sir Formal Trifle, in Shadwell's "Virtuoso," let down through a trap-door while yet declaiming:

> "Sinking he left his drugget robe behind,
> Borne upwards by a subterranean wind.
> The mantle fell to the young prophet's part
> With double portion of his father's art."

In November, 1682, appeared the "Second Part of Absalom and Achitophel," to which Dryden contributed only two hundred lines (ll. 310 to 509), containing a few character sketches, among which by far the most prominent are Elkanah Settle as Doeg, and Shadwell as Og. In November, 1682, another poem by Dryden appeared, ("A Layman's Religion") "Religio Laici," in the style of Horace's Epistles, being a letter written originally to a young man, Henry Dickinson, who had translated Father Simon's "Critical History of the Old Testament." This expression of Dryden's mind upon religion, in 1682, should be impartially compared with that in "The Hind and the Panther," written five years later, when he became a Roman Catholic. "Religio Laici" was addressed to the translator of a Roman Catholic book on the Old Testament, which is described by Dryden as a "matchless author's work." In the preface and in the poem Dryden modestly dissented from the preface to the Athanasian Creed, which excluded the heathen from salvation. He took his place in the preface between the Roman Catholics as Papists and the Nonconformists, believing that there was continuous endeavor to restore the Pope's authority over the King of England.

In the poem so introduced, Dryden argued that Reason is but the dim light of moon and stars, which is lost when the sun rises:

"So pale grows Reason at Religion's sight,
So dies, and so dissolves in supernatural light."

He argued that before revelation the best men had but imperfect notions of the highest good, that Deism had unconsciously borrowed from revelation that sense of the One God to be worshipped by praise and prayer, and of a future state, which it believed Reason to have discovered. He passed to the scheme of redemption expressed in the Bible, and, from objections of the Deist that "no supernatural worship can be true," and that millions have never heard the name of Christ, he took occasion to express his faith that

"Those who followed Reason's dictates right,
Lived up, and lifted high their natural light,
With Socrates may see their Maker's face,
While thousand rubric-martyrs want a place."

He argued that no church could be an omniscient interpreter of Scripture, and that the Scriptures themselves might be corrupted, but

"Though not everywhere
Free from corruption, or entire or clear,
Are uncorrupt, sufficient, clear, entire,
In all things which our needful faith require."

He argued that it was for the learned to sift and discuss the doctrines drawn out of the Bible, but

"The unlettered Christian, who believes in gross,
Plods on to heaven, and ne'er is at a loss:
For the strait gate would be made straiter yet
Were none admitted there but men of wit."

If the Bible had been handed down from the past by the church of the Roman Catholics,

> "The welcome news is in the letter found;
> The carrier's not commissioned to expound."

Once the clergy had traded with it on the ignorance of the people; now the ignorance of the people had made it the common prey: it was misused with great zeal and little thought.

> "So all we make of Heaven's discovered will
> Is not to have it or to use it ill.
> The danger's much the same, on several shelves
> If others wreck us or we wreck ourselves."

What remained, then, but the middle way between these shoals?

> "In doubtful questions 'tis the safest way
> To learn what unsuspected ancients say;
> For 'tis not likely we should higher soar
> In search of heaven than all the church before:
> Nor can we be deceived unless we see
> The Scripture and the Fathers disagree.
>
> . . . .
>
> And after hearing what our church can say,
> If still our reason runs another way,
> That private reason 'tis more just to curb
> Than by disputes the public peace disturb.
> For points obscure are of small use to learn:
> But common quiet is mankind's concern."

So the poem ended with the desire for peace by resting on authority, and Dryden's "Religio Laici," instead of being an antagonist work, is a natural prelude to "The Hind and the Panther." Under the tumult of the time the religious mind of Dryden was steadily on its way to the form of Catholicism in which he died.

In February, 1682, when Southern's first play, "The Loyal Brother," was acted, Dryden wrote prologue and epilogue to it. It was the beginning of a friendship. Dryden raised the price of his prologue on this occasion. "The players," he said, "have had my goods too cheap." In December of the same year, 1682, he produced his tragedy of "The Duke of Guise" written with Lee. It was designed to apply the story of the French League to the English opposition of that day. With the same allusion he made a "Translation of Maimbourg's History of the League," and published it in 1684. In 1683 he had contributed a Preface and a Life to a new translation of "Plutarch" by several hands. Dryden suggested and edited, in 1684, a volume of "Miscellany Poems. —Containing a New Translation of Virgil's Eclogues, Ovid's Love Elegies, Odes of Horace and other Authors; with several Original Poems, by the most Eminent Hands." This revival of the old Elizabethan plan of gathering into one volume papers of verse from various hands was successful. The volume of 1684 was the first of a new series of such Miscellanies. In this volume itself the chief original poems were reprints — "Mac Flecknoe," "Absalom and Achitophel," and "The Medal." The translations were by Dryden, Sedley, Lord Roscommon, the Late Earl of Rochester, Otway, Rymer, Tate, Sir Carr Scrope, George Stepney, Thomas Creech, Richard Duke, Mr. Adams, Mr. Chetwood, Mr. Stafford, and Mr. Cooper.

In 1685, Dryden published, still with Tonson, "Sylvæ; or, The Second Part of Poetical Miscellanies." It contained translations by himself from the "Æneid," from Lucretius, and from Theocritus and Horace, with short pieces, original, and translated by himself and others, including a Latin poem, by his eldest son Charles, on Lord Arlington's gardens.

Dryden obtained the license for his "Hind and Panther," a defence of the Roman Catholic religion, only a week after the issue of the Declaration of Indulgence, in April, 1687. It was being read and talked of when the king, who had in case of need an army encamped on Hounslow Heath, received on the 3d of July a Papal nuncio with great pomp at Windsor; and next day a proclamation in "The London Gazette" dissolved the prorogued Parliament. The publication of "The Hind and the Panther" was deliberately timed to aid King James in his scheme of a Catholic re-action. It dealt as distinctly as "Absalom and Achitophel" did in its day with the essential question of the hour; but the point of view was honestly Dryden's. James was not liberal to Dryden. In the renewal of his offices of laureate and historiographer, the annual butt of canary had been subtracted from his pay, and the renewal of the pension of a hundred pounds, which lapsed at the death of Charles, was neglected for twelve months after the new king's accession. There was no bribe, direct or indirect; and Dryden was the reverse of a time-server in staying by King James when nearly all his friends were leaving him, and prudently trimming their sails to meet the inevitable change of wind. But Dryden had his own convictions, and was true to them. He said in his preface to "The Hind and the Panther," "Some of the Dissenters, in their addresses to his Majesty, have said 'that he has restored God to his empire over conscience.' I confess I dare not stretch the figure to so great a boldness; but I may safely say that conscience is the royalty and prerogative of every private man." He had said as much in the "Religio

Laici," and the spirit of charity in that poem remained unaltered in "The Hind and the Panther." This argument for Catholicism is in three parts, and is the longest of Dryden's poems. The milk-white Hind is the Church of Rome; the Panther is the Church of England, "fairest creature of the spotted kind."

> "A milk-white Hind, immortal and unchanged,
> Fed on the lawns, and in the forest ranged;
> Without unspotted, innocent within,
> She feared no danger, for she knew no sin."

The other beasts had no good-will to her; and Independent, Presbyterian, Quaker, Freethinker, Anabaptist, Arian, are figured under bear, wolf, hare, ape, boar, fox. Then Dryden argues on with little heed to any fable, merely hindered by his clumsy animal machinery where his desire is for direct argument.

After the Revolution of 1688, and the accession of William and Mary in February, 1689, Dryden, remaining loyal to King James II., and to his adopted faith, was unable to obey the Act which required oaths of allegiance and supremacy to be taken by all holders of office before August 1, 1689. Dryden, therefore, suffered in his way, with the non-juring clergy, and lost his offices of poet-laureate and historiographer.

Obliged to return to the stage as a source of income, he produced in 1690 his tragedy of "Don Sebastian" in blank-verse, with a little prose, and in the same year a comedy, "Amphitryon," following Molière, with music by Henry Purcell, an excellent musician, and one of the organists of the Chapel Royal, who died of consumption in 1695, at the age of thirty-seven. Purcell also supplied the music for Dryden's "King Arthur; or, the British Worthy," written in 1685, and produced as a dramatic opera in 1691. With a quiet touch of good-humored satire, Dryden said in the preface to this attempt at what he called "the fairy way of writing:" "Not to offend the present times, nor a government which has hitherto protected me, I have been obliged so much to alter the first design, and take away so many beauties from the writing, that it is now no more what it was formerly than the present ship of the 'Royal Sovereign,' after so often taking down and altering, is the vessel it was at the first building;" and to deserved praise of the genius of Purcell he added, "In reason my art on this occasion ought to be subservient to his." In May, 1692, Dryden produced his tragedy of "Cleomenes; or, the Spartan Hero," finished for him by his friend Thomas Southern. In 1694, Dryden produced his last play, "Love

Triumphant," a tragi-comedy, which was a failure. In its prologue and epilogue he took leave of the stage, for he had now resolved to devote himself to a translation of Virgil.

While writing his later plays, Dryden had received, in 1692, a fee of five hundred guineas for a poem — "Eleonora" — in memory of the Countess of Abingdon; and had written a "Life of Polybius" to precede a translation by Sir Henry Shere; also a "Discourse on Satire," prefixed to a translation of "The Satires of Juvenal and Persius," translating himself Satires 1, 3, 6, 10, and 16, of Juvenal, and all Persius. He edited also, for Tonson, in 1693, a third volume of Miscellanies, "Examen Poeticum: being the Third Part of Miscellany Poems. Containing Variety of New Translations of the Ancient Poets; together with many Original Poems by the Most Eminent Hands." This was a substantial volume, with an appendix of seventy-eight pages, separately paged, containing a translation by Tate of a famous poem by Fracastorius, upon a subject that all readers might not wish to find included in the volume. It opened with Dryden's translation of the First Book of "Ovid's Metamorphoses," included verse by Congreve and Prior, much verse by Thomas Yalden, of Magdalene College, Oxford, then aged twenty-two, and a fellow-student of Addison's; a translation of Virgil's first Georgic, dedicated to Dryden by Henry Sacheverell, another of Addison's college-friends; and the first published writing of Joseph Addison himself, "To Mr. Dryden: by Mr. Jo. Addison;" dated from Magdalene College, Oxford, June 2, 1693. Addison, aged twenty-one, here exalted Dryden as a translator from the Latin poets. "Thy copy," he said, —

"Thy copy casts a fairer light on all,
And still outshines the bright original."

In 1694, appeared the fourth and last of Dryden's series, as "The Annual Miscellany: for the Year 1694. Being the Fourth Part of Miscellany Poems; Containing Great Variety of New Translations and Original Copies, by the Most Eminent Hands."

Again there was a good deal from Yalden, through whom probably Addison obtained his introduction to the Miscellany, and there was now more from young Addison. The volume, much thinner than its predecessor, opened with the "Third Book of Virgil's Georgicks, Englished by Mr. Dryden;" and that was immediately followed by "A Translation of all Virgil's fourth Georgick, except the Story of Aristæus. By Mr. Jo. Addison, of Magdalene College, Oxon." On other pages were, from the same hand, "A Song for St. Cecilia's Day, at Oxford," and the "Story of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, from the Fourth Book of Ovid's Metamorphoses;" and the book closed with "An Account of the Greatest English Poets, To Mr. H. S., April 3, 1694. By Mr. Joseph Addison." "H. S." stood for Henry Sacheverell.

In 1697, Dryden published his "Translation of Virgil," the subscription and Jacob Tonson's payment giving him about twelve hundred pounds for the work. In the fall of 1697, he wrote "Alexander's Feast," that Ode for St. Cecilia's day which was at once received as the best poem of its kind. It was written at request of the stewards of the Musical Meeting which had for some years celebrated St. Cecilia's day, and it was first set to music by Jeremiah Clarke, one of the stewards of the festival. Early in 1698 Dryden prepared a new edition of Virgil, and was beginning to translate the "Iliad." In March, 1700, in fulfilment of a contract to give Tonson ten thousand verses for two hundred and fifty guineas, appeared Dryden's "Fables." These were modernized versions from Chaucer of "The Knight's Tale," "The Nun's Priest's Tale" (with the Fox a Puritan), and "The Wife of Bath's Tale," "The Flower and the Leaf," and "The Character of a Good Parson," adapted to Bishop Ken; versions from Boccaccio of "Sigismonda and Guiscardo," "Theodore and Honoria," and "Cymon and Iphigenia," with much translation from Ovid, and Dryden's version of the First Book of the "Iliad." Referring, in his preface, to attacks upon the immorality of his plays, Dryden spoke severely of the impertinences of Sir Richard Blackmore; but of Jeremy Collier he wrote: "I shall say the less, because in many things he has taxed me justly; and I have pleaded guilty to all thoughts and expressions of mine which can be truly argued of obscenity, profaneness, or immorality, and retract them. If he be my enemy, let him triumph; if he be my friend, as I have given him no personal occasion to be otherwise, he will be glad of my repentance. It becomes me not to draw my pen in the defence of a bad cause, when I have so often drawn it for a good one." But of Collier's style Dryden added: "I will not say, 'The zeal of God's house has eaten him up;' but I am sure it has devoured some part of his good manners and civility." Dryden, afflicted with painful disease, was working to keep house, when his eldest son, Charles, who was at Rome, chamberlain of the household of Innocent XII., was obliged in 1698 to return to England an invalid. Dryden, laboring to meet the new expense thus caused, wrote to Tonson, "If it please God that I die of over-study, I cannot spend my life better than in preserving his." Early in 1700, when Vanbrugh revised Fletcher's comedy of "The Pilgrim" for Drury Lane, the profits of the third night were secured for his son Charles, by Dryden's addition to the piece of a Prologue and Epilogue, and a "Secular Masque" on the Close of the Seventeenth Century. About a month after the writing of the Prologue and Epilogue, Dryden died, on the 1st of May, 1700.

26. We now proceed to the study of Dryden's later contemporaries.

William Wycherley was born in 1640, at Clive, near Shrewsbury, where his father had some property. After his earliest schooling he was taught in France, and there became a Roman Catholic. At the Restoration he returned to England, became a fellow-commoner of Queen's College, Oxford, and was re-converted to Protestantism. He said afterwards that his first play, "Love in a Wood; or, St. James's Park," was written at nineteen, when he had just left France; and that he wrote "The Gentleman Dancing-Master" when he had been a year at Oxford. He was at sea with the Duke of York at the defeat of the Dutch off Lowestoft, in June, 1665. Wycherley's "Love in a Wood" was produced in 1672, and, together with his good looks, it won him the favor of the Duchess of Cleveland. His other play, written at college, "The Gentleman Dancing-Master," was produced in the following year, 1673. His next acted play was not the next that he wrote, if, as some suppose, he had written "The Plain Dealer" just after his experience of the Dutch war, at the end of 1665, and had kept it by him in doubt of the town's acceptance of its character of the Plain Dealer — Manly, "of an honest, surly, nice humor, supposed first, in the time of the Dutch war, to have procured the command of a ship out of honor, not interest, and choosing a sea-life only to avoid the world." At any rate, "The Country Wife," written at the age of thirty-two, when his earlier plays began to appear on the stage, was produced with great success in 1675. Then came, in 1677, "The Plain Dealer" on the stage, and those were the four comedies of Wycherley, all produced in the reign of Charles II. He lived till 1715, but wrote no more plays. After the publication of this play, Wycherley was in a bookseller's shop at Tunbridge Wells with a friend, Mr. Fairbeard, when a rich, handsome young widow, the Countess of Drogheda, came into the shop and asked for "The Plain Dealer." "Madam," said Mr. Fairbeard, since you are for the Plain Dealer, there he is for you," and pushed Wycherley towards her. This introduction led to their marriage. The lady proved a fond and jealous wife. She died soon, leaving Wycherley her fortune; but his title to it was successfully disputed, he was ruined by law-suits, and spent the last years of the reign of Charles II. in a debtor's prison. James II., after witnessing a performance of "The Plain Dealer," rescued its author from prison by giving him a pension of two hundred pounds a year and offering to pay his debts. But Wycherley did not venture to name all his debts, and left enough unpaid to weigh him down in after-life.

Wycherley was the first vigorous writer of what has been called our prose comedy of manners. In the absence of all that poetry which lies in a perception of the deeper truths and harmonies of life, his plays resemble other comedies of the later Stuart drama. There was little of it even in the metrical heroic plays. But Wycherley's differ from other comedies of their time by blending with surface reflection of the manners of an evil time a larger, healthier sense of the humors of men, caught from enjoyment of Molière. Wycherley's best plays are founded upon Moliere — "The Country Wife" on "L'École des Femmes," and "The Plain Dealer" on "Le Misanthrope." They are not translations; but in turns of plot and certain characters the direct and strong influence of Molière is evident. Dryden and others borrowed from Molière; Wycherley was, in a way, inspired by him. He had not Molière's rare genius, and could not reproduce the masterly simplicity and ease of dialogue that is witty, and wise too, in every turn, while yet so natural as to show no trace of a strain for effect; that is nowhere fettered to a false conventionality, but so paints humors of life as to be good reading forever, alike to the strong men and to girls and boys. Our English writers of the prose comedy of manners cannot claim readers, like Molière, from civilized Europe in all after-time; but, as compared with other English dramatists of their own time, they did widen the range of character-painting — witness the widow Blackacre and her law-suit in "The Plain Dealer" — and they did take pains to put substance of wit into their dialogue. Four dramatists are the chiefs of this school of prose comedy — Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar. Of these Wycherley came first, and wrote his four plays in the reign of Charles II. His last play was acted sixteen years before the first of Congreve's. Congreve's plays were all produced in the reign of William III., and those of Vanbrugh and Farquhar in the reigns of William and of Queen Anne.

27. William Congreve was of a Staffordshire family, and born in 1670. He was educated at Kilkenny and at Trinity College, Dublin; entered the Middle Temple; in 1693 published a novel, "Incognita; or, Love and Duty Reconciled," and at Drury Lane produced his play of "The Old Bachelor," which he professed to have written several years before "to amuse himself in a slow recovery from sickness." The success of the play was great, and it caused Charles Montague, then a Lord of the Treasury, to make Congreve a commissioner for licensing hackney-coaches. In the following year, 1694, Congreve produced, with much less success, "The Double Dealer." The two theatres at Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn had joined their forces about 1682, and there was then only one great theatre, that at Drury Lane, with Thomas Betterton the greatest of its actors. Irritated by the patentees at Drury Lane, Betterton, then a veteran actor, sixty years old, seceded. He carried other good players with him, as well as the new dramatist, and obtained a patent for a new theatre, which opened in Lincoln's Inn Fields, in 1695, with Congreve's comedy of "Love for Love." This had a brilliant success, and the company gave Congreve a share in the new house, on condition of his writing them a play a year if his health allowed. His next play appeared in 1697. It was his only tragedy, "The Mourning Bride," the most successful of his pieces. Afterwards, he wrote "The Way of the World," a comedy; "The Judgment of Paris," a masque; and "Semele," an opera; and in 1710, he published a complete edition of his works in three volumes. He died in 1729.

28. **Sir John Vanbrugh**, born in 1666, was of a family that had lived near Ghent before the persecutions by the Duke of Alva. His grandfather came to England, and his father acquired wealth as a sugar-baker. After a liberal education, finished in France, Vanbrugh was for a time in the army, and in 1695 he was nominated by John Evelyn as secretary to the Commission for endowing Greenwich Hospital. His "Relapse," produced in 1697, was followed by "The Provoked Wife," produced in 1698 at Lincoln's Inn Fields. Other plays of his are "Æsop," "The Pilgrim," "The False Friend," "The Confederacy," and "The Country House." He attained great note both as a dramatist and as an architect; was knighted; and died in 1726.

29. **George Farquhar**, the son of a poor clergyman, was born at Londonderry in 1678. He left Trinity College, Dublin, to turn actor for a short time on the Dublin stage, came young to London, and got a commission in a regiment under Lord Orrery's command in Ireland. Young Captain Farquhar was but twenty, when, in 1698, his first play, "Love and a Bottle," won success. Congreve's plays were the wittiest produced by writers of the new comedy of manners, but their keenness and fine polish were least relieved by any sense of right. Vanbrugh's style was less artificial and his plots were simpler, but his ready wit and coarse strength were as far as Congreve's finer work from touching the essentials of life. Farquhar had

a generosity of character that humanized the persons of his drama with many traces of good feeling. He produced his "Inconstant" in 1703, "The Twin Rivals" in 1705, "The Recruiting Officer" in 1706, and his last and best play, "The Beaux Stratagem," written in six weeks when he was dying. He died, but twenty-nine years old, during the height of its success. A woman who loved Farquhar had entrapped him into marriage by pretending to possess a fortune. When undeceived, he never in his life reproached her. From his death-bed he commended his two helpless daughters to his friend Wilks, the actor, who got them a benefit. His widow died in extreme poverty. One of his daughters married a poor tradesman, the other became a maid-servant.

30. **Thomas Southern,** whom Dryden afterwards commended for his purity, was born in Ireland in 1660. He came to London in 1678, and at the age of eighteen entered the Middle Temple. He was but twenty-two when, in 1682, his tragedy of "The Loyal Brother; or, the Persian Prince," was acted. The controversy over the succession of the king's brother then ran high, and Southern, taking the side of the court, meant his play, of which the plot was from a novel, "Tachmas, Prince of Persia," to be taken as a compliment to James, Duke of York. It was followed, in 1684, by a comedy, "The Disappointment; or, the Mother in Fashion," which had a plot taken from the novel in "Don Quixote" of "The Curious Impertinent." Southern's best plays, both tragedies, were produced in the reign of William III.; "The Fatal Marriage," in 1694, and "Oroonoko," founded on Mrs. Behn's novel, in 1696. The play added new strength to the protest of the novel against slavery. Southern was an amiable man and a good economist. By his commissions in the army, which he entered early in James II.'s reign, his good business management as a dramatist, and careful investment of his money, he became rich, and lived to be a well-to-do, white-haired old gentleman, who died at the age of eighty-six in the year 1746. He was the introducer of the author's second and third night, which raised his profit from the players, and he was not above active soliciting, which brought in money from bountiful patrons of the theatre to whom he sold his tickets. He contrived even to make a bookseller pay a hundred and fifty pounds for the right of publishing one of his plays. When Dryden once asked him how much he made by a play, he owned, to Dryden's great astonishment, that by his last play he had made seven hundred pounds. Dryden himself had been often content to earn a hundred.

31. It was in the year 1679, that **John Oldham** wrote his satires on the Jesuits. He was born in 1653, son of a Nonconformist minister at

Shipton, Gloucestershire. Oldham went to St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, and returned home, after taking his B.A. degree, in 1674. He became usher in a school at Croydon. Verse written by him found its way to the Earls of Rochester and Dorset, and to Sir Charles Sedley, who astonished the poor usher by paying him a visit. He became tutor to two grandsons of Sir Edwards Thurland, a judge living near Reigate, and then to the son of a Sir William Hickes, near London. This occupation over, he lived among the wits in London; was remembered as the poetical usher by Sedley and Dorset; was on affectionate terms with Dryden; and found a patron in the Earl of Kingston, with whom he was domesticated, at Holme Pierrepoint, when he died of small-pox, in December, 1683, aged thirty. His chief production was the set of four "Satyrs upon the Jesuits," modelled variously on Persius, Horace, Buchanan's "Franciscan," and the speech of Sylla's ghost at the opening of Ben Jonson's "Catiline." The vigor of his wit produced a bold piece of irony in an "Ode against Virtue," and its "Counterpart," an ode in Virtue's praise, with many short satires and odes, — one in high admiration of Ben Jonson, — paraphrases and translations. There is a ring of friendship in the opening of Dryden's lines upon young Oldham's death before time had added the full charm of an English style to the strength of wit in his verse:

"Farewell! too little and too lately known,
Whom I began to think and call my own;
For sure our souls were near allied, and thine
Cast in the same poetic mould with mine."

32. **Nahum Tate**, joint author with Dryden of the Second Part of "Absalom and Achitophel," was born in Dublin, in 1652, the son of Dr. Faithful Tate, and educated at Trinity College there. He came to London, published in 1677 a volume of "Poems," and between that date and 1682 had produced the tragedies of "Brutus of Alba" and "The Loyal General; Richard II.; or, the Sicilian Usurper;" an altered version of Shakespeare's "King Lear;" and an application of "Coriolanus" to court politics of the day, as "The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth; or, The Fall of Coriolanus." Tate wrote three other plays before the Revolution. It was not till 1696 that he produced, with **Dr. Nicholas Brady** (b. 1659, d. 1726), also an Irishman, and then chaplain to William III., a "New Version of the Psalms of David;" and in 1707 one more tragedy of his was acted, "Injured Love; or, The Cruel Husband." In 1692, Tate became poet-laureate, and remained laureate during the rest of Dryden's life, and throughout Queen Anne's reign.

33. **George Stepney** (b. 1663, d. 1707), wrote pleasant occasional verse. He was educated at Westminster School and Trinity College, Cambridge, and owed his political employment after the Revolution to the warm friendship of a fellow-student, Charles Montague, afterwards Lord Halifax.

34. **Thomas Creech**, born in 1659, near Sherborne, Dorset, studied

at Wadham College, Oxford, and got a fellowship for his translation of Lucretius, published in 1682. In 1684, the year of the first volume of Miscellany Poems, Creech published a verse translation of the Odes, Satires, and Epistles of Horace, which did not sustain his credit, though he applied the satires to his own times. The end of his life was, that, in 1701, Wadham College presented him to the rectory of Welwyn, and he hanged himself in his study before going to reside there. **Richard Duke**, also a clergyman, was a friend of Otway's, and tutor to the Duke of Richmond. He was part author of translations of Ovid and Juvenal, and also wrote original verses. He died in 1711, as Prebendary of Gloucester.

35. Sir Samuel Garth, born of a good Yorkshire family about 1660, became M.D. of Cambridge in 1691, and Fellow of the London College of Physicians in 1693. He was a very kindly man, who throve both as wit and as physician; and he acquired fame by a mock-heroic poem, "The Dispensary," first published in 1699. The College of Physicians had, in 1687, required all its fellows and licentiates to give gratuitous advice to the poor. The high price of medicine was still an obstacle to charity; and after a long battle within the profession, the physicians raised, in 1696, a subscription among themselves for the establishment of a dispensary within the college, at which only the first cost of medicines would be charged to the poor in making up gratuitous prescriptions. The squabble raised over this scheme, chiefly between physicians and apothecaries, Garth, who was one of its promoters, celebrated in his clever mock-heroic poem. It was suggested to him, as he admitted, by Boileau's mock-heroic, "Le Lutrin," first published in 1674, which had for its theme a hot dispute between the treasurer and precentor of the Sainte Chapelle at Paris over the treasurer's wish to change the position of a pulpit. Garth, a good Whig, was knighted on the accession of George I., and was made one of the physicians in ordinary to the king. He wrote other verse, and died in 1719.

36. John Pomfret, who died in 1703, aged thirty-six, was Rector of Malden, and son of the Rector of Luton, both in Bedfordshire. His "Poems" appeared in 1699, the chief of them a smooth picture of happy life, "The Choice," first published as "by a Person of Quality." As one part of "The Choice" was "I'd have no Wife," it was promptly replied to with "The Virtuous Wife; a Poem." **William Walsh** (b. 1663, d. 1708), whom Dryden, and afterwards Pope, honored as friend and critic, was the son of a gentleman of Worcestershire. He wrote verse, liked poets, was a man of fashion, and sat for his own county in several Parliaments. He published, in 1691, a prose "Dialogue concerning Women, being a Defence of the Fair Sex, addressed to Eugenia." **William King** (b. 1663, d. 1712) was born in London to a good estate, graduated at Oxford, became D.C.L. in 1692, and an advocate at Doctors' Commons. He acquired under William III. and Queen Anne the reputation of a witty poet, who idly wasted high abilities and good aids to advancement in the world. In 1699 he published a "Journey to London," as a jest upon Dr. Martin Lister's "Journey to Paris." In 1700 he satirized Sir Hans Sloane, then President of the Royal Society, in two dialogues called "The Transactioner." At the end of William's reign, Dr. King obtained good appointments in Ireland. **Thomas Brown**, a witty and coarse writer of trifles, whose name afterwards as Tom Brown became very familiar in society, began his career towards the close of Charles II.'s reign. He was born in 1663, the son of a farmer, at Shiffnal, Shropshire; became a clever but discreditable student of Christchurch, Oxford; acquired skill in French, Italian, and Spanish, as well as in Latin and Greek; was obliged by his irregularities to leave the university, and was schoolmaster for a time at Kingston-on-Thames. Then he came to London, lazy, low-minded, dissolute, and clever, to live as he could by his wit. He wrote satires, two plays, dialogues, essays, declamations, letters from the dead to the living, translations, etc. He died in 1704. **George Granville** (b. 1667, d. 1735), second son of Bernard Granville, and nephew to the first Earl of Bath, went early to Cambridge, wrote verse as an undergraduate, was at the Revolution a young man of twenty-one, loyal to the cause of King James. Under William III. he lived in retirement and wrote plays: "The She-Gallants;" a revision of Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice," as "The Jew of Venice," with Shylock turned into a comic character; and "Heroic Love," a tragedy upon "Agamemnon and Chryseis." George Granville was made Lord Lansdowne, Baron Bideford, in 1711, when the Tories came into power.

CHAPTER IX.

SECOND HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: SCHOLARS, PHILOSOPHERS, AND MEN OF SCIENCE.

1. Thomas Hobbes. — 2. James Harrington. — 3. Eager Spirit of Inquiry. — 4. Group of Men of Science. — 5. Robert Boyle. — 6. Robert Hooke. — 7. John Ray. — 8. Thomas Sprat. — 9. Thomas Sydenham. — 10. Sir Thomas Browne. — 11. Elias Ashmole. — 12. Sir Kenelm Digby. — 13. Sir Isaac Newton. — 14. Writers on Political Science; Thomas Mun; Sir Josiah Child; Sir William Petty. — 15. Algernon Sidney. — 16. Izaak Walton. — 17. Ralph Cudworth. — 18. John Locke.

1. THERE was one man whose life ended in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century, but began in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century, and who was himself a representative of the three classes of writers embraced in the title of this chapter. We refer to **Thomas Hobbes**, who was born in April, 1588, son of a clergyman, at Malmesbury, in Wiltshire. As a schoolboy at Malmesbury he translated the "Medea" of Euripides from Greek into Latin verse. In 1603 he was entered to Magdalene Hall, Oxford; and in 1608 became tutor to William, Lord Cavendish, son of Lord Hardwicke, soon afterwards created Earl of Devonshire. In 1610, Hobbes travelled with his pupil in France and Italy. When he came home, Bacon, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and Ben Jonson, were among his friends. In 1626 his patron died, and in 1628 the son whose tutor he had been died also. In that year Hobbes published his first work, a "Translation of Thucydides," made for the purpose of showing the evils of popular government. Ben Jonson helped in the revision of it. Hobbes next went to France as tutor to the son of Sir Gervase Clifton, but was called back by the Countess Dowager of Devonshire to take charge of the young earl, then thirteen years old. In 1634 he went with his pupil to France and Italy, returned to England in 1637, and still lived at Chatsworth with the family he had now served for about thirty years. In 1636 he honored Derbyshire by publishing a Latin poem on the wonders of the Peak, "De Mirabilibus Pecci." In 1641 Hobbes withdrew to Paris, and in 1642 published in Latin the first work setting forth his philosophy of society. It treated of the citizen — "Elementa Philosophica de Cive." Hobbes upheld absolute monarchy as the true form of government, basing his argument upon the principle that the state of nature is a state of war. In 1647 Hobbes became mathematical tutor to Charles, Prince of Wales.

In 1650, he published a treatise on "Human Nature; or, the Fundamental Elements of Policy;" and another, "De Corpore Politico; or, the Elements of Law, Moral and Politic." In the following year, 1651, appeared his "Leviathan; or, the Matter, Form, and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil." This book he caused to be written on vellum for presentation to Prince Charles; but the divines were in arms against Hobbes for opinions which they considered hostile to religion. Upholder as he was of the supremacy of kings, Charles naturally avoided him. No man can hurt religion by being as true as it is in his power to be; and that Hobbes was. Our judgment of a man ought never to depend upon whether or not we agree with him in opinion. Hobbes was an independent thinker, and retained his independence when he might have lapsed into the mere hanger-on of a noble house, or, by dwelling only on some part of his opinion, have looked for profit as a flatterer of royalty. At Chatsworth he gave his morning to exercise and paying respects to the family and its visitors; at noon he went to his study, ate his dinner alone without ceremony, shut himself in with ten or twelve pipes of tobacco, and gave his mind free play.

Hobbes's "Leviathan," "occasioned," he says, "by the disorders of the present time," is in four parts: 1, Of Man; 2, Of Commonwealth; 3, Of a Christian Commonwealth; 4, Of the Kingdom of Darkness. Whatever can be compounded of parts Hobbes called a body; man, imitating nature, or the art by which God governs the world, creates "that great Leviathan called the Commonwealth or State, . . . which is but an artificial man, though of greater stature and strength than the natural, for whose protection and defence it was intended." In this huge body the sovereignty is an artificial soul, as giving life and motion to all its parts. (1.) The matter and artificer of it is Man. Men are by nature equal, and their natural state is one of war, each being governed by his own reason, and with a right to every thing that he can get. But he may agree to lay down this right, and be content with so much liberty against other men as he would like them to have against himself. Retaining certain natural rights of self-preservation, man makes a covenant which is the origin of government, and injustice then consists simply in breach of that covenant. (2.) For the particular security not to be had by the law of nature a covenant is made, which forms man into the Commonwealth, and is the basis of the rights and just power or authority of a sovereign, who becomes thenceforth as soul to the body. The subjects to a monarch thus constituted cannot without his leave throw off or transfer monarchy, because they are bound by their covenant. "And whereas," says Hobbes, "some men have pretended, for their disobedience to their sovereign, a new covenant, made not with men, but with God; this also is unjust: for there is no covenant with God but by mediation of somebody that representeth God's person; which none doth but God's lieutenant, who hath the sovereignty under God." (3.) Reason directs public worship of God, but since a Commonwealth is but as one person, it ought also to exhibit to God but one worship. There is no universal Church, because there is no power on earth to which all other Commonwealths are subject; but there are Christians in many states, each subject to the Commonwealth of which he is a member. It is the function of the constituted supreme power to determine what doctrines are fit for peace and to be taught the subjects. All pastors in a church exercise their office by Civil Right; the civil sovereign alone is pastor by Divine Right. The command of the civil sovereign, having Divine warrant, may be obeyed without forfeiture of life eternal; therefore, not to obey is unjust. All that is necessary to salvation is contained in Faith in Christ, and Obedience to Laws. (4.) The "Rulers of the Darkness of this World" are the confederacy of deceivers, that, to obtain dominion over men in this present world, endeavor by dark and erroneous doctrines to extinguish in them the light both of Nature and of the Gospel, and so to disprepare them for the kingdom of God to come.

Much of the detail in "Leviathan" and other writings led to a belief that the doctrines of Hobbes were destructive to Christianity and all religion. This was expressed by Dr. Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, in a book called "The Catching of Leviathan," to which Hobbes wrote an answer. Hobbes published, in 1654, a treatise written in 1652; "Of Liberty and Necessity: . . . wherein all Controversy concerning Predestination, Election, Free-will, Grace, Merits, Reprobation, etc., is fully

Decided and Cleared." Dr. Bramhall undertook to show him that on these points also he was to be by no means clear of controversy.

Living far into the reign of Charles II., he published, in 1675, a "Translation of the Iliad and Odyssey" into English verse, after an experiment with four books of the "Odyssey" as "The Voyage of Ulysses." He died in 1679, at the age of ninety-one. In the year of his death appeared a Latin poem by him on his own "Life," written at the age of eighty-four, and his "Behemoth: The History of the Causes of the Civil Wars of England, and of the Counsels and Artifices by which they were carried on, from the Year 1640 to the Year 1660." This is discussed in the form of a dialogue between A and B, and sets forth Hobbes's opinions on the place of the Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, and Independents, in their relation to the Civil War, upon ship-money, the action of the Long Parliament and the Commonwealth, and other topics interesting to a philosophical inquirer with some strong opinions of his own.

B says in the course of this dialogue that he should like "to see a system of the present morals, written by some divine of good reputation and learning and of the late king's party." "I think," A answers, "I can recommend unto you the best that is extant, and such a one as (except a few passages that I mislike) is very well worth your reading. The title of it is, 'The Whole Duty of Man laid down in a Plain and Familiar Way.'" This popular book, with prayers appended, including a prayer for the church, and prayers "for those who mourn in secret in these times of calamity," was first published in 1659, was translated into Welsh in 1672, into Latin in 1693, and has been attributed by different speculators to three archbishops, two bishops, several less dignified clergymen, and a lady.

2. James Harrington, born in 1612, eldest son of Sir Sapcotes Harrington, was of a good Rutlandshire family. In 1629 he entered as a gentleman commoner of Trinity College, Oxford. His father died before he was of age. He went to Holland, Denmark, Germany, and France, and to Italy, where he became an admirer of the Venetian Republic. After his return he lived a studious life, and was generous in care for his younger brothers and sisters. At the beginning of 1647 he was appointed to wait on Charles I., after his surrender to the English Commissioners, went with him from Newcastle, and was one of his grooms of the chamber at Holmby House. The king preferred his company, talked with him of books and foreign parts, and was only a little impatient when Harrington, a philosophical republican, entertained his Majesty with a theory of an ideal Commonwealth. Harrington was with Charles in the Isle of Wight, but was afterwards separated from him because he would not take an oath against connivance at the king's escape. After the king's execution Harrington worked out his view of government in the book which he called "The Commonwealth of Oceana." Oceana was England, and he styled Scotland Marpesia, Ireland Panopæa, Henry VII. Panurgus, Henry VIII. Coraunus, Queen Elizabeth Parthenia, and so forth. Oceana being island, seems, said Harrington, like Venice, to have been designed by God for a Commonwealth: but Venice, because of its limited extent and want of arms, "can be no more than a Commonwealth for preservation; whereas this, reduced to the like government, is a Commonwealth for increase." At the foundation of Harrington's theory was the doctrine that empire follows the balance of property. He began with a sketch of the principles of government among the ancients and among the moderns, arguing throughout that dominion is property, and that, except in cities whose revenue is in trade, the form of empire is determined by the balance of dominion or property in land.

If one man be, like the Grand Turk, sole landlord, or overbalance the people three parts in four, his empire is Absolute Monarchy. If the nobility be the landlords, or overbalance the people to the like proportion, that is the Gothic balance, and the empire is Mixed Monarchy, as that of Spain or Poland, and of Oceana till "the Statute of Alienations broke the pillars by giving way to the nobility to sell their estates." If the whole people be landlords, or hold the lands so divided that no one man or small body of men overbalance them, the empire (unless force intervene) is a Commonwealth. Any possible attempt to maintain government in opposition to this principle leads, said Harrington, to disorder. Where a nobility holds half the property, and the people the other half, the one must eat out the other, as the people did the nobility in Athens, and the nobility the people in Rome. After illustrating this position, Harrington cited, under feigned names, nine of the most famous forms of legislation known in history; and out of what he took to be the good points of each, with additions and modifications of his own invention, he produced a Council of Legislators and a Model Commonwealth for his Oceana. Olphaus Megaletor (Oliver Cromwell), "the most victorious captain and incomparable patriot," general of the army, was made by its suffrage Lord Archon of Oceana; fifty select persons sat as a Council to assist him. The materials of a Commonwealth are the people; these the Lord Archon and his Council divided into freemen or citizens, and servants. The servants were not to share in the government until able to live of themselves. The citizens were divided into youths (from eighteen to thirty) and elders; also, according to their means, into horse and foot; and, according to their habitations, into parishes, hundreds, and tribes. A thousand surveyors, each with a district assigned to him, "being every one furnished with a convenient proportion of urns, balls, and balloting-boxes (in the use whereof they had been formerly exercised), and now arriving each at his respective parishes, began with the people by teaching them their first lesson, which was the ballot; and though they found them in the beginning somewhat froward, as at toys, with which (while they were in expectation of greater matters from a Council of Legislators) they conceived themselves to be abused, they came within a little while to think them pretty sport, and at length such as might very soberly be used in good earnest." Then followed an account of the machinery of balloting in each parish for deputies, only the elders being the electors; of balloting also for the new pastor by the elders of the congregation in every parish church, with provision saving the rights of all Dissenters; and for the election of justices and high constables, captains and ensigns, coroners and jurymen, by ballot, among deputies of the parishes, and so throughout; "the ballot of Venice, as it is fitted by several alterations, to be the constant and only way of giving suffrage in this Commonwealth." The method of voting by ballot in the national Senate was illustrated by a picture.

The full scheme of a Commonwealth was worked out in the "Oceana" with much detail. Harrington's manuscript was seized and carried to Whitehall, but pleasantly recovered by appeal to Cromwell through his daughter Lady Claypole, and published in 1656, inscribed "to His Highness, the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland." Like all books that represented the activity of independent thought on the great questions of the day, Harrington's "Oceana" produced pamphlets in attack and in defence. Its chief opponents were Dr. Henry Ferne, afterwards Bishop of Chester, and Matthew Wren, one of the votaries of experimental science, out of whose meetings the Royal Society was presently to spring, and of whom Harrington said they had "an excellent faculty of magnifying a Flea, and diminishing a Commonwealth." Partly to the opinions of Hobbes, and partly to those of Harrington, Richard Baxter opposed his "Holy Commonwealth." Harrington published an abridgment of his political scheme in 1659, as "The Art of Lawgiving;" and established, in the latter days of the Commonwealth, a club called the "Rota," which met at the "Turk's Head," kept by one Miles, in the New Palace Yard, Westminster, and sat round an oval table, with a passage cut in the middle of it by which Miles delivered his coffee. The Rota discussed principles of government, and voted by ballot. Its ballot-box was the first seen in England. Milton's old pupil, Cyriac Skinner, was one of the members of this Club, which was named from a doctrine of its supporters, that in the chief legislative body a third part of the members should rote out by ballot every year, and be incapable for three years of re-election; by which principle of rotation Parliament would be completely renewed every ninth year. Magistrates also were to be chosen for only three years, and, of course, by ballot. Harrington died in 1677.

3. Everywhere there was in those days the quickened spirit of inquiry. It entered into politics; and patriotic thinkers, representing many forms of mind, active in fresh examination of the framework of society, sought to find their way to the first principles on which established forms of government are founded, and to part the false from the true. It entered into religion; and devout men, also representing many forms of mind, went straight to the Bible as the source of revealed truth, seeking to find their way to the first principles on which established forms of faith are founded. It entered into science; and followers of Bacon, hoping to draw wisdom from the work of the All-wise, went straight to Nature as the source of all our material knowledge, and sought, by putting aside previous impressions where they interfered with a new search for truth, to find their way to the first principles upon which a true science is built.

4. These men of science, who were drawn together in the time of the Civil War, were active still under the Commonwealth, and under Charles II. There was **Robert Boyle**, with a special turn for chemical investigation, and an ever-present sense of God in nature. During the Commonwealth it was chiefly at Boyle's house, in Oxford, with his sister, Lady Ranelagh, for hostess, that the knot of associated men of science had their meetings. There was **Samuel Hartlib**, one of the first to suggest fellowship in the pursuit of knowledge, a foreigner who spent his whole fortune for the well-being of England, and was still at work under the Commonwealth, issuing practical books that taught the English farmer to improve his crops. Hartlib's services were recognized by Cromwell with a pension of three hundred pounds a year. This ceased at the Restoration, and Hartlib died poor and neglected. There was **John Wallis**, Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford, who prepared the way for Newton. Newton's binomial theorem was a corollary of the results of Wallis on the quadrature of curves. Wallis published, in 1655, his chief mathematical work, "Arithmetica Infinitorum," with a prefixed treatise on Conic Sections. **Thomas Hobbes**, who swam out of his depth in mathematics, supposed himself to have squared the circle. Wallis commented on this in his "Elenchus Geometriæ Hobbianæ." Hobbes, who never took contradiction well, retorted with "Six Lessons to the Professors of Mathematics at Oxford." Wallis replied, in 1656, with "Due Correction for Mr. Hobbes; or, School Discipline for not saying his Lesson right." Hobbes rejoined with "Marks of the Absurd Geometry, etc., of Dr. Wallis;" and the controversy went on for some time, Wallis being in the right, and also cleverer than Hobbes in conduct of the controversy. The best of his retorts was "Hobbius Heautontimorumenos" (named from one of the comedies of Terence), published in 1662. Wallis lived till 1703. Another of these comrades in science was **John Evelyn**, born in 1620, the son of Richard Evelyn, of Wotton, Surrey. Evelyn loved art and nature, had ample means, left England because of the Civil War, and travelled in France and Italy; came home in 1651 with his fair and clever wife, and amused himself with the laying out of his famous gardens at Sayes Court, quietly holding stout Royalist opinions, and avoiding a pledge to the Covenant. In 1659 he sketched a plan of a philosophical college, and published also an "Apology for the Royal Party." There was also, as Evelyn calls him, that most obliging and universally curious **Dr. Wilkins**, who had wonderful transparent apiaries; a hollow statue which spoke through a concealed tube; also "a variety of shadows, dials, perspectives, and many other artificial, mathematical, and magical curiosities, . . . most of them of his own and that prodigious young scholar, Mr. Chr. Wren." Young **Christopher Wren**, nephew of the Bishop of Ely, was also in fellowship among these followers of science. There was **William Petty** (knighted in 1661), born in 1623, son of a clothier at Romsey, educated at the Romsey Grammar School, and Caen, in Normandy. He began active life with some experience in the navy, then, after 1643, was in France and the Netherlands for three years, and studied medicine and anatomy. In 1648 he published "The Advice of W. P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib for the Advancement of some Particular Parts of Learning," that is, the extension of education to objects more connected with the business of life. He went to Oxford, taught anatomy and chemistry, became in 1649 M.D. and Fellow of Brazenose. Some of the first scientific gatherings were in his rooms. In 1652 he was physician to the army in Ireland; in 1654 he obtained a contract for the accurate survey of lands forfeited by the rebellion of 1641, by which he made ten thousand pounds while instituting the first scientific survey of Ireland.

5. Of the men of science just named, we must recall one, **Robert Boyle**, for more particular mention. He was the seventh son of the Earl of Cork, and was born in 1627. He was educated at Eton, then at Geneva. When his father died, in 1643, Robert Boyle returned to England. By advice of his sister, Lady Ranelagh, he shunned the strife of parties, and devoted himself to study. Lady Ranelagh, having become a widow, added her income to Robert's, and kept house for him. In 1644, Robert Boyle became a friend of Hartlib's, and entered heartily into his beneficent schemes. He became also a friend of Miltôn's, for Lady Ranelagh sent her son and her nephew, the Earl of Barrimore, to Milton's school. In Robert Boyle the fresh study of nature quickened love of God; his scientific thought was blended with simple and deep religious feeling. In 1648 he wrote, but did not publish until 1660, a letter on "Seraphic Love," addressed to a young "Lindamor" disappointed in courtship; a commendation to him of that purely spiritual love to which both Christianity and Platonism invited men. In the latter year, he also published "New Experiments Physico-mechanical, touching the Spring of the Air and its Effects; made for the most part in a New Pneumatical Engine." These were experiments made with the air-pump, a contrivance first suggested, about 1654, by Otto von Guericke, a magistrate of Magdeburg, but more perfectly worked out, in 1658 or 1659, by Robert Boyle, with the help of his friend Robert Hooke. From this time onward, his publications continued to witness to his active interest in science. In 1661 he published considerations on the conduct of experiments, and some more experiments of his own, in "Certain Physiological Essays;" published, also, his "Sceptical Chemist," in argument against those short-sighted philosophers who "are wont to endeavor to evince their salt, sulphur, and mercury to be the true principles of things." In 1663 he published "Some Considerations touching the Usefulness of Experimental Natural Philosophy," and "Experiments and Considerations touching Colors," also "Some Considerations touching the Style of the Holy Scriptures;" and among many other little books, with God and Nature for their theme, was one, published in 1665, but written when he was very young, — "in my infancy," he says, writing to his sister, Lady Ranelagh, who had asked him to find it, — entitled, "Occasional Reflections upon Several Subjects: whereto is premised a Discourse about such kind of Thoughts." This was the book afterwards ridiculed by Swift, in his "Meditations on a Broomstick."

Robert Boyle's writings chiefly concerned experiments on air and on flame, till 1674, when he published "Observations and Experiments about the Saltness of the Sea," and a book written during his retirement from London in the plague-time of 1665, "The Excellency of Theology, compared with Natural Philosophy, as both are the Objects of Men's Study." In the following year, 1675, appeared his "Some Considerations about the Reconcilableness of Reason and Religion." Robert Boyle, who never named God without a reverent pause, refused to take orders with assurance of high church promotion; he said that he could serve religion more effectually as a layman. He sent to a friend in the Levant, for distribution, Dr. Edward Pocock's translation into Arabic of Grotius on the "Truth of Christianity," printed at Boyle's expense, after a liberal reward to the translator. Boyle caused also an Irish Bible to be produced, and this too was printed at his expense. As one of its directors, he was active in urging the East-India Company to use its influence in spreading Christianity with trade; and he was the first governor of a corporation for the propagation of the Gospel and the conversion of the American natives in New England. For six years he helped to provide Burnet with the means that enabled him to write and publish the first volume of his "History of the Reformation." In 1680 Robert Boyle declined the Presidency of the Royal Society, because he was unwilling to be bound by tests and oaths on taking office. He was not a Nonconformist, but was zealous against intolerance. He also declined the Provostship of Eton, and several times refused a peerage. He is said to have spent a thousand pounds a year in works of benevolence. Robert Boyle was tall, very thin, and of feeble constitution. He never married. His dearest female friend was his sister, Lady Ranelagh, whom he survived only a week. He died at the end of December, 1691.

6. A friend and fellow-laborer of Robert Boyle's was **Robert Hooke**, who was born in 1635; was educated at Oxford, where he assisted Wallis in his chemical experiments; and, in 1662, was made Curator of the Experiments of the Royal Society; in 1664, its Professor of Mechanics; and, in 1665, Professor of Geometry in Gresham College. He improved the microscope, was at the head of English microscopic research, and published, about 1666, his "Micrographia; or, some Physiological Descriptions of Minute Bodies, made by Magnifying Glasses." Hooke, who was made M.D. by Tillotson in 1691, and died in 1702, was one of the best representatives of the activity of scientific thought under Charles II. His published writings are numerous.

7. **John Ray** was the chief botanist of the time. He was a blacksmith's son, born in 1628 at Black Notley, near Braintree, Essex. He was sent from Braintree School to Cambridge, where he obtained a fellowship of Trinity; in 1651 was Greek Lecturer of his college, and afterwards Mathematical Reader. In 1660 he published a Latin Catalogue of Plants growing about Cambridge, and then made a botanical tour through Great Britain. His Latin "Catalogue of the Plants of England and the Adjacent Isles" first appeared in 1670. Ray took orders at the Restoration, but refused subscription, and resigned. In 1663 he went with a pupil, F. Willoughby, to the Continent, and published an account of his travels there in 1673, as "Observations made in a Journey through Part of the Low Countries, Germany, Italy, and France, with a Catalogue of Plants not Natives of England." Ray married, in 1673, a lady twenty-four years younger than himself; educated the children of his friend Mr. Willoughby, who had died in 1672; and finally, in 1679, he settled in his native place, and lived there till his death, in 1705. Among his books was "A Collection of English Proverbs, with Short Annotations," first published in 1670; and he produced, in 1691, "The Wisdom of God Manifested in the Creation;" in 1692, "Miscellaneous Discourses concerning the Dissolution and Changes of the World;" in 1693, "Three Physico-Theological Discourses concerning

Chaos, the Deluge, and the Dissolution of the World;" and in 1700, "A Persuasive to a Holy Life." Ray was one of Nature's naturalists — wise, modest, and unassuming — with the sense of God that comes of a full study and enjoyment of his works.

8. There was much ridicule of the Royal Society in its first years, and a belief in many that its new ways of research were destructive of true learning, and even of religion. This caused **Thomas Sprat** to publish, in 1667, his "History of the Royal Society." Sprat, born in Devonshire in 1636, was a clergyman's son. He studied at Wadham College, Oxford, became M.A. in 1657, and obtained a fellowship. His turn for science meant no more than activity of mind under the influence of Dr. Wilkins, who was Warden of Wadham. His turn for verse seems to have meant no more than activity of mind under the influence of Cowley, who, since 1657, had been, as Dr. Cowley, one of Wilkins's circle of philosophers. Sprat's last poem was upon Cowley's death; one of his earliest poems was on the death of Cromwell, "To the Happy Memory of the late Lord Protector;" and he published also, in 1659, a Cowleian poem, in thirty-one "Pindaric" stanzas, on "The Plague of Athens," suggested by the description of it in Thucydides. Sprat took orders at the Restoration, was chaplain to the Duke of Buckingham, and soon afterwards to the king. Cowley, with whom he was intimate, died in 1667; and Sprat's enthusiastic ode on Cowley's poetry was written in the year of the publishing of his "History of the Royal Society." Cowley had intrusted to his friend Sprat the care of his writings, and in 1668 Sprat published Cowley's Latin works, prefaced with a "Life of Cowley," also in Latin. This was amplified and prefixed, in 1688, to an edition of Cowley's English works. Thomas Sprat's life after the age of thirty-two does not concern literature. In 1688 he had been four years Bishop of Rochester. He complied as passively as he could with the Revolution, and died in 1713.

9. In medicine the advance made by **Thomas Sydenham** from traditions in the treatment of disease to fresh observation and thought was so great that the modern art of healing was, in a sense, founded by him. Sydenham was born of a good Dorsetshire family in 1624, went to Oxford at eighteen, and at the age of twenty-four, in 1648, took the degree of M.B., and obtained a fellowship at All Souls. He visited the medical school at Montpellier, and then practised medicine at Westminster. In 1663 he was made Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians. His medical writings are not voluminous, but they are very practical. He observed nature minutely, and was a fellow-thinker with Robert Boyle, who had a most lively interest in the application of the study of nature to the practice

of medicine. Among Boyle's suggestions was an anticipation of the observing of sounds within the body as a help to a knowledge of the nature of disease. Writing of a certain fever, Sydenham described his treatment, and said: "Meanwhile I watched what method Nature might take, with the intention of subduing the symptoms by treading in her footsteps. . . . More could be left to Nature than we are at present in the habit of leaving her. To imagine that she always wants the aid of Art is an error — an unlearned error, too." The physician must, he argued, follow and aid the processes by which Nature relieves herself of a disease, or else he must discover a specific. The search for specifics, dwelt upon by Robert Boyle as one duty of the physician, seemed to Sydenham also of highest importance. One of the few known specifics, Peruvian bark, which has a supreme power over ague, Sydenham used with the best effect; and against much medical condemnation of it as quackery, he succeeded in effecting its general use in England for that disease. He was the first to introduce a great reform into the treatment of small-pox. His medical writings chiefly dealt with the epidemics that spread death in our towns, because in this direction he might help to do in his own art the highest service to society. He died in 1689.

10. Sir Thomas Browne was born in 1605, and was educated at Winchester and Oxford. He practised physic for a time in Oxfordshire, married, went to Ireland, France, and Italy; on his way home through Holland was made M.D. at Leyden, returned to England, and in 1636 settled at Norwich. In 1642 he published his "Religio Medici" (the Religion of a Physician), rich in the original quaintness that was then especially enjoyed, full of learning, Latinism, acute perception, and courageous ingenuity, and with religious depths where now and then the formalist suspected shallows, with delight in knowledge, acceptance of the scientific errors of the time, and bold feeling in right and wrong directions for new matter of thought. In 1646 Dr. Browne published his "Pseudodoxia Epidemica; or, Inquiries into Vulgar and Common Errors," which showed the scientific mind itself accepting uncorrected errors of the learned upon which, in our thoughtless moods, we may now look back with surprise. The men of science had only made a fresh start with more settled determination, and a better guide upon the road to truth. But Bacon knew no better than his neighbors what they would find on the way. Copernicus had reasoned in vain for him as for others. When Bacon rejected the theory of the crystalline spheres, he added, "Nothing is more false than all these fancies, except perhaps the motions of the earth, which are more false still." John Wilkins was one of the few men then in England for whom Galileo had not spoken in vain. "Smectymnuus," opposing one of Bishop Hall's assertions, took the notion "that the earth moves" as a commonplace for an absurdity: "We shall show anon that there is no more truth in this assertion than if he had said with Anaxagoras, 'Snow is black;' or with Copernicus, 'The earth moves, and the heavens stand still.'" Error so great among the learned showed clearly enough that it was not for science to stand still. The discovery of some ancient urns in Norfolk, led Dr. Browne to publish a work on the funeral rites of the olden times. This was entitled "Hydrotaphia," and with a work named "The Garden of Cyrus," devoted to horticulture and the mystical properties of the number five, was published in 1658. In 1671 he was knighted; and he died in 1682.

11. **Elias Ashmole** (b. 1617, d. 1692), who under the Commonwealth studied alchemy, published, in 1652, a "Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, containing several Poetical Pieces of our famous Philosophers who have written the Hermetique Mysteries in their own Ancient Language;" in 1654, a "Fasciculus Chemicus;" and, in 1658, "The Way to Bliss," which expressed faith in the Philosopher's Stone. Ashmole published in 1672 a "History of the Garter."

12. Ashmole's taste for the marvellous in nature was shared by **Sir Kenelm Digby**. An Everard Digby, who died in 1592, wrote curious books; his son, Sir Everard, knighted by James I., was hanged, drawn, and quartered for giving fifteen hundred pounds towards expenses of the Gunpowder Plot. The eldest son of that Sir Everard was Sir Kenelm Digby, born in 1603, and educated at Oxford. He travelled in Spain, discovered, as he supposed, a sympathetic powder for cure of wounds, was knighted in 1623, was sent with a fleet into the Mediterranean in 1628, and returned to the faith of his fathers as a Roman Catholic in 1636. In the civil wars he helped the king among the Roman Catholics,

and was then exile in France until Cromwell's supremacy gave him liberty to revisit England; but he returned to France. He published, in 1644, a mystical interpretation of "The 22d Stanza in the 9th Canto of the 2d Book of Spenser's Faery Queen;" in 1645, "Two Treatises on the Nature of Bodies and of Man's Soul;" took lively interest in Palingenesis; wrote "Observations upon Sir T. Browne's Religio Medici," and was ingenious in the pursuit of forms of learning which have proved to be more curious than true. He died in 1665.

13. The greatest name among English men of science since Bacon made its appearance in this period. **Isaac Newton** was born at the manor of Woolsthorpe, Lincolnshire, on Christmas Day, 1642. His father's death left the manor to him in his childhood, and a few years afterwards his mother married again. He went to the free school at Grantham, and was then taken home to learn the management of his small property; but his bent for study caused him to be sent back to Grantham School; and he entered, at eighteen, Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his degree as B.A. in 1665. There his interest in mathematics was quickened by Isaac Barrow, who became, in 1663, the first Lucasian lecturer in mathematics. From Euclid, understood at the first reading, Newton turned to Descartes, whose new methods were then being followed at Cambridge, and from Descartes passed to the mathematical writings of John Wallis; and these, especially his "Arithmetica Infinitorum," were the books that stimulated Newton's own genius, and led him to his theory of fluxions (differential and integral calculus), written in 1665, at the age of twenty-three. Leibnitz afterwards contested with him honors of discovery. This was an addition to mathematical science which gave the most essential aid to exact calculation of the movements of the heavenly bodies. Newton occupied himself also, at this time, with the grinding of object-glasses. Observations with a prism led Newton to views upon the decomposition of light, which were developed into a new revelation of the processes of nature. In 1668 he became M.A. and Fellow of his College. In 1669 he succeeded his friend Barrow as mathematical professor; and the course of his researches at that time caused him to give lectures on optics, in Latin. In 1672 Isaac Newton became a Fellow of the Royal Society, and communicated to it his new theory of Light. His first discovery of the law of gravitation was made also in the reign of Charles II., although not published until later. Newton's marvellous insight into the order of Nature increased his reverence for the Creator. He spent much time in study of the Bible; and when he became foremost in fame among philosophers, and there was wonder at the comprehensive character of his discoveries, he said only: "To myself I seem to have been as a child picking up stones on the sea-shore, while the great ocean of truth lay unexplored before me." It was in that year of troubles, 1687, that Isaac Newton published the great work which includes his demonstration of the theory of gravitation, commonly known as Newton's "Principia." In 1688 he was made M.P. for the University of Cambridge; and again in 1701. In 1695 he was made warden of the Mint, and, in 1699, its master, and in this capacity he continued until his death, which occurred in 1727. He was knighted in 1705. He left numerous unpublished writings, of which two have since been printed: "Observations upon the Prophecies," and "The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms."

14. The busy spirit of inquiry that had advanced from reform of church discipline to active study of the foundations of religion and government, that sought more and more to interpret and apply to the use of man the laws of external nature, was at the same time occupied with a scrutiny of those natural laws which affect the results of human intercourse and the social well-being of nations. Attempts were made in the direction of a science of Political Economy. In 1664, with some curious documents upon English trade with the East Indies, appeared "England's Treasure by Foreign Trade," by **Thomas Mun**, the ablest advocate of the East India Company. He was then dead, and may have written the book five and twenty years before. In this work Mun upheld foreign commerce as the best source of a nation's wealth; and held by an old theory of the balance of trade, that our exports should exceed our imports, so that the difference between them — the balance of trade — should always be coming in as bullion or money. Another of the reasoners on commerce in the reign of Charles II. was **Sir Josiah Child** (b. 1630, d. 1699), who published, in 1668, a treatise which in a second and an enlarged edition was entitled a "New Discourse of Trade." It argued incidentally against the dread of depopulation by colonies, and other errors; but its main object was to advocate reduction of the legal rate of interest. **Sir William Petty** published, in 1662, "A Treatise of

Taxes and Contributions," and in it he was, incidentally, the first to lay down the doctrine that the value of commodities is determined by the labor and time needed for producing them. Petty died in 1687.

15. In July, 1683, upon false accusation of complicity in the Rye House Plot, Lord William Russell was executed in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and, on the 7th of December, Algernon Sidney, upon Tower Hill. **Algernon Sidney,** second son of Robert, second Earl of Leicester, and brother to Waller's "Sacharissa," had shown throughout his career lively hostility to tyranny. He had been out of England in the earlier years of Charles II.'s reign, but in 1677 came home, at his father's death, and was detained by a chancery suit. He was an Independent and a Republican. For that he died, convicted of treason, says Evelyn, "on the single witness of that monster of a man, Lord Howard of Escrick, and some sheets of paper taken in Mr. Sidney's study, pretended to be written by him, but not fully proved." He left behind him "Discourses Concerning Government," first published in 1698.

16. Izaak Walton, born in 1593 at Stafford, was a hosier in the Royal Exchange, and afterwards in Fleet Street, near Chancery Lane, making money enough to retire upon and take life easily. In 1626 he married a descendant of Cranmer. He was left a widower in 1640. In 1647 he married a half-sister of Bishop Ken. He was a hearty Royalist and churchman, who loved God and nature with simplicity of mind, and greatly relished a day's fishing. In 1653 he gave to his countrymen the first edition of "The Compleat Angler; or, the Contemplative Man's Recreation: being a Discourse of Fish and Fishing," in form of dialogue, with pictures of the trout, pike, carp, tench, perch, and barbel. In 1655 a second edition appeared, largely rewritten, much enlarged, with three speakers, Piscator, Venator (taking the place of Viator), and Auceps, — Fisher, Hunter, and Birdcatcher, — and with four more pictures of fish. In 1670, he published in one volume the "Lives" — written from time to time — of Hooker, Wotton, Donne, and Herbert; to which collection, after Walton's death, his life of Sanderson was added. In 1676 **Charles Cotton** (b. 1630, d. 1687), a translator of Corneille's "Horace" and Montaigne's "Essays," and author of a "Travestie of Virgil," added the "Second Part of the Complete Angler: being Instructions how to Angle for a Trout or Grayling in a Clear Stream." Walton died in December, 1683, aged ninety.

17. Ralph Cudworth, born in 1617, at Aller, Somersetshire, became Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. In 1644 he was Master of Clare Hall; in 1645, Regius Professor of Hebrew, and devoted himself to Jewish antiquities. He became D.D. in 1651; in 1654, Master of Christ's College. He then married, and spent the rest of his life at Cambridge. In 1678 he published the first part of "The True Intellectual System of the Universe." The work was planned in three parts, of which this first part was devoted to the refutation of atheism. The other two parts were to have been on Moral Distinctions and Free Will. His philosophical method and liberality of mind offended many theologians, who cried out on him as an atheist for his method of refuting atheism. He died in the year of the Revolution, leaving one daughter, who married Sir Francis Masham.

18. John Locke was born at Wrington, Somersetshire, on the 29th of August, 1632. His father served in the Parliamentary Wars under Colonel Popham, by whose advice Locke was sent to Westminster School. In 1651, he was elected student of Christchurch, Oxford, where he turned from the Aristotelian scholastic philosophy, read Bacon, and read also Descartes, through whom, by study of an opposing doctrine, he became more strongly animated with the spirit of Bacon's teaching. The new and growing interest in scientific studies caused Locke to find charm in experimental science. Having taken his degree in arts, he chose physic as his profession. But Locke's health was delicate; and in 1665 he went abroad as secretary to Sir Walter Vane, then sent as envoy to some German princes. After three months' absence, he returned to Oxford, and was there when Lord Ashley was sent from London to drink the mineral waters of Astrop. Lord Ashley wrote to ask Dr. Thomas, a physician at Oxford, to have the waters ready against his coming there. Dr. Thomas, being called away, asked his friend, Mr. Locke, to procure them. He employed somebody who disappointed him, and had to call upon Lord Ashley to make apologies. Lord Ashley kept him to supper, asked him to dinner next day, became fascinated by his liberal and thoughtful conversation, and, in 1667, asked him to stay at his house in London. Ashley urged upon Locke not to pursue medicine as a profession, beyond using his skill among his friends, but to devote the powers of his mind to study of the great questions in politics. Locke did so, and was often consulted by a patron who was but an erratic follower of principles which Locke developed and maintained throughout his life with calm consistency. As one of those included in the grant of Carolina, Lord Ashley employed Locke to draw up a constitution for the new colony; he did so, and showed in it a strong regard for civil and religious liberty. In 1668 Locke became one of the Fellows of the Royal Society. About the same time, at a lively discussion with some literary friends in his room in London, it seemed to him that the differences of opinion lay wholly in words. This thought first turned his mind in the direction of his "Essay concerning Human Understanding."

In 1672, Ashley became Earl of Shaftesbury and Lord Chancellor, and made Locke secretary of presentations under him. In June, 1673, he made him also secretary to the Council of Trade, over which Shaftesbury was president. Locke held the office in chancery only while his friend was chancellor. The secretaryship, which was worth five hundred pounds a year, he retained till the commission expired, in March, 1675. Afterwards, he went to Montpellier, where there was a great medical school, and also a southern climate, which his health required, for he was threatened with consumption. He was at work upon his "Essay" at Montpellier, but when, in 1679, his patron Shaftesbury became president of Sir William Temple's newly-devised Council, he sent for Locke, who returned to England, and was by his friend's side in the ensuing time of peril. After his escape from the scaffold in 1682, Shaftesbury went to Holland, and died there in 1683. Locke afterwards fled to Holland. James II. demanded him of the States, on false suspicion of his having been concerned in Monmouth's invasion, and he was in concealment till the close of 1686. In 1687 he was in safe harbor at Amsterdam, where his chief friends were the leaders of the Arminian or Remonstrant school, which had its headquarters there. These friends were Philip van Limborch and Jean Le Clerc. Locke's "Essay Concerning Human Understanding" was finished among these friends at Amsterdam in 1687; and an outline of it, translated into French by Le Clerc, appeared in the "Bibliothèque Universelle" for January, 1688. Other extracts from it afterwards appeared in the same journal. Locke's "New Method of a Common-place Book" was translated into English in 1697, from Le Clerc's "Bibliothèque" for July, 1686.

The English Revolution having been accomplished, John Locke came over to England in February, 1689, in the fleet that convoyed the Princess of Orange. He was made a Commissioner of Appeals, with a salary of two hundred pounds a year; and declined other preferment, including offer of the post of envoy to some court where the air might suit his inferior health. But he found a pleasant home at Oates, in Essex, with Sir Francis and Lady Masham. Lady Masham was Cudworth's only child, and had been trained by her father to scholarship and liberal thought; she and her husband were, therefore, in strong intellectual sympathy with Locke, and established a room as his own in their country house at Oates. In 1691, Locke published "Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest and Raising the Value of Money." The practical tendency of his writings caused him to be made, in 1695, a Commissioner of Trade and Plantations; and he surprised merchants by showing them how a philosopher might have wider and clearer views of business than they had themselves. In 1700 he resigned his seat at the Board of Trade, and spent the rest of his life at Oates, in study of the Scriptures. He died there, on the 28th of October, 1704, aged seventy-two. In Locke's personal character there was the simplicity of genius. Living a pure life, with its whole labor given to the highest interests of men, Locke was naturally grave, but his was the gravity of unaffected thoughtfulness, which qualified him but the more for innocent enjoyment. He spoke and wrote plain English, gave himself no airs of artificial dignity, would laugh at those who labored to look wise, and quote the maxim of Rochefoucauld, that gravity is a mystery of the body contrived to conceal faults of the mind.

Locke's most important writings came together with the new order of things in England, and expressed the spirit of the English Revolution. He dealt first with religious liberty, in "Three Letters concerning Toleration." The first was in Latin, addressed to Limborch, and printed at Gouda in 1689, translated in the same year into Dutch and French, and then into English by William Popple. Its argument is that toleration is the chief characteristic mark of the true Church. Antiquity, orthodoxy, and reformed discipline may be marks dwelt upon by men striving for power over one another; but charity, meekness, and good will to men are marks of the true Christian. Christianity is no matter of pomp and dominion; its power is over men's lives, to war against their lusts and vices, teach them charity, and inspire them with a faith working by love. If persecution be a zeal for men's souls, why does it leave lusts of the flesh unattacked, and only compel men to profess what they do not believe in points of doctrine? It is the duty, Locke argued, of the civil magistrate to secure to every citizen the just possession of the things belonging to this life — his life itself, his liberty, health, and safe possession of his goods. It is not the duty of the civil magistrate to dictate religion to the people. God never gave such authority, and man cannot delegate to another the command over his soul. The power of the magistrate consists only in outward force, which cannot produce inward persuasion. He may argue, indeed, and so may other men; but in this he alone is master who convinces. Nor if men's minds were changed would they be probably nearer heaven for adopting the opinions of the court. The church only is concerned with souls of men, and a church Locke held to be "a voluntary society of men joining themselves together of their own accord, in order to the public worshipping of God in such a manner as they judge acceptable to him, and effectual to the salvation of their souls." In his first letter, Locke set forth in full his principles upon toleration, and met by anticipation some of the chief objections likely to be urged against them. Locke's second letter, published in 1690, and third, a work of some length, in 1692, both signed "Philanthropus," were replies to the objections actually raised by theologians of Queen's College, Oxford, in three letters, of which the first was entitled, "The Argument of the Letter concerning Toleration briefly Considered and Answered."

Locke's argument for religious liberty, in 1689, was followed by his argument also for civil liberty. In 1689 and 1690 he published "Two Treatises of Government;" one opposed to the arguments of Sir Robert Filmer in his "Patriarcha," which had appeared in 1680, and was applauded by upholders of the absolute supremacy of kings; the other "An Essay concerning the true Original, Extent, and End of Civil Government."

They were described by him as the beginning and end of a discourse concerning government, and he hoped "sufficient to establish the throne of our great restorer, our present King William; to make good his title, in the consent of the people, which being the only one of all lawful governments, he has more fully and clearly than any prince in Christendom; and to justify to the world the people of England, whose love of their just and natural rights, with their resolution to preserve them, saved the nation when it was on the very brink of slavery and ruin." He should not, he said, have replied to Sir Robert "were there not men amongst us, who, by crying up his books and espousing his doctrine, save me from the reproach of writing against a dead adversary." Sir Robert based his plea for absolute monarchy upon the argument that men are not naturally free. They are born in subjection to their parents, and imperial authority is based on patriarchal. Absolute lordship was vested in Adam, inherited from him by the patriarchs. A son, a subject, and a servant or slave, were one and the same thing at first. This argument was combated by Locke in his first Treatise; and in the second he set forth what he believed to be the real basis of civil government. "Political power," he said, "I take to be a right of making laws with penalties of death, and, consequently, all less penalties, for the regulating and preserving of property, and of employing the force of the community in the execution of such laws, and in the defence of the commonwealth from foreign injury, and all this only for the public good." Men, he said, are by nature subject only to the laws of nature, born equal and free. But the state of liberty is not a state of license. Reason is one of the laws of nature, and it teaches that, if men are all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions. Next to the preservation of himself, the natural law wills that each shall aid in the preservation of the rest of mankind; and into every man's hand is put the execution of such natural law on those who molest their neighbors, as far as reason allows that power may be used to prevent recurrence of offence, or secure reparation for the injury. In this state of nature, Locke argued, all men are, until by their own consent they make themselves members of some political society. Paternal power is the right and duty of guiding children till they reach maturity, because they are not, as soon as born, under the law of reason, and this has no analogy with the social compact. A civil society is formed when any number of men agree to form a government that shall maintain and execute laws for avoidance of those evils which lie in the state of nature, where every man is judge in his own case. Absolute monarchy, said Locke, is no form of civil government at all; for the end of civil society is to avoid the inconveniences of a state of nature, and that is not done by setting up a man who shall be always judge in his own case, and therefore himself in the state of nature in respect of those under his dominion. In this work, Locke gave philosophical expression to the principles established practically by the English Revolution.

Locke's "Essay concerning Human Understanding," in Four Books, was first published complete in 1690. Its object was to lead men out of the way of vain contention by showing, through an inquiry into the nature of the human understanding, what are the bounds beyond which argument is vain. In his First Book he followed into a new field Bacon's principles, and maintained that man has no innate ideas, but is created with a receptive mind and reason, whereby he draws knowledge from the universe without. In his Second Book, Locke traced the origin of our ideas from the world about us by sensation or reflection, and argued that our most complex thoughts are formed by various combinations of simple ideas derived from the world about us, suggested to the mind only by sensation and reflection, and the sole materials of all our knowledge. The Third Book was a distinct essay upon words as signs of ideas, and enforced the importance of assuring that, as far as possible, they shall be made to represent clearly the same impressions in the minds of those who use them, and of those to whom they are addressed. Thus two men might argue without end upon the question whether a bat be a bird, if they had no clear and equal notion of the collection of simple ideas forming the complex idea of a bat, whereby they could ascertain whether it contained all the simple ideas to which, combined together, they both give the name of bird. The Fourth Book of the Essay applied the whole argument to a consideration of the bounds of knowledge and opinion. Knowledge can extend no farther than we have ideas, and is the perception of the connection and agreement or disagreement and repugnancy of any of our ideas. What is deducible from human experience God enabled us by reason to discover. What lies beyond our experience may be the subject of a revelation, which is above reason, but not against it. Locke ended with a threefold division of the objects of human knowledge — 1, Study of nature, in the largest sense a man's contemplation of things themselves for the discovery of truth; 2, Practical applications, a man's contemplation of the things in his own power for the attainment of his ends; and, 3, Man's contemplation of the signs (chiefly words) that the mind makes use of, both in the one and the other, and the right ordering of them for its clearer information. "All which three," said Locke, "viz., things, as they are in themselves knowable; actions, as they depend on us in order to happiness; and the right use of signs in order to knowledge, being 'toto cœlo' different, they seemed to me to be the three great provinces of the intellectual world, wholly separate and distinct one from another." In this Essay, and in his two letters to Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, in the course of the controversy raised over it, the simple piety of Locke is very manifest. The reason of Locke caused him to maintain "that we more certainly know that there is a God than that there is any thing else without us."

Locke had finished, in March, 1690, "Some Thoughts concerning Education," published in 1693, — a treatise wisely designed to bring experience and reason to aid in right training of the bodies and minds of children. It is very practical, beginning with the education that may form a healthy body, passing then to a consideration of the right methods of influencing and guiding the mind, the relation of parents to the children, who "must not be hindered from being children, or from playing, or doing as children, but from doing ill;" relation of teachers to the young, development of character, subjects and methods of formal study, and the ordering of travel. The influence of Locke's treatise on education was direct and wholesome; and to this day, among sensible customs and traditional opinions that help to the well-being of an English or an American home, there are generally some that may be traced back to the time when Locke's treatise on education was a new book with a living power over many of its readers.

In 1695 Locke published a book on "The Reasonableness of Christianity, as Delivered in the Scriptures," the result of his endeavor to turn aside from contending systems of theology and betake himself to the sole reading of the Scripture for the understanding of the Christian religion. Out of the same spirit came his study of St. Paul in "A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, Ephesians. To which is prefixed, An Essay for the Understanding of St. Paul's Epistles, by consulting St. Paul himself." This was published in 1705, the year after his death. In 1706 appeared some posthumous works of his, the chief being an essay "Of the Conduct of the Understanding," the self-education of the man in learning to make right use of his mind, which has its natural place between the "Essay concerning Human Understanding" and the "Thoughts concerning Education."

CHAPTER X.

SECOND HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: HISTORIANS, BIOGRAPHERS, DIARISTS, AND ESSAYISTS.

1. Lord Clarendon. — 2. Samuel Pepys. — 3. John Aubrey. — 4. Anthony à Wood. — 5. Gilbert Burnet. — 6. Roger North. — 7. John Strype. — 8. Humphrey Prideaux. — 9. John Evelyn. — 10. Sir William Temple. — 11. Marchamont Needham; Roger L'Estrange. — 12. Jeremy Collier. — 13. Gerard Langbaine.

1. Edward Hyde was made at the coronation of Charles II. **Earl of Clarendon,** having been Lord Chancellor since 1658. After his fall, in 1667, he went to France, and died at Rouen, in December, 1674. His "Brief View of the Pernicious Errors in Hobbes's Leviathan" appeared two years after his death; but his "History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, begun in the Year 1641," was first published at Oxford, in three folios, in 1702–4. Still later, in 1727, appeared in folio "A Collection of several Tracts of the Right Honourable Edward, Earl of Clarendon," containing his "Vindication" from the charge of high treason that closed his political career; "Reflections upon several Christian Duties, Divine and Moral, by way of Essays," all written after his fall; a "Dialogue on Education," and a complete set of "Contemplations and Reflections on the Psalms of David." The manuscripts of Clarendon's own "Account of his Life, from his Birth to the Restoration in 1660," and a Continuation from 1660 to 1667, written for the information of his children, were given by Clarendon's descendants to the university of which he had been chancellor, and were first published at Oxford in 1759. The "Continuation" serves at the same time as a continuation of the History of the Rebellion, Clarendon's life being as inseparable from the events in which he played a leading part as his history is inseparable from the bias of mind which determined his career.

2. Many details of life in the reign of Charles II. are brought near to us by the diary of **Samuel Pepys** (b. 1632, d. 1703), the son of a tailor. He went to St. Paul's School and Cambridge, married at twenty-three a girl of fifteen, and was helped up in life by the patronage of Sir Edward Montagu, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, to whom he was related. He became, as Clerk of the Acts, a busy and useful member of the Navy Board, not unmindful of profits to be made in his position, but watchful over the best interests of the navy. This was his position during the years in which he kept his amusing "Diary." It extends from January, 1660, to May, 1669. The unguarded small-talk of the diary, a mixture of simplicity and shrewdness, which entertains us while it gives life to our knowledge of the past, should not make us forget that Pepys was a sensible and active public servant. The liveliest impression of the fire of London is that given us in his "Diary," from Sunday, the 2d of September, 1666, when a maid called Mr. and Mrs. Pepys up at three in the morning "to tell us of a great fire they saw in the city; so I rose and slipped on my night-gown, and went to her window, and thought it to be on the back side of Mark-Lane at farthest," through all the work, misery, and confusion of the week, to the next Sunday, the 9th, when at church they had "a bad, poor sermon, though proper for the time; nor eloquent, in saying at this time that the city is reduced from a large folio to a decimo-tertio." Pepys's "Diary," in six manuscript volumes, was among the books and papers bequeathed by him to Magdalene College. It was first published by Lord Braybrooke, in 1825.

3. John Aubrey (b. 1626, d. 1697), who, in 1646, by his father's death, inherited estates in Wiltshire, Surrey, Herefordshire, Brecknockshire, and Monmouthshire, had a taste for antiquarian gossip, but was so credulous and superstitious that his records are worth little. His "Miscellanies upon Various Subjects," first published in 1696, are an amusing gathering of superstitious notes upon Day-Fatality, Apparitions, etc. Aubrey left behind him a work on "The Natural History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey." He lost his property, by litigation and otherwise. Anthony à Wood, after twenty-five years' acquaintance, said of him, spitefully: "He was a shiftless person, roving and magotie-headed, and sometimes little better than crased; and, being exceedingly credulous, would stuff his many letters sent to A. W. with folliries and misinformations."

4. **Anthony à Wood** was born in 1632, at Oxford, opposite Merton College, where he afterwards was educated. He was admitted B.A. in 1652, M.A. in 1655, and then began a perambulation of Oxfordshire. He was inspired by Leland's collections in the Bodleian. His chief pleasures thenceforth were music and the study of Oxford antiquities. As he says in his own account of his life: "All the time that A. W. could spare from his beloved studies of English history, antiquities, heraldry, and genealogies, he spent in the most delightful facultie of music, either instrumental or vocal." In 1669 he had written, in English, his "History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford," which was translated into Latin under the superintendence of Dr. Fell, who altered and added at discretion. As Anthony à Wood had not a sweet temper, and was accustomed to speak his mind roughly, he did not take this very kindly. The book appeared, in Latin, in 1674. His chief work, "Athenæ Oxonienses; an Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the University of Oxford: to which are added the Fasti, or Annals of the said University," was first published, in two folios, in 1691–2. After the second volume appeared he was cited before the Vice-Chancellor's Court for two libellous accusations of corruption against the late Chancellor, the Earl of Clarendon. The book was burned, its author expelled, and gazetted as an infamous libeller, a year before his death in 1695.

5. **Gilbert Burnet**, born in 1643, studied at Aberdeen. In 1669 he was Divinity Professor at Glasgow. In 1674 he settled in London, and became preacher at the Rolls Chapel. In 1677 Burnet published "Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of James and William, Dukes of Hamilton, etc., in Seven Books," upon which he had been at work in Scotland; and in 1679 appeared the first of the three volumes of his "History of the Reformation of the Church of England," which agreed so well with the feeling of the time against Catholicism that he received for it the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, with a desire that he would go on and complete the work. The second volume fol-

lowed in 1681; the third not until 1715. Burnet was regarded by the Stuarts as an enemy, because he showed his sympathy with Lord William Russell during his trial and before his execution. Burnet was abroad, and much with the Prince and Princess of Orange, during the reign of James II. He came over with William as his chaplain. In 1690 he was made Bishop of Salisbury. He had published, in 1686, at Amsterdam, "Some Letters containing an Account of what seemed Most Remarkable in Switzerland, Italy," etc. They are five letters addressed to the Hon. Robert Boyle. The information in them is compactly given, and their tone is very strongly Protestant. Burnet published, in 1692, "A Life of William Bedell, D.D., Lord Bishop of Kilmore, in Ireland, with his Letters," and "A Discourse of the Pastoral Care." He died in 1715, leaving in manuscript the "History of His Own Time," which was first published in 1724–34.

6. **Roger North**, sixth son of Dudley, Lord North, was born about 1650, and died in 1733. He was a strong partisan of the Stuarts, and was attorney-general under James II. He is chiefly remembered for two books that abound in anecdote of his own time. One of these is an abusive review of Dr. White Kennett's "History of England," and is entitled "Examen, or an Enquiry into the Credit and Veracity of a Pretended Compleat History of England." This was not published till 1740. His other notable book is "Lives" of his three brothers, the Lord-Keeper Guildford, Sir Dudley North, and Dr. John North. This was not published till 1742–44.

7. **John Strype**, born at Stepney in 1643, was educated at St. Paul's School and Jesus College, Cambridge. In 1669 he was presented to the living of Theydon Boys, which he resigned for that of Low Leyton, in Essex. He lived to the age of ninety-four, and was incumbent of Low Leyton for sixty years. He was an accurate student of church history and biography, and began, in 1694, with a folio of "Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer." In 1698 appeared his "Life of Sir Thomas Smith," and in 1701 his "Life and Actions of John Aylmer, Bishop of London." Many other works of a similar kind followed.

8. **Humphrey Prideaux** was born in 1648, at Padstow, in Cornwall; was educated chiefly at Westminster School and Christchurch, Oxford. In 1676 he wrote an account of the Arundel Marbles. Then he obtained the living of St. Clement's, Oxford, and in 1681 a prebend at Norwich. In 1697 he published a "Life of Mahomet," and in 1702 was made Dean of Norwich. His principal work is "The Old and New Testament Connected."

9. John Evelyn was born in 1620, and educated at Oxford. He was active in promoting the restoration of Charles II., and was one of the first members of the Royal Society. He held many responsible positions under Charles II., James II., and William III. His famous garden at Sayes Court was described in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society. Among his numerous writings were "The French Gardener: Instructing how to Cultivate all Sorts of Fruit-Trees and Herbs for the Garden" (1658); "Fumifugium; or, the Aer and Smoak of London Dissipated" (1661); "Sculptura; or, the History and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper" (1662); "Kalendarium Hortense; or, the Gardener's Almanac" (1664); "Sylva" (1664), a Treatise on Forest-Trees, the first book printed for the Royal Society, and the book with which his name is most associated; "Terra" (1675), also printed for the Royal Society; "Navigation and Commerce: their Original and Progress" (1674), this being an introduction to a projected History of the Dutch War; "Public Employment and an Active Life preferred to Solitude" (1667), an answer to one of Sir George Mackenzie's books, which was a "Moral Essay preferring Solitude to Public Employment." Under William III., Evelyn produced, in 1690, a satire on the frippery of ladies, "Mundus Muliebris; or, the Ladies' Dressing Room Unlocked, and her Toilet Spread. In Burlesque. Together with the Fop-Dictionary, Compiled for the Use of the Fair Sex." In 1697, Evelyn published "Numismata: a Discourse of Medals;" with a digression concerning Physiognomy; and in 1699, "Acetaria: a Discourse of Sallets." His fame now principally rests on his "Diary," which he began in early life, and continued to near his death, in 1706. It was first published in 1818, edited by William Bray.

10. Sir William Temple, born in 1628, the son of Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, studied under Cudworth, at Cambridge, in the days of the Civil War. After two years at Emmanuel College, he left without a degree, travelled, became master of French and Spanish, married, and towards the close of the Commonwealth lived with his father in Ireland. In 1663 he came to London with his wife, and attached himself to the rising fortunes of Lord Arlington, who sent him during the Dutch war as an English agent, with promise of subsidy, to our ally the Bishop of Munster. He was then appointed Resident at the viceregal court of Brussels. There he developed his skill in diplomacy. He was made a baronet in 1666. In 1671, when the secret treaty between France and England was ratified, Temple was dismissed, and retired to his estate at Sheen, and either there or at Moor Park, excepting for occasional employments in public duty, he passed the remainder of his life, and was visited and consulted as an oracle of political wisdom, by Charles II., James II., and William III. He died in 1699. He wrote an "Essay on Government:" "Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands;" "Memoirs" of public transactions in which he had been engaged; Essays on "Gardening," on "Health and Long Life," on "Heroic Virtue," on "Poetry," and on "Ancient and Modern Learning." The last involved him in the great dispute, which originated in France, and lasted for several years, over the comparative merits of the ancients and moderns as writers.

11. After private letters and occasional printed pamphlets of news, Mercuries of the Civil War had been the first active beginnings of the newspaper. **Marchamont Needham** had attacked Charles I. in the "Mercurius Britannicus," was imprisoned, pardoned, and set up a "Mercurius Pragmaticus" against the king's enemies. By the king's enemies Needham was imprisoned, pardoned, and then wrote for about ten years "Mercurius Politicus" against the Royalists. Charles II. pardoned him, and he died in 1678. **Sir Roger L'Estrange**, youngest son of Sir Hammond L'Estrange, born in Norfolk in 1616, and educated at Cambridge, had been a friend of Charles I., and narrowly escaped execution in the Civil Wars. In 1663 he published a pamphlet entitled, "Considerations and Proposals in order to the Regulation of the Press; together with Diverse Instances of Treasonous and Seditious Pamphlets, proving the Necessity thereof." This got him the post of Licenser, in succession to Sir John Birkenhead, and also "all the sole privilege of printing and publishing all narratives, advertisements, Mercuries, intelligencers, diurnals, and other books of public intelligence." He began business at the end of August, 1663, with "The Public Intelligencer," and introduced it with this doctrine: "As to the point of printed intelligence, I do declare myself (as I hope I may in a matter left so absolutely indifferent, whether any or none) that supposing the press in order, the people in their right wits, and news or no news to be the question, a public Mercury should never have my vote; because I think it makes the multitude too familiar with the actions and counsels of their superiors, too pragmatical and censorious, and gives them not only an itch, but a kind of colourable right and license to be meddling with the government." Still he would do what he might to "redeem the vulgar from their former mistakes and illusions." As for reports of debates in Parliament, "I have observed," says L'Estrange, "very ill effects many times from the ordinary written papers of Parliament news"—such as Andrew Marvell supplied regularly to his constituents—"by making the coffee-houses and all the popular clubs judges of those councils and deliberations which they have nothing to do withall." In November, 1665, when the plague in London had driven the Court to Oxford, appeared No. 1 of "The Oxford Gazette." When the Court returned to London, it appeared, on the 5th of February, 1666, as "The London Gazette," under which name it still exists. It was placed at once under Sir Joseph Williamson, Under-Secretary of State (from whom Addison had his Christian name), and his deputy writer of it was, for the first five years, Charles Perrot, M.A., of Oriel. L'Estrange set up, in November, 1675, the first commercial journal, "The City Mercury," and in 1679 an "Observator," in defence of the king's party. In April, 1680, the first literary journal appeared, as a weekly or fortnightly catalogue of new books, the "Mercurius Librarius." Roger L'Estrange was a busy man. He published, in 1678, an abstract of "Seneca's Morals," and in 1680 a translation of "Tully's Offices." James II. knighted him, and he published in 1687, in the king's interest, "A Brief History of the Times," chiefly about what was called the Popish Plot. He died in 1704.

12. In March, 1698, **Jeremy Collier** (b. 1650, d. 1726) published "A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage: Together with the Sense of Antiquity upon the Argument." It spoke clearly and sharply the minds of many, passed through several editions within a year, and raised a controversy in which the wits were worsted. Collier was a divine educated at Cambridge, who had been Rector of Ampton, Suffolk, then Lecturer at Gray's Inn, and one of the non-jurors at the Revolution, and had been imprisoned in Newgate for maintaining the cause of James II. He had earned credit by writing "Essays upon Several Moral Subjects"—Pride, Duelling, General Kindness, Fame, etc.—when he made his plain-spoken but intemperate attack on the immodesty and profaneness of the stage of his own time, with evidence drawn from Dryden, and from the last new plays of Congreve and Vanbrugh. He published in the year of Queen Anne's death the second of the two folio volumes of his "Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, chiefly of England, from the First Planting of Christianity to the End of the Reign of King Charles the Second, with a brief Account of the Affairs of Religion in Ireland, collected from the best Ancient Historians." In 1721 appeared the original supplement to his translation of Moreri's "Great Historical, Geographical, Genealogical Dictionary," which he had issued in three volumes folio in 1701 and 1706.

13. **Gerard Langbaine** was son of a learned father of like name, who edited Longinus, and became keeper of the archives and provost of Queen's College, Oxford. Langbaine, the younger, was born at Oxford, in 1656, and took lively interest in the stage. He became senior beadle of the university, and died in 1692. He wrote an appendix to a catalogue of graduates, a new catalogue of English plays, and published at Oxford, in 1691, "An Account of the English Dramatic Poets; or, some Observations and Remarks on the Lives and Writings of all those that have published either Comedies, Tragedies, Tragi-Comedies, Pastorals, Masques, Interludes, Farces, or Operas, in the English Tongue." Langbaine spoke in this book of Wycherley as one whom he was proud to call his friend, and a "gentleman whom I may boldly reckon among poets of the first rank, no man that I know, except the excellent Jonson, having outdone him in comedy." Of Shadwell, Langbaine said, "I own I like his comedies better than Mr. Dryden's, as having more variety of characters, and those drawn from the life. . . . That Mr. Shadwell has preferred Ben Jonson for his model I am very certain of; and those who will read the preface to 'The Humorists' may be sufficiently satisfied what a value he has for that great man; but how far he has succeeded in his design I shall leave to the reader's examination." Of Shadwell's play of "The Virtuoso," printed in 1676, Langbaine said that the University of Oxford had applauded it, "and, as no man ever undertook to discover the frailties of such pretenders to this kind of knowledge before Mr. Shadwell, so none since Mr. Jonson's time ever drew so many different characters of humor, and with such success."

CHAPTER XI.

SECOND HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS WRITERS.

1. John Bunyan.—2. Richard Baxter.—3. John Howe.—4. George Fox.—5. Robert Barclay.—6. William Penn.—7. Sir George Mackenzie.—8. Isaac Barrow. 9. John Tillotson.—10. Robert Leighton.—11. William Beveridge.—12. Samuel Parker.—13. Thomas Ken; George Morley.—14. William Sherlock. —15. Robert South; Edward Stillingfleet; Thomas Tenison.

1. John Bunyan was born in 1628, the son of a poor tinker, at Elstow, in Bedfordshire. He was sent to a free school for the poor, and then worked with his father. As a youth of seventeen he was combatant in the civil war. He was married, at nineteen, to a wife who helped him to recover the art of reading, over the only books she had — "The Practice of Piety" and "The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven." He went regularly to church, but joined in the sports after the Sunday afternoon's service, which had been a point of special defiance to the Puritans, by the proclamation of James I. in 1618, re-issued by Charles I. in 1633. Once Bunyan was arrested in his Sunday sport by the imagination of a voice from heaven. Presently he gave up swearing, bell-ringing, and games and dances on the green. Then came the time of what he looked upon as his conversion, brought about by hearing the conversation of some women as he stood near with his tinker's barrow. They referred him to their minister. He says that he was tempted to sell Christ, and heard, when in bed one morning, a voice that reiterated, "Sell Him, sell Him, sell Him." This condition was followed by illness which was mistaken for consumption; but Bunyan recovered, and became robust. In 1657 he was deacon of his church at Bedford, and his private exhortations caused him to be invited to take turns in village preaching.

Country people came to him by hundreds. Only ordained ministers might preach. In 1658 complaint was lodged against Bunyan; but under the Commonwealth he was left unmolested.

Upon the Restoration, still incurring the penalty for unauthorized preaching, he was committed to prison in November, 1660, on the charge of going about to several conventicles in the country, to the great disparagement of the government of the Church of England. He was sent, aged thirty-two, to Bedford Jail for three months. As he would not conform at the end of that time, he was recommitted. He was not included in the general jail delivery at the coronation of Charles II., in April, 1661. His wife — she was his second wife — appealed three times to the judges, and urged that she had "four small children that cannot help themselves, one of which is blind, and we have nothing to live upon but the charity of good people." She appealed in vain. "I found myself," said Bunyan, "encompassed with infirmities. The parting with my wife and poor children hath often been to me in this place as the pulling of the flesh from the bones, and that not only because I am somewhat too fond of these great mercies, but also because I should have often brought to my mind the many hardships, miseries, and wants that my poor family was like to meet with should I be taken from them, especially my poor blind child, who lay nearer my heart than all besides. Oh! the thoughts of the hardships I thought my poor blind one might go under would break my heart to pieces. 'Poor child!' thought I, 'what sorrow art thou like to have for thy portion in this world! Thou must be beaten, must beg, suffer hunger, cold, nakedness, and a thousand calamities, though I cannot now endure the wind should blow upon thee.'" So felt the great warm heart that was pouring out in Bedford Jail its love to God and man. Depth of feeling, vivid imagination, and absorbing sense of the reality of the whole spiritual world revealed to him in his Bible, made Bunyan a grand representative of the religious feeling of the people. In simple, direct phrase, with his heart in every line, he clothed in visible forms that code of religious faith and duty which an earnest mind, unguided by traditions, drew with its own simple strength out of the Bible. Bunyan wrote much: profoundly religious tracts, prison meditations, a book of poems — "Divine Emblems; or, Temporal Things Spiritualized, fitted for the use of Boys and Girls," and other occasional verse. The whole work of his life was like that indicated in his child's book, a spiritualizing of temporal things. Matter for him was the shadow, soul the substance; the poor man whose soul Bunyan leads by thoughts that it can follow, passes through a hard life with its dull realities all glorified. Look where he may, a man poor and troubled as himself has stamped for him God's image on some part of what he sees. As Bunyan himself rhymes:

> "We change our drossy dust for gold,
> From death to life we fly;
> We let go shadows, and take hold
> Of immortality."

The first part of "The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come, delivered under the similitude of a Dream, wherein is discovered the Manner of his Setting Out, his Dangerous Journey, and Safe Arrival at the Desired Country," was written in Bedford Jail, where Bunyan was a prisoner for more than eleven years, from November, 1660, to March, 1672, when a Royal declaration allowed Nonconformists (except Roman Catholics) to meet under their licensed ministers. His "Holy City" had been published in 1665; and after his release Bunyan published "a Defence of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith, a Confession of his Faith," an appeal entitled "Come and Welcome to Christ," before that "First Part of the Pilgrim's Progress" appeared in 1678, four years after the death of Milton. The allegory is realized with genius akin to that of the dramatist.

Christian, with the Burden on his back and the Book in his hand, sets out on his search for eternal life, and is at once engaged in a series of dialogues. Neighbors Obstinate and Pliable attempt to turn him back. Pliable goes a little way with him, but declines to struggle through the Slough of Despond, and gets out on the wrong side. Then Christian meets Mr. Worldly Wiseman, from the town of Carnal Policy, hard by, has a talk with him before he enters in at the Strait Gate, triumphs over Apollyon, passes through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, overtakes his towns-fellow Faithful, who tells his experiences of the journey, and they then come upon Talkative, who was also of their town, son of one Say-well, of Prating Row. All the dialogue is touched with humorous sense of characters drawn from life and familiar to the people, while the allegory blends itself everywhere with the poor man's Bible-reading, and has always its meaning broadly written on its surface, so that the simplest reader is never at a loss for the interpretation. The adventures of Christian in Vanity Fair are full of dramatic dialogue. Then there is still talk by the way between Christian and Hopeful before they lie down to sleep in the grounds of Doubting Castle, where they are caught in the morning by its master, the Giant Despair. There is life and character still in the story of their peril from the giant, before Christian remembers that he has "a key in his bosom," called Promise, that will open any lock in Doubting Castle. And so the allegory runs on to the end, lively with human interest of incident and shrewd character-painting by the way of dialogue, that at once chain the attention of the most illiterate; never obscure, and never for ten lines allowing its reader to forget the application of it all to his own life of duty for the love of God. The story ends with the last conflict of Christian and Hopeful, when at the hour of death they pass through the deep waters, leaving their mortal garments behind them in the river, and are led by the Shining Ones into the Heavenly Jerusalem. In 1682 appeared Bunyan's allegory of the "Holy War;" and in 1684 the second part of "Pilgrim's Progress," telling the heavenward pilgrimage of Christian's wife and seven children. England was England still, under a king who was tainting fashionable literature. Her highest culture produced in the reign of Charles II. "Paradise Lost;" and from among the people, who had little culture except that which they drew for themselves from the Bible, came the "Pilgrim's Progress."

2. **Richard Baxter** was born in 1615, in Shropshire. His chief place of education was the free school at Wroxeter. From Wroxeter he went to be the one pupil of Richard Wickstead, chaplain of Ludlow Castle; then he taught in Wroxeter school for a few months, had cough with spitting of blood, and began the systematic study of theology. "My faults," said Baxter, "are no disgrace to any university, for I was of none; I have little but what I had out of books and inconsiderable helps of country tutors. Weakness and pain helped me to study how to die; that set me on studying how to live." In 1638 Baxter became head master of a free school just founded at Dudley, took orders, went to Bridgenorth, and was forced by Laud's Church policy into Nonconformity. In 1640 he settled in Kidderminster, whence he was driven after two years by

Royalist opposition. His life and his thoughts were unsettled by the Civil War. He signed the Covenant, and afterwards repented. He was with the army of the Parliament as military chaplain, and found there that "the most frequent and vehement disputes were for liberty of conscience, as they called it —that is, that the civil magistrate had nothing to do to determine matters of religion by constraint and restraint." He battled against their opinions, and was unpopular, but towards the close of the Civil Wars Baxter had a severe illness, and it was during this illness that he wrote his "Saints' Everlasting Rest," first published in 1653. Under the Commonwealth, Baxter was opposed to Cromwell, argued privately with him on his position in the state, and supported Monarchy in the political discussions of the day, as in his "Holy Commonwealth; or, Political Aphorisms, opening the true Principles of Government."

Charles II. made him one of his chaplains, and also offered him a bishopric, which Baxter declined. For his nonconformity, he was subsequently persecuted; and at last, at the age of seventy, he was tried before Judge Jeffreys for seditious libel in complaint of the wrongs of Dissenters, in his "Paraphrase on the New Testament," published in 1685. "Leave thee to thyself," said James's judge to the old man, whose friends thronged the court about him, "and I see thou wilt go on as thou hast begun; but, by the grace of God, I'll look after thee. I know thou hast a mighty party, and I see a great many of the brotherhood in corners waiting to see what will become of the mighty don, and a doctor of the party at your elbow; but, by the grace of Almighty God, I will crush you all." Baxter, unable to pay a fine of five hundred marks, was for the next eighteen months in prison. He died in 1691. He was a prolific writer. His works number at least a hundred and sixty-eight titles, and have been collected in twenty-three volumes. His most popular work, besides the one first mentioned, is his "Call to the Unconverted."

3. **John Howe,** Cromwell's chaplain, was fifteen years younger than Baxter. He was born in 1630, at Loughborough, where his father was minister of the parish. When John Howe

was about three years old, his father was suspended and condemned to fine, imprisonment, and recantation by the High Commission Court, for opposing "The Book of Sports," and for praying in his church "that God would preserve the prince in the true religion, which there was cause to fear." King James I.'s Declaration to his subjects concerning lawful sports to be used on Sundays was published in 1618, and professed to have originated in the desire to take away a hindrance to the conversion of Roman Catholics by checking the Puritans in their endeavor to repress "lawfull recreation and exercise upon the Sundayes afternoone, after the ending of all divine service." Charles I. re-issued this declaration in 1633, with an added command for the observance of wakes. The reprint of James's proclamation with the ratification of Charles added was that "Book of Sports" which Howe's father was punished for opposing. He escaped to Ireland, and was there till 1641, when he returned with his boy, and settled in Lancashire. In 1647, John Howe, aged seventeen, entered Christ's College, Cambridge, as a sizar. He took his degree of B.A. at Cambridge, and was at Oxford in the first years of the Commonwealth. He formed there his own system of theology, became M.A. in 1652, was ordained, and became, at two and twenty, pastor at Great Torrington, in Devonshire. The energy with which in these days the religious life of England was animating the great social changes may be illustrated by Howe's work for his flock on any one of the frequent fast-days. He began with them at nine A.M., prayed during a quarter of an hour for blessing upon the day's work, then read and explained a chapter for three-quarters of an hour, then prayed for an hour, then preached for an hour and prayed again for half an hour, then retired for a quarter of an hour's refreshment — the people singing all the while — returned to his pulpit, prayed for another hour, preached for another hour, and finished at four P.M., with one half-hour more of prayer, doing it all singly, and with his whole soul in it all. In 1656 he happened to be in London on a Sunday, and went, out of curiosity, to Whitehall Chapel, to see the Lord Protector and his family. But the Lord Protector saw also the young divine in his clerical dress;

requested to speak with him after service, and asked him to preach on the following Sunday. He preached, was asked to preach again, and was at last urged by Cromwell to stay by him as his domestic chaplain. He took that office, and was made also lecturer at St. Margaret's, Westminster, the parish church of the House of Commons. In three months he was writing from Whitehall to Baxter for counsel as to those duties of which it would be most useful for him to remind the rulers, and he was supporting at headquarters a plan of Baxter's for producing a more open fellowship among Christians of hitherto contending sects. Zealous and fearless enough to preach before Cromwell against a point of the Protector's own faith, Howe was thoroughly tolerant. When Thomas Fuller was about to appear before the Triers — a board for examining ministers before they were inducted to a charge — he said to Howe, good-humoredly, "You may observe, sir, that I am a pretty corpulent man, and I have to go through a passage that is very strait; be so kind as to give me a shove and help me through." The chaplain got him through. Howe was Cromwell's chaplain to the last, and remained in the same office during the nine months' rule of the Protector's son, Richard. The best of his many books, "The Living Temple," appeared in two parts, in 1676 and 1702. Howe lived till 1705.

4. George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends, was about four years older than Bunyan. He was born at Fenny Drayton, Leicestershire, in July, 1624, the son of a respectable weaver. He was taught reading and writing, and then placed with a shoemaker, who also kept sheep. Fox minded the sheep. His thought from childhood was fixed upon Bible study, he was true of word, and as he took the Scripture "Verily" for his most solemn form of assertion, it was understood that, "If George says 'Verily,' there is no moving him." At twenty, in obedience to words that seemed to answer prayer, he left his home, and, having means enough for simple life without a trade, spent about nine months in towns where he was unknown, and free to wander and reflect. He made himself a suit of leather clothes, which would last long without renewal, and gave himself up to intense religious meditation. He came home still unsettled, and again moved restlessly about, profoundly dwelling upon the relation of his soul to God. The result was uttermost rejection of all forms and ceremonies as a part of true religion. "God," he said to himself, "dwells not in temples made with hands, but in the hearts of his obedient people." The church of Christ was, he felt, a living church; and he became zealous against reverence paid to churches of brick and stone, which he denied to be churches, and thenceforth called steeple-houses. He not only set himself against those parts of ceremonial which had been a source of contest from the days of Cranmer to the days of Laud, but utterly against all ceremonial, in Church and State. He realized to his own mind a Christian commonwealth in which the civil power is obeyed as far as conscience permits, and, if disobeyed, never resisted; in which the great religious bond of love makes all men equal before God, by teaching man to be the Friend of man. In such a community there should be no untrue forms of ceremonial, no reverence by using the plural pronoun, and addressing one as if he were two, by scraping the foot, or uncovering the head. In all things the simple word of truth was to be all-sufficient, so that Christians would swear not at all, but their word would be simply Yea or Nay. He would have a church of souls with no paid minister, no formal minister of any kind, no formal prayers, and no formal preaching. At the meetings of such a church there should none speak unless it were borne in upon any one that there was something to say fresh from the heart, but in that case each man or woman was free to address the assembled friends. It was in 1647 that Fox began to spread his opinions, and gather friends. Some of their first meetings were held at Dukinfield and Manchester. The protest against formalism was so complete and so unflinching, that it brought the followers of Fox into constant collision with the usages and laws, or supposed laws, of society. If an oath had to be taken it was refused, because it was an oath, and the penalty of the refusal was borne. The hat not removed in church, or in a court of justice, or by a son in presence of his father; the courteous "you" transformed to "thou" in days when "thou," as now in Germany, was used only to an inferior or to an equal friend — offences such as these against the established forms led, Fox says, to "great rage, blows, punchings, beatings, and imprisonments." Fox was imprisoned first at Nottingham, in 1649, because the spire of the great church had caused him to "go and cry against yonder great idol and the worshippers therein." He stopped the preacher with contradiction in the middle of his sermon, and was imprisoned for interruption of the service; but his religious fervor won the heart of one of the sheriffs, and he was quickly released. But in 1650 he was arrested at Derby for telling "plain and homely truths" at a gathering summoned by Presbyterian preachers, was taken before the magistrates, and suffered much from Justice Gervas Bennet. It was this justice who first gave to Fox and his friends in derision the name of Quakers, because Fox bade him tremble and quake before the power of the Lord. At Derby, Fox was imprisoned for twelve months in the common jail on a charge of blasphemy, while his religious life answered the charge, and he, as a guiltless man, refused either to go through the form of being bound to good behavior, or to allow any one to be surety for him. At last he was released unconditionally. He then preached and drew followers to his cause in Yorkshire and Westmoreland; was charged with blasphemy at Lancaster; imprisoned, in 1653, at Carlisle, and released when the case was brought before Cromwell's first Parliament. In his home at Drayton, in 1654, he disputed with the clergy, was arrested on suspicion of holding or encouraging seditious meetings, and was sent to Cromwell, who heard him at length while he was dressing, took his hand as he left, and said, with tears in his eyes: "Come again to my house, for if thou and I were but an hour a day together, we should be nearer one to the other." Fox was free again, but he and his followers were still persecuted. The character of other interviews shows clearly that Cromwell recognized a true man in George Fox. His intense religious fervor led to acts of seeming insanity, when a sudden impulse, Biblical in its form, was taken with simple faith for a divine prompting, and acted upon straightway. The body also, both in John Bunyan and in George Fox, was sometimes fevered by the intensity of spiritual life. Fox's followers were unflinching in their protest.

In 1659 two thousand of them had suffered more or less in the foul jails; and a hundred and sixty-four of the Friends offered themselves in place of that number of their fellow-worshippers whom they found to be in danger of death from continuance of their imprisonment. Fox wrote letters, of which many were collected, and about a hundred and fifty doctrinal pieces. He lived until 1690, and his "Journal of his Life, Travels, Sufferings, etc.," was published in 1694.

5. Soon after the Restoration, in 1662, there were more than forty-two hundred Quakers in prison at one time. In 1670, **Robert Barclay**, of Ury, near Aberdeen, then twenty-two years old, defended the Friends, whose society he had joined, in a treatise, published at Aberdeen, entitled, "Truth cleared from Calumnies." In 1676 he was confined with others in a prison so dark, that, unless the keeper set the door open or brought a candle, they could not see to eat the food brought in to them. In the same year appeared Barclay's "Apology for the True Christian Divinity as the same is held forth and preached by the People called in scorn Quakers, being a full Explanation and Vindication of their Principles and Doctrines." It was first published in Latin, at Amsterdam, and then, translated by the author, was published in England. The address to Charles II., in the place of a dedication, called upon him for justice on behalf of a most peaceful body of his subjects, and said: "Thou hast tasted of prosperity and adversity; thou knowest what it is to be banished thy native country, to be overruled as well as to rule and sit upon the throne; and being oppressed, thou hast reason to know how hateful the oppressor is both to God and man. If, after all these warnings and advertisements, thou dost not turn unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him who remembered thee in thy distress, and give up thyself to follow lust and vanity, surely great will be thy condemnation."

6. In 1670 the Act of 1664 against Conventicles was renewed with increase of severity. Under this Act, **William Penn** had been imprisoned. He was born in 1644, the son of Admiral Sir William Penn, educated at Christchurch, Oxford, and, having turned Quaker, was twice turned out of doors by his father. Then he was tolerated, but not helped, at home, and no effort was made to release him when he was imprisoned for attendance at religious meetings. He began at the age of twenty-four (in 1668) to preach and write. For his second paper, "The Sandy Foundation Shaken," he was imprisoned seven months in the Tower, and he wrote in prison, at the age of twenty-five, his most popular book, "No Cross, no Crown." He obtained release by a vindication called "Innocency with her Open Face." In 1670 his father died, reconciled to him. Penn inherited his estate; then wrote, travelled, supported his religious faith; and in 1681, for his father's services and debts to him from the Crown, obtained a grant of New Netherlands, thenceforward called Pennsylvania. In 1682, having published his scheme in "A Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania," he embarked for America, and founded Philadelphia. In 1684, the last year of Charles II., Penn revisited England. He published, in 1694, "A Brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers," and an "Account of his Travels in Holland and Germany in 1677, for the Service of the Gospel of Christ, by way of Journal." He died in 1718; and his collected writings, published in 1726, fill two folio volumes.

7. **Sir George Mackenzie**, of Rosehaugh, who died in 1691, aged fifty-five, was a good friend to English writers of his time, and himself a good writer. He was born at Dundee, of a known family, in 1636, studied Civil Law at Bourges, in 1659 began life as an advocate, and next year published "Aretina; or, the Serious Romance." Then he became justice depute, afterwards was knighted. In 1667 his "Moral Gallantry" established moral duties as the principles of honor. He was one of the men most active in establishing the Advocates' Library, founded at Edinburgh in 1680, and had a high literary and social reputation when he died, in the reign of William and Mary.

8. **Isaac Barrow**, born in 1630, educated at Charterhouse and Cambridge, became Fellow of Trinity, subscribed to the Covenant, but insisted on the erasure of his name. He studied science as well as divinity — astronomy, botany, chemistry, and even anatomy. In 1655 he sold his books that he might have money for travel. He found friends on his road; visited Paris, Florence, Venice, and Constantinople, and came home, in 1659,

through Germany and Holland. Then he took orders, was Professor of Greek at Cambridge, next also of geometry at Gresham College; and after that Lucasian Mathematical Lecturer at Cambridge until 1669, when he gave place to his friend, Isaac Newton. In 1672 the king made him Master of Trinity; and he was Vice-Chancellor of the university when he died, in 1677, aged forty-seven. He wrote mathematical works, and sermons full of sense and piety. A collected edition of Isaac Barrow's English works was published by Archbishop Tillotson, in four volumes folio, in 1683–87.

9. John Tillotson was born in the same year as Barrow (1630), son of a clothier at Sowerby, near Halifax. He went as a Nonconformist to Clare Hall, Cambridge, and began life as a private tutor and curate to Dr. Wilkins, at St. Lawrence Jewry. He made himself agreeable to authority, both after the Restoration and after the Revolution; rose in the church, upholding simple acceptance of the ruling powers; and was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1691, after the suspension of Sancroft. He died in 1694, and left to his widow unpublished sermons that fetched twenty-five hundred guineas. Yet Tillotson was not, like Leighton, a man of genius, capable of deep thought and grand expression.

10. Robert Leighton (b. 1613, d. 1684) was the son of a man who in the reign of Charles I. had his nose slit and his ears cut, and was whipped from Newgate to Tyburn for offending Government with two books called "Zion's Plea against the Prelacy" and "The Looking-Glass of the Holy War." Robert Leighton was a Scottish divine, thoughtful as well as eloquent. He came to London to resign the bishopric of Dunblane, vexed by contention with the Presbyterians, and was sent back Archbishop of Glasgow. But he could endure the strife against Episcopalians in Scotland only for another year, resigned, withdrew to Sussex, and died in London in 1684. His sermons, published in 1692, are those of the greatest preacher in the Episcopal Church of the later Stuart period.

11. William Beveridge (b. 1638, d. 1708), educated at Cambridge, was a Hebrew scholar at eighteen, and published at the age of twenty, in Latin, a Syriac grammar and treatise on the excellence and usefulness of Oriental languages. He has left a hundred and fifty published sermons, besides theological tracts. He became chaplain to William III. at the Revolution, but was not made a bishop till Queen Anne's reign.

12. Samuel Parker was a worldly defender of the Church against Nonconformity. He was born in 1640, the son of one of Cromwell's committee-men, and a strict Puritan until the Restoration, when he had been a year at Oxford. In 1665, at the age of twenty-five, he became one of the Fellows of the Royal Society, and carried experimental science into theology with a book in Latin of "Physico-Theological Essays concerning God" — "Tentamina Physico-Theologica de Deo" — which got him the post of chaplain to Archbishop Sheldon, who also made him Archdeacon of Canterbury. In 1670 he published "A Discourse of Ecclesiastical Polity, wherein the Authority of the Civil Magistrate over the Consciences of Subjects in Matters of External Religion is Asserted;" and in 1672 he wrote a preface to a posthumous work of Archbishop Bramhall's, "A Vindication of Bishop John Bramhall from the Fanatic Charge of Popery." This brought down on Samuel Parker's head the satire of Andrew Marvell. Parker was made Bishop of Oxford by James II., and died in 1688.

13. Of the seven bishops who were thrown into the Tower by James II., one, **Thomas Ken,** has a place in literature. He was born in 1637, the son of an attorney. His mother died when he was four years old, and his home was then at the haberdasher's shop in Fleet Street kept by Izaak Walton; for his half-sister, who took charge of him, was Izaak Walton's second wife. Ken was seven when Izaak Walton retired from business; and his home was then in Walton's cottage by the banks of the Dove, in Staffordshire. He was sent, at thirteen, to Winchester College. In 1656 he went to Oxford, and joined a musical society formed there; for, like his sister, Mrs. Walton, Ken had a delightful voice, and he played on the lute, viol, and organ. As a student also, Ken began an epic poem on Edmund, the East Anglian king martyred by the Danes. He became M.A. in 1664, and chaplain to Lord Maynard, with the rectory of Easton Parva, just outside Lord Maynard's park, in Essex. Then he became domestic chaplain to George Morley, Bishop of Winchester. Then he obtained a fellowship of Winchester College, and lived in the Wykehamist house. The Bishop of Winchester gave him, in 1667, the living of Brixton, in the Isle of Wight; and it was in the Isle of Wight, as Rector of Brixton, that Ken wrote his "Morning and Evening Hymns," using them himself, and singing them to his lute when he rose and when he went to rest. In 1669 the Bishop of Winchester gave Ken other promotion, and he left the Isle of Wight. In 1675 he visited Rome with his nephew, young Izaak Walton. In 1681 he published his "Manual of Prayers for the Scholars of Winchester College." In 1683, Ken went as chaplain-in-chief of the fleet sent to Tangier, and in October, 1684, he was at the deathbed of his friend **George Morley**, whose writings had been collected in 1683 as "Several Treatises written upon Several Occasions, by the Right Reverend Father in God, George, Lord Bishop of Winton, both before and since the King's Restauration: wherein his judgment is fully made known concerning the Church of Rome, and most of those Doctrines which are controverted betwixt her and the Church of England." Thomas Ken then became chaplain to Charles II., and was made Bishop of Bath and Wells not many days before the king's death. Ken published a "Manual of Prayer," "Seraphical Meditations," and a poem called "Hymnotheo; or, the Penitent;" but his fame rests on the "Morning and Evening Hymns," and on his place among the Seven Bishops. Upon the Revolution, Ken refused to transfer to William the oaths he had sworn to James, and was accordingly "deprived," with some four hundred other clergymen, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, and six bishops. Bishop Ken was then housed by an old college friend, Lord Weymouth, who gave him a suite of rooms in his mansion of Longleate, in Wiltshire. Lord Weymouth also paid him an annuity of eighty pounds a year. From Longleate he paid occasional visits to friends, went abroad at first on his old white horse, and, when that was worn out, on foot, preaching, and collecting subscriptions for distressed non-jurors and their families. At Longleate House he died, in March, 1711.

14. Among the non-jurors was **William Sherlock**, a divine then high in repute, born in 1641, educated at Eton and Peterhouse, Cambridge; in 1669 Rector of St. George's, Botolph Lane, and Prebendary of St. Paul's; then Master of the Temple, an active preacher and writer against the Roman Catholics. At the time of his deprivation, Sherlock published, in 1689, the most popular of his books, "Practical Discourse concerning Death." His deprivation was soon followed by his acceptance of the established authority in 1691, when he was restored to his office of Master of the Temple, and made Dean of St. Paul's. In 1692 appeared his "Practical Discourse concerning a Future Judgment;" and he was involved in a long and bitter controversy upon the Trinity, with Robert South, a learned, zealous, and good-natured divine. Sherlock died in 1707.

15. Robert South was born in 1633, and educated at Westminster and Oxford. Upon the Restoration, he was made orator of the university, and chaplain to Lord Clarendon; in 1670 he became canon of Christchurch, and in 1678 rector of Islip. He was distinguished for his wit, even in the pulpit. Eleven volumes of his sermons have been published. **Edward Stillingfleet** (b. 1635, d. 1699) became Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and at the Revolution was made Bishop of Worcester. He published, besides sermons and visitation-charges, treatises on theology, church history, and church government. **Thomas Tenison** (b. 1636, d. 1715) became Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1662; was made Bishop of Lincoln in 1691, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1694. He published a treatise against Hobbes, a work on Idolatry, some writings of Francis Bacon and of Sir Thomas Browne, and several sermons.

ENGLISH LITERATURE.

FIRST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

POETS.

Charles Montague.
Matthew Prior.
Sir Richard Blackmore.
Jonathan Swift.
John Philips.
Ambrose Philips.
Thomas Tickell.
Nicholas Rowe.
Thomas Parnell.
John Gay.
Alexander Pope.
Matthew Green.
Allan Ramsay.
James Thomson.
John Dyer.
William Somerville.
Gilbert West.
John Armstrong.
William Shenstone.
William Whitehead.
Paul Whitehead.
Richard Glover.
Christopher Pitt.
Stephen Duck.
Edward Young.
Robert Blair.
William Collins.
Richard Savage.

DRAMATISTS.

Nicholas Rowe.
Susanna Centlivre.
John Hughes.
Joseph Addison.
Richard Steele.
John Gay.
Colley Cibber.
George Lillo.
Edward Moore.
David Mallet.

CRITICS AND SATIRISTS.

John Dennis.
Charles Gildon.
Joseph Spence.
Joseph Addison.
Richard Steele.
John Arbuthnot.
Alexander Pope.
Lewis Theobald.
Jonathan Swift.
William Warburton.

WRITERS ON SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY, AND RELIGION.

Thomas Burnet.
William Whiston.
Richard Bentley.
George Berkeley.
David Hartley.
Bernard de Mandeville.
Lord Bolingbroke.
Isaac Watts.
Joseph Butler.
John Wesley.
Charles Wesley.
William Warburton.
Francis Atterbury.
Samuel Clarke.
Benjamin Hoadly.

HISTORIANS, PAMPHLETEERS, AND NOVELISTS.

John Oldmixon.
George Lyttelton.
Daniel Defoe.
Samuel Richardson.
Henry Fielding.

CHAPTER XII.

FIRST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: POETRY, THE DRAMA, AND CRITICISM.

1. "The Country Mouse and the City Mouse." — 2. Charles Montague. — 3. Matthew Prior. — 4. Sir Richard Blackmore. — 5. John Dennis; Charles Gildon; Joseph Spence. — 6. Jonathan Swift. — 7. Joseph Addison and Richard Steele. — 8. John Philips. — 9. Ambrose Philips. — 10. Thomas Tickell. — 11. Nicholas Rowe. — 12. Susanna Centlivre. — 13. John Hughes. — 14. John Arbuthnot. — 15. Thomas Parnell. — 16. Lewis Theobald; Colley Cibber. — 17. John Gay. — 18. Alexander Pope. — 19. Matthew Green. — 20. Allan Ramsay. — 21. James Thomson. — 22. John Dyer; William Somerville. — 23. Gilbert West; John Armstrong. — 24. William Shenstone. — 25. George Lillo; Edward Moore; David Mallet; Vincent Bourne; William Whitehead; Paul Whitehead; Richard Glover; Christopher Pitt; Stephen Duck. — 26. Edward Young; Robert Blair. — 27. William Collins. — 28. Richard Savage.

1. DRYDEN's powerful poem, "The Hind and the Panther," published in 1687, represents a series of theological and political discussions carried on by animals, and all contrived for the support of Roman Catholicism. Such a poem invited caricature; and this soon came in the form of an imitation of "The Rehearsal." It was entitled "The Hind and the Panther Transversed to the Story of the Country Mouse and the City Mouse." "Mr. Bayes" is boasting to "Mr. Johnson" of his fable of the hind and the panther, in defence of his religion. "An apt contrivance, indeed," says Johnson. "What, do you make a fable of your religion?" *Bayes:* "Ay, I'gad, and without morals, too; for I tread in no man's steps; and to show you how far I can outdo any thing that ever was writ in this kind, I have taken Horace's design, but, I'gad, have so outdone him, you shall be ashamed for your old friend. You remember in him the Story of the Country Mouse and the City Mouse; what a plain, simple thing it is! it has no more life and spirit in it, I'gad, than a hobby-horse; and his mice talk so meanly, such common stuff, so like mere mice, that I wonder it has pleased the world so long. But now will I undeceive mankind, and teach 'em to heighten and elevate a fable. I'll bring you in the very same mice disputing the depth of philosophy, searching into the fundamentals of religion, quoting texts, fathers, councils, and all that; I'gad, as you shall see, either of 'em could easily make an ass of a country vicar. Now, whereas Horace keeps to the dry, naked story, I have more copiousness than to do that, I'gad. Here, I draw you general characters, and describe all the beasts of the creation; there, I launch out into long digressions, and leave my mice for twenty pages together; then I fall into raptures, and make the finest soliloquies, as would ravish you. Won't this do, think you?" *Johnson:* "Faith, sir, I don't well conceive you; all this about two mice?" *Bayes:* "Ay, why not? Is it not great and heroical? But come, you'll understand it better when you hear it; and pray be as severe as you can; I'gad, I defy all critics. Thus it begins:

"'A milk-white mouse, immortal and unchang'd,
Fed on soft cheese, and o'er the dairy rang'd:
Without, unspotted; innocent within,
She fear'd no danger, for she knew no gin.'"

This new jest upon Dryden was by two young men who became afterwards famous, Charles Montague and Matthew Prior.

2. Charles Montague, born in April, 1661, was the fourth son of the Hon. George Montague, a younger son of the first Earl of Manchester. He was sent at fourteen to Westminster School, where he formed so intimate a friendship with George Stepney that he avoided a scholarship at Oxford, and got leave from his friends to join Stepney at Trinity College, Cambridge. At the death of Charles II., Montague contributed to the volume of condolences and congratulations for the new king, that was put together according to custom. His poem, "On the Death of His Most Sacred Majesty, King Charles II.," pleased Lord Dorset and Sir Charles Sedley so well that they invited Montague to town. The piece was a clever but unmeasured panegyric, opening with this bold couplet:

"Farewell, great Charles, monarch of blest renown,
The best good man that ever fill'd a throne."

Dorset and Sedley were on the popular side, in opposition to the king's designs, made more alarming by his setting up of a standing army for aid in suppressing possible resistance to them. At their suggestion, Montague joined Prior in reply to Dryden's "Hind and Panther." After the accession of William III., he rose rapidly in political life; and in 1694 became Chancellor of the Exchequer, acquiring great distinction by his financial skill. He became Earl of Halifax, and died in 1715, with an extraordinary reputation for literary as well as political abilities. His works, consisting of poems and speeches, were published in the year of his death.

3. His associate in writing the famous burlesque on Dryden, **Matthew Prior**, was born in 1664. Having lost his father when young, he came into the care of his uncle, Samuel Prior, who kept the "Rummer" Tavern, near Charing Cross. It was a house frequented by nobility and gentry; so it chanced that the Earl of Dorset found in it young Prior, who had been taught at Westminster School, reading Horace for his amusement. He talked to him, saw him to be clever, and paid the cost of sending him to St. John's College, Cambridge. Prior was then eighteen. He took his B.A. degree in 1686, returned to London, and took his place among the young wits of the Whig party by the brightness of the satire upon Dryden's "Hind and Panther." He made friends also by the good quality of a poem on the Deity, written according to a practice of his college to send every year some poems upon sacred subjects to the Earl of Exeter in return for a benefaction by one of his ancestors. In 1690 he was appointed Secretary of the Embassy at the Congress opened at the Hague in January, 1691; and thus entered upon a diplomatic career in which he was greatly distinguished. At the end of June, 1692, after a memorable siege, the French completed the capture of Namur and its forts. Boileau then celebrated the glory of Louis XIV. in a Pindaric ode, which served the purpose also of a shot at Perrault in the Battle of the Ancients and the Moderns. Matthew Prior afterwards returned Boileau's fire with a laughing comment upon his ode, which he followed stanza for stanza,

in "An English Ballad on the Taking of Namur by the King of Great Britain," 1695; for in that year there was another siege of Namur, and, on the 31st of August, William III. took the citadel by open assault in daytime, and in presence of Villeroi's army of a hundred thousand that would not risk battle. Prior was in high diplomatic service when he wrote, in the century year, his finest ode, the "Carmen Seculare," in praise of William. After the death of William, Prior deserted the Whigs for the Tories, and conducted a paper in the interest of the latter, called "The Examiner." He assisted in negotiating the treaty of Utrecht, and was sent as ambassador to Paris. His political career ended with the reign of Queen Anne. He died in 1721. Besides his prose writings, constituting two volumes of "Miscellaneous Works," and including a "History of his Own Time," he left numerous small poems; also, "Alma; or, The Progress of the Mind," in three cantos; and, "Solomon on the Vanity of the World," a poem in three books.

4. **Sir Richard Blackmore** (b. about 1650, d. 1729) was educated at Westminster School, and St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, where he took the degree of M.A. in 1676; graduated in medicine at Padua, and became a prosperous physician in Cheapside. In 1695 he published "Prince Arthur," an epic poem in ten books. In his preface Blackmore attacked the abuse of wit upon the stage, said that in its other departments the poetry of the day had become impure; and that for this reason, among others, he had, in the intervals of business, written "Prince Arthur." "I was willing," he said, "to make one effort towards the rescuing of the Muses out of the hands of those ravishers, and to restore them to their sweet and chaste mansions, and to engage them in an employment suitable to their dignity." He then prosed upon epic poetry, of which, he said, the purpose was "to give men right and just conceptions of religion and virtue;" and told his public that he had endeavored to form himself on Virgil's model, substituting Christian for pagan machinery — that is to say, he used Lucifer, Raphael, Uriel, etc., instead of heathen deities. His Arthur sailed to the Saxon coast; devils and angels affected

the weather; but at last he and his people landed on Hoel's shore of Albion, where

> "Rich wine of Burgundy and choice champagne
> Relieve the toil they suffered on the main;
> But what more cheered them than their meats and wine
> Was wise instruction and discourse divine
> From godlike Arthur's mouth."

The Fury, Persecution, stirred Hoel; but an angel sent him to Arthur, from whom he heard a sermon. In Book III., Hoel asked for more, and Arthur preached him another sermon. In Book IV., Lucius, at a supper of Hoel's, being asked to tell Prince Arthur's story, began in Virgilian style,

> "How sad a task do your commands impose,
> Which must renew insufferable woes."

Finally, an Ethelina and a kingdom awaited the result of single combat between Prince Arthur and King Tollo, and the poem closed thus:

> "So by Prince Arthur's arms King Tollo slain
> Fell down, and lay extended on the plain."

Blackmore became a butt of the wits whom he attacked. He was a commonplace man with an amiable faith in himself, and without intellect to distinguish between good and bad in poetry. His religious purpose was sincere, and it gave dignity to his work in the eyes even of Locke and Addison. Blackmore's "King Arthur," in twelve books, appeared in 1697, the year in which he was knighted and made one of the physicians to King William. In 1700 appeared Blackmore's "Paraphrase on the Book of Job, the Songs of Moses, Deborah, and David, and on Four Select Psalms, some Chapters of Isaiah, and the Third Chapter of Habakkuk;" and in the same year he defied his satirists, and continued his attack upon immoral verse with a "Satire on Wit." Afterwards, he published "A Collection of Poems," "Creation," "The Redeemer," and numerous works in avowed prose, on theological, historical, and medical subjects.

5. John Dennis (b. 1657, d. 1734), son of a London saddler, after education at Harrow and at Caius College, Cambridge, travelled in France and Italy, and began his career as a writer in the reign of William III., with "The Passion of Byblis" in 1692, and in the same year "The Impartial Critic; or, some Observations on Mr. Rymer's late Book, entitled a Short View of Tragedy." In 1693 Dennis published "Miscellanies in Verse and Prose." In 1695 he published a poem, "The Court of Death," on the death of Queen Mary; and in 1696, "Letters on Milton and Congreve," and "Letters upon Several Occasions, Written by and between Mr. Wycherley, Mr. Dryden, Mr. Moyle, Mr. Congreve, and Mr. Dennis;" also adverse "Remarks" on Blackmore's "Prince Arthur." In 1697 he published "Miscellaneous Poems;" in 1698 "The Usefulness of the Stage to the Happiness of Mankind, to Government, and to Religion, occasioned by a late Book written by Jeremy Collier, M.A.;" in 1701 a little treatise on the "Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry;" and in 1702 an "Essay on the Navy," a tract against Sacheverell's party, "Priestcraft dangerous to Religion and Government," a volume of collected "Works," and, on the death of William III., a poem sacred to his memory, "The Monument." There was a vein of good sense and liberality of thought in Dennis's writing, and he was a good critic to the extent of his moderate ability. He produced plays also, poor ones: "A Plot and No Plot," in 1697; "Rinaldo and Armida," in 1699; in 1702, "Iphigenia," and "The Comical Gallant; or, the Amours of Sir John Falstaff, with an Essay on Taste in Poetry." Thus Dennis's literary industry had earned him a foremost position among critics by the time of Queen Anne's accession. He was then forty-five years old. By the severity of his published comments on the writings of his contemporaries, he involved himself in many quarrels with them; and was an especial victim of the sarcasms of Pope and Swift. In 1711 he attacked Pope in "Reflections Critical and Satirical upon a late Rhapsody called An Essay on Criticism;" and in 1713, on the production of Addison's Cato, Dennis appeared as a hostile critic, with "Remarks upon Cato, a Tragedy." In 1718 Dennis's "Letters" were published in two volumes; and in the same year his "Select Works," consisting of plays, poems, etc., likewise in two volumes. In his old age, he became blind and extremely poor.

Dennis was commonly called "the critic," in his day; and he had two contemporaries who acquired some reputation in the same character, Charles Gildon and Joseph Spence.

Charles Gildon, born in 1665, of a Roman Catholic family in Dorsetshire, having failed as an actor, became a critic of the narrowest French school, and produced, in the reign of George I., his "Complete Art of Poetry" (1718), a "Satirical Life of Defoe" (1719), and "The Laws of Poetry" (1720). He died in 1724. **Joseph Spence**, born in Northamptonshire in 1698, and educated at Winchester School and New College, Oxford, published in 1727 an "Essay on Pope's Odyssey." In 1728 he became Professor of Poetry at Oxford; and, in 1742, Professor of Modern History, and Rector of Great Horwood, in Buckinghamshire. In August, 1768, he was found accidentally drowned in his garden. Spence's chief original work was "Polymetis" (1747), an inquiry into the relations between the works of the Roman poets and the remains of ancient art.

6. Jonathan Swift was born in Dublin, Nov. 30, 1667. By his uncle, Godwin Swift, he was sent to school at Kilkenny, and then to Trinity College, Dublin, where he failed when he first went up for his B.A. degree, and obtained it afterwards "by special grace," a phrase there implying special disgrace. In the year of the Revolution, Swift's uncle failed in intellect, lost speech and memory, and was unable to do more for his nephew. Swift went therefore to his mother, who was a widow and very poor; and by her advice he presented himself to Sir William Temple, whose wife was distantly related to her. Sir William became young Swift's friend, enabled him to study at Oxford, where he was admitted at once to the degree obtained at Dublin, and where he graduated as M.A. He then lived with Sir William, at Moor Park, near Farnham, in Surrey. After about two years with Sir William, Swift had a long and serious illness. It left him subject to fits of giddiness, first symptoms of the disease of brain that modified his character, and towards the close of life destroyed his reason. He went for change of air to Ireland, and then returned to Sir William, who had left Moor Park for Sheen. At Sheen, King William sometimes paid unceremonious visits to Sir William Temple. In one conversation, the king offered to make young Swift a captain of horse. But Swift took orders, and went to Ireland, where Lord Capel, on Sir William's recommendation, gave him a prebend worth a hundred pounds a year, which he gave up to return to Sheen. Sir William would use interest to get him something better, and Swift's heart was touched by the wit and kindness of Hester Johnson, daughter of Sir William's steward. Sir William died in 1700, leaving a thousand pounds to Hester Johnson, and a legacy also to Swift, who was made his literary executor. Swift dedicated Temple's works to the king, and went to Ireland as secretary to the Earl of Berkeley, who had been appointed one of the two Lords Justices of Ireland. His office of secretary Swift did not long hold, but he obtained from Lord Berkeley the livings of Agher Laracor and Rathbeggin, together worth about two hundred and sixty pounds a year. He went at once to Laracor, and invited Hester Johnson with a female friend, named Dingley, to make her home in the same village. She did so; and while Swift had the society of the woman he loved, he took care that they should never be alone together. He was violently angry when his sister married, about this time. He himself would not marry; and when at last he did go through a private ceremony of marriage with Hester Johnson, whom he called "Stella," marriage was only a form. Their relations with each other remained as before, and they lived on opposite banks of the Liffey. Uncharitable reasons have been given for this. One reason, that Swift could hardly proclaim to the world, was sufficient. The seeds of insanity were in him; that terrible disease can be inherited. He died as his Uncle Godwin died. Might not Swift feel that he and his sister had no right to marry? And, for himself, if he thought so, he was surely right, whatever unsoundness of judgment he may have shown in the way he took, nevertheless, to satisfy his best affections.

Swift's first publication was at the close of William's reign. When Tory re-action then caused the House of Commons to impeach Lord Somers, the Earl of Halifax, the Earl of Orford, and the Earl of Portland, Swift published, in 1701, with covert reference to the political situation, "A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions between the Nobles and the Commons in

Athens and Rome." In this pamphlet Lord Somers figured as Aristides, Halifax as Pericles. The Earl of Orford was Themistocles; and the Earl of Portland, Phocion.

Swift, who had graduated as D.D. in 1701, was in London in 1704, and then published his "Tale of a Tub," and "Battle of the Books." "Tale of a Tub" is a very old English phrase for a nonsensical story, and had been used by Ben Jonson for the title of a play. Swift's tale was a satire on behalf of charity and good works among men of different forms of faith, represented by Peter (Church of Rome), Martin (Church of England), and Jack (Dissent). In its main plan the "Tale of a Tub" is a wise book, and essentially religious, but its uncontrolled wit handled sacred things in a way shocking to many, and Swift was too good a partisan of his own church to make a book that should be itself a great example of the charity it recommended. If Swift had not written the "Tale of a Tub" he would have died a bishop. His "Battle of the Books" was suggested by the famous literary quarrel, in which Sir William Temple had engaged, over ancient and modern learning. From this time onward, he was a prolific writer of controversial pamphlets, on questions of theology and politics; including "An Argument to prove the Inconvenience of Abolishing Christianity," and "Letter on the Sacramental Test," in 1708; "A Project for the Advancement of Religion and the Reformation of Manners," in 1709; "The Conduct of the Allies," in 1712; "Public Spirit of the Whigs," about 1713; and "Free Thoughts on the State of Public Affairs," in 1714. His writings and personal intrigues in politics made him a power in the State, but he got no promotion in the church, higher than that of the Deanery of St. Patrick's, which he received in 1713.

In 1724 Swift published "The Drapier's Letters," against Wood's halfpence. Copper coin having become so scarce in Ireland that the chief manufacturers were paying their workmen with tin tokens, a patent was granted to William Wood, an ironmaster, of Wolverhampton, to make one hundred and eighty thousand pounds' worth of farthings and halfpence during fourteen years, for supply of copper coin to Ireland.

Swift denounced the patent as an enrichment of William Wood at the expense of Ireland, which was to have its good money taken in exchange for copper coin of less than its nominal value. Sir Isaac Newton, as Master of the Mint, and two of the assayers, testified that Wood's halfpence not only contained more copper than any before sent to Ireland, but also excelled former coinages "in goodness, fineness, and value of the metal." No matter. Writing as an Irish trader, M. B. Drapier, Swift raised a storm in Ireland. The "Drapier's Head" became a patriotic sign, and the Dean an idol of his countrymen. Government offered in vain a reward of three hundred pounds for evidence to prove who was the writer of the fourth letter, dated Oct. 13, 1724. The printer was arrested; but when the grand jury was to find a true bill against him, a paper of the Drapier's, called "Seasonable Advice to the Grand Jury," had found its way to the hands of each of them, and they threw out the bill, though the Chief Justice sent them back several times to revise their return. Swift prevailed, Wood's patent had to be revoked, and the Irish sang the praises of their Dean:

"Now we're free by nature,
Let us all our power exert:
Since each human creature
May his right assert.

(*Chorus.*) Fill bumpers to the Drapier,
Whose convincing paper
Set us, gloriously,
From brazen fetters free."

Swift was now at work upon his "Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World, by Lemuel Gulliver, first a surgeon, and then a captain of several ships." Of this book he had the first suggestion from a passage in the "Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus;" but it was also of the school of Cyrano de Bergerac's "Comic History of the States and Empires of the Moon," which had been twice translated into English (1659 and 1687), and Joseph Hall's "Mundus Alter et Idem." Swift brought "Gulliver" to London in April, 1726; was with Pope till August, while the book was being printed, and recalled to

Ireland by illness of Stella, when it appeared, in the beginning of November, without the author's name. The first edition was sold in a week. Cleansed of impurities, it is now for its bright wit and bold flights of fancy read by children as a delightful tale of wonder. As a new book it was read by statesmen and men of the world as bitter political and social satire. Like "Robinson Crusoe," it takes the form of a sailor's book of adventure in strange lands; but there all likeness ends. Lemuel Gulliver's four voyages were: (1) To Lilliput, where English politics of the Court of George I. are satirized in a people who are as men and women seen through a diminishing glass, and where Blefuscu stands for France; (2) To Brobdingnag, where men and women are seen as through a magnifying glass, and the satire is continued with reference, particularly in the sixth chapter, to the politics of Europe; (3) To Laputa, etc. — satire against the philosophers; and (4) to the country of the Houyhnhnms — satire upon the whole human race. Although Swift lived until the middle of the reign of George II., the chief work of his life was done before the death of George I. Stella being better, he was in London again with Pope in 1727, collecting three volumes of "Miscellanies," but had again to hurry back. He was ill himself in October, and Stella, then within a few weeks of her own death, denied ease to herself that she might be his tender nurse. Lines of his "To Stella, Visiting Me in my Sickness, October, 1727," end thus:

"Best pattern of true friends, beware;
You pay too dearly for your care,
If while your tenderness secures
My life, it must endanger yours.

For such a fool was never found
Who pulled a palace to the ground,
Only to have the ruins made
Materials for an house decayed."

Stella died in January, 1728, and all joy went out of Swift's life. His character lost what had softened its harsher lines. Disease of mind slowly increased upon him. In 1736 he was seized with a fit while writing, and he wrote little more. In 1741 he was insane beyond hope, and in charge of a legal guardian until his death, at the age of seventy-eight, in 1745.

7. Joseph Addison, son of the Rev. Lancelot Addison, was born on May Day, 1672, at Milston, Wiltshire. About 1677, his father became Archdeacon of Salisbury, and his son Joseph then went to a school at Salisbury. In 1683, Lancelot Addison became Dean of Lichfield; and Joseph, aged eleven, then went to school at Lichfield until 1685, when he was sent as a private pupil to the Charterhouse. There he found, among the boys on the foundation, one of his own age, Richard Steele, who had been sent to the school a few months earlier, in 1684. Between Addison and Steele, as boys at the Charterhouse, an enduring friendship was established.

Richard Steele was not two months older than Addison. He was baptized on the 12th of March, 1672, as the son of Richard Steele, an attorney in Dublin. His father died when he was not quite five years old, and he was in his thirteenth year when, on the nomination of the first Duke of Ormond, he was received as a foundation boy at the Charterhouse. Steele went home at holiday time with his friend Addison to the Lichfield Deanery, where he was on brotherly terms with the children of the household, and where the father gave his blessing to the friendship between his son Joseph and Richard Steele. Addison was only about two years at the Charterhouse. He went to Oxford in 1687. Steele did not leave the Charterhouse for Oxford until March, 1690; and thus, at the beginning of the reign of William and Mary, their schoolboy friendship was being renewed by Steele and Addison as students at Oxford. Addison's lines in the "Miscellany" for 1694, which addressed to Henry Sacheverell, at his request,

"A short account of all the muse-possest
That down from Chaucer's days to Dryden's times
Have spent their noble rage in British rhymes,"

were the work of a young man with a bent for criticism, though not yet a critic. He echoed opinions of the French school, and followed the polite taste of the day. Of Chaucer he said that he was "a merry bard:"

"But age has rusted what the poet writ,
Worn out his language, and obscur'd his wit:

In vain he jests in his unpolish'd strain,
And tries to make his readers laugh in vain.
Old Spenser next, warm'd with poetic rage,
In ancient tales amus'd a barb'rous age;

. . . .

But now the mystic tale, that pleas'd of yore,
Can charm an understanding age no more;
The long-spun allegories fulsome grow,
While the dull moral lies too plain below."

Shakespeare was simply left out of Addison's list. His next heroes were Cowley and Sprat — Great Cowley, whose "fault is only wit in its excess."

"Blest man! who's spotless life and charming lays
Employ'd the tuneful prelate in thy praise:
Blest man! who now shall be for ever known,
In Sprat's successful labors and thy own.
But Milton next, with high and haughty stalks
Unfetter'd in majestic numbers walks.

. . . .

Whate'er his pen describes I more than see,
Whilst ev'ry verse, array'd in majesty,
Bold and sublime, my whole attention draws,
And seems above the critic's nicer laws."

A genuine admiration of Milton, who did not appeal in vain to young Addison's religious feeling, is the most interesting feature of these lines, which went on from Milton to Waller, Roscommon, Denham, Dryden, Congreve, Montague, and Dorset, in the manner of one who was being educated in "an understanding age," trained by polite France in a shallow self-sufficiency. All the old music, with its sweet variety of number, was fled. There were no more sonnets; they took flight out of our literature at the coming in of the French influence. Narrative was to be after the manner of France, in rhymed couplets; our old "riding rhyme," so called because it was the rhyme that described the Canterbury pilgrims, was now dubbed "heroic verse," and the predominance of this metre had now become one characteristic of the outward form of English poetry.

Richard Steele wrote his earliest published verse a few months after the appearance of Addison's "Account of the Poets." But

Steele's interest was above all things in life itself, and then in literature as the expression of it. He showed his interest in men by writing a comedy at college, and was content to burn it when a fellow-student thought it bad. His first printed verse was on the death of Queen Mary, by small-pox, in the Christmas week of 1694; and Steele used more than once one of its opening lines, expressing his sense of the earnest under-tone of life — "Pleasure itself has something that's severe." Since the throne was not vacant, Parliament still sat, and for the first time a procession of the two Houses of Lords and Commons joined in the funeral pomp of an English sovereign. Steele's poem, of about a hundred and fifty lines, was called "The Procession."

Addison, aged twenty-three, addressed to King William from Oxford a paper of verses on the capture of Namur. They united evidence of ability with declaration of Whig principles, and were sent through Sir John Somers, a lawyer and patron of letters, who had been counsel for the seven bishops, under James II. Somers was William's first Solicitor-General, had become Lord Keeper, and was made in 1695 Lord Chancellor and a peer. Addison, then destined for the church, sought, as was usual, to advance his fortunes by the way of patronage; and it was not without effect, that, in lines sent with the poem, he credited Somers with "immortal strains;" spoke of Britain advanced "by Somers' counsels, and by Nassau's sword;" and sought the Lord Keeper's good word — "For next to what you write is what you praise." Thus Addison secured one patron. He had already, in 1694, aimed a shaft of compliment, in his Account of the Poets, at the noble Montague, "For wit, for humor, and for judgment famed." In 1697 he addressed to Montague, who was a good Latin scholar, and then Chancellor of the Exchequer, some patriotic Latin verses on the Peace of Ryswick ("Pax Gulielmi Auspiciis Europæ Reddita"). Thus he completed the capture of another patron; and by Somers and Montague he was induced to give up thoughts of taking priests' orders, and accept a pension of three hundred pounds a year while travelling to prepare himself for diplomatic life. Before starting, Addison brought out at Oxford, in 1699, dedicated to Montague, a second volume of "Musæ Anglicanæ," Latin poems by members of the university. The first volume appeared in 1692. Eight Latin poems of his own were in Addison's collection; one of them on "Machinæ Gesticulantes, Anglicè, a Puppet-Show," another entitled "Sphæristerium." In the summer of 1699, Addison left Oxford for Paris, staid some weeks there, then lived for a year at Blois to learn French, and, among other studies, work at Latin authors, with especial reference to Latin geography, before he passed on into Italy. When he returned to Paris from Blois, Addison was introduced to Boileau, of whom he wrote to a correspondent: "He is old, and a little deaf, but talks incomparably well in his own calling. He heartily hates an ill poet, and throws himself into a passion when he talks of any one that has not a high respect for Homer and Virgil." In December, 1700, Addison left Marseilles for Genoa, in company with Mr. Edward Wortley Montague. He spent a year in Italy, and was at Geneva by December, 1701, after what he called "a very troublesome journey over the Alps. My head is still giddy with mountains and precipices; and you can't imagine how much I am pleased with the sight of a plain." It was during this troublesome journey that Addison addressed to Charles Montague, then become Lord Halifax, his metrical "Letter from Italy," with its patriotic apostrophe to liberty and British thunder. King Louis, he wrote,

"strives in vain to conquer or divide
Whom Nassau's arms defend and counsels guide."

Addison was waiting at Geneva for a coming appointment as secretary for King William with the army in Italy under Prince Eugene, when he received news of the king's death on the 8th of March, 1702. With the life of the sovereign Addison's pension dropped; his friends were out of office.

Richard Steele did not seek advancement in life by the way of patronage. Enthusiasm for the Revolution caused him to quit Oxford, and enlist as a private in the Duke of Ormond's regiment of Coldstream Guards. He said lightly afterwards that when he mounted a war-horse, with a great sword in his hand, and planted himself behind King William III. against

Louis XIV., he lost the succession to a very good estate in the county of Wexford, in Ireland, from the same humor which he had preserved ever since, of preferring the state of his mind to that of his fortune. Lord Cutts, the colonel of the regiment, who was writer of verse as well as soldier, distinguished Steele, made him his secretary, got him an ensign's commission, and afterwards the rank of captain in Lord Lucas's regiment of Fusileers. While ensign in the Guards, Steele wrote "The Christian Hero," as he afterwards said, "with a design principally to fix upon his mind a strong impression of virtue and religion, in opposition to a stronger propensity to unwarrantable pleasures." It was in four parts: — (1) Of the Heroism of the Ancient World; (2) of the Bible Story as a Link between Man and his Creator; (3) of the Life a Christian should lead, as set forth by St. Paul; (4) of the Common Motives of Human Action, best used and improved when blended with Religion. There was a closing eulogy of William III., as a great captain, and, still better, "a sincere and honest man." "The Christian Hero," dedicated to Lord Cutts, was published in 1701, and was so well received, that by 1711 it was in a fifth edition. Steele's next work was a comedy, "The Funeral; or, Grief à la Mode," first acted in 1702. It was — with satire against undertakers and dishonesties of law — a comedy of a lord whose death was but a lethargy, from which he recovered in the presence of a trusty servant, who, for good reasons, persuaded him to wait a while, and watch unobserved what went on in the house of mourning. The wit of the comedy was free from profanity; it was emphatically moral in its tone, and Steele's warmth of patriotic feeling also found expression in it.

Joseph Addison, at the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, with his pension lost and college debts unpaid, had only the income of his fellowship. He was at Vienna in November, 1702, where he showed to Montague's friend, George Stepney, then British Envoy at Vienna, what he had sketched of his "Dialogues upon the Usefulness of Ancient Medals," written after the model of Fontenelle's "Dialogues on the Plurality of Worlds." They were not published until after his death. Addison probably travelled as tutor, but in June, 1703, he was at Hamburg, and politely declined to be travelling tutor to the son of the Duke of Somerset for the insufficient pay of a hundred a year. About September, 1703, he had returned to London, and was lodged up three pair of stairs in the Haymarket. But his friend Richard Steele was again by his side, and was finishing his second comedy, "The Tender Husband;" and Steele afterwards wrote: "I remember, when I finished 'The Tender Husband,' I told him there was nothing I so ardently wished as that we might some time or other publish a work written by us both, which should bear the name of the 'Monument,' in memory of our friendship." In 1704, Steele's third comedy, "The Lying Lover," was produced, and failed, because his strong sense of responsibility as a writer would not allow him, while adapting the story, to treat lightly the romancing of the hero. Steele felt bound to uphold the sacredness of truth, and therefore opened his last act with the hero in Newgate. Thus he spoilt the comedy. The Earl of Godolphin, who was Lord Treasurer, and a close friend of Marlborough's, and who was passing gradually from the Tories to the Whigs, having had the abilities and claims of Addison urged on him by Halifax during the rejoicings over Blenheim, gave him at once the post of a Commissioner of Appeals in the Excise, and asked him to write a poem on the battle. The result was Addison's "Campaign," in the usual heroic couplets, a piece much praised, with especial admiration of the use made of a recent great storm for likening of Marlborough in battle to the angel, who,

> "pleased th' Almighty's orders to perform,
> Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the storm."

Addison followed up the success of this piece by publishing his "Remarks on Several Parts of Italy," with a dedication to Lord Somers. They chiefly treat travel in Italy as a way of illustrating passages from Latin poets. A copy of it Addison gave inscribed "to Dr. Jonathan Swift, the truest friend, and the greatest genius of his age."

Addison, early in 1706, was appointed Under-Secretary of State to Sir Charles Hedges, a Tory, who was, before the end of the year, succeeded in office by Marlborough's son-in-law, the Earl of Sunderland. In the next year Addison produced, with music by Thomas Clayton, "Rosamond," an opera that was to match the Italians with English genius. It only lived three nights, although Addison had chosen the subject to enable him to bring on the stage a compliment to Marlborough.

Richard Steele was appointed Gazetteer, and the value of the office was presently raised for him from sixty to three hundred pounds a year. He was made also a gentleman-usher to the Prince Consort, with salary of a hundred a year. He had about this time an estate in Barbadoes, yielding over six hundred a year after payment of encumbrances upon it. This had been left him by a first wife, who died only a few months after marriage. In September, 1707, Steele was married to Miss Mary Scurlock.

Addison, besides his public work, was acting in some way as friend and tutor to the ten-year-old son of the Dowager Countess of Warwick, the last Warwick of the family of Rich. At the end of 1708 the Earl of Sunderland was dismissed from his secretaryship, and Addison, his under-secretary, was transferred to the office of chief secretary to the Earl of Wharton, just appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Addison was a member of the House of Commons many years, but was too nervous to speak in the House. He rose once, but, embarrassed by his welcome, stammered and sat down.

Addison had gone to Ireland as chief secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, when Steele issued the first number of the "Tatler" on the 12th of April, 1709. Doubtless it had occurred to Steele, as a reader of Defoe's "Review," that its little supplement of advices from the Scandal Club, dealing lightly with characteristics of the common daily life in comments and imaginary letters, represented a good form of service to society. Defoe said of this light matter, which some censured him for blending with his discussion of great public questions, that many "care but for a little reading at a time," and "thus we wheedle them in, if it may be allowed that expression, to the knowledge of the world, who, rather than take more pains, would be content with their ignorance, and search into nothing." Upon this hint, or, at any rate, in this spirit, Steele acted when he planned and began the "Tatler," without taking his friend Addison into his councils. The "Tatler," planned to give a little of its space to news, was a penny paper, published three times a week; and it was not until eighty numbers had appeared, and its success was complete, that Addison returned to London, became a contributor, and was drawn by Steele into a form of writing that brought all his powers into use. Steele closed the "Tatler" at No. 271, on the 2d of January, 1711, and it was re-issued in four volumes.

On the 1st of March appeared the first number of its successor, the "Spectator," which excluded politics, and, like the "Tatler," was Steele's paper, but in which he had, from the first, Addison's co-operation. The "Spectator" was published daily, and its price was a penny, until the 1st of August, 1712, when a halfpenny stamp duty killed many journals. It reduced the sale of the "Spectator," which then had its price raised to twopence. Steele and Addison's "Spectator" ended at No. 555, Dec. 6, 1712. The other numbers, to 635 (June 18 to Dec. 20, 1714), forming afterwards the eighth volume, represent Addison's unsuccessful attempt to revive it, about a year and a half after it had ceased to appear. Steele's hearty interest in men and women gave life to his essays. He approached even literature on the side of human fellowship; talked of plays with strong personal regard for the players; and had, like Addison, depths of religious earnestness that gave a high aim to his work. He sought to turn the current of opinion against duelling. Some of his lightest papers were in accordance with his constant endeavor to correct the false tone of society that made it fashionable to speak with contempt of marriage. No man labored more seriously to establish the true influence of woman in society. Addison's delicate humor, and fine critical perception, produced essays with another kind of charm. The Saturday papers in the "Spectator," which many would read on Sunday, were, as a rule, on subjects that would harmonize with thought on sacred subjects, and the series of eighteen papers in which Addison brought Milton into fashion, by his criticism of "Paradise Lost," begun on Saturday, Jan. 5, 1712, were the Spectators for the first eighteen

Saturdays of 1712. Eleven essays on the pleasures of Imagination (Nos. 411–421) were another important series of his, appearing every day, from June 21 to July 3, 1712. To the sketches of Sir Roger de Coverley and other members of the Spectator Club both friends contributed, but they owed most to the fine humor of Addison.

In 1714, Steele sat as M.P. for Stockbridge, in Dorset. He put forth a pamphlet which is described by its long title: "The Crisis; or, a Discourse Representing, from the most Authentick Records, the just Causes of the late Happy Revolution: and the several Settlements of the Crowns of England and Scotland on her Majesty; and on the Demise of her Majesty without Issue, upon the most Illustrious Princess Sophia. . . . With some Seasonable Remarks on the Danger of a Popish Successor." The Queen, in her speech on opening Parliament, said, "There are some who are arrived to that height of malice as to insinuate that the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover is in danger under my Government." The Lords, mostly Whigs, summoned before them the printer and publisher of "The Public Spirit of the Whigs," and committed them to the custody of the Black Rod. Harley, Lord Oxford, had given Swift a hundred pounds for writing it, but now affected indignation at its tone. The House of Commons, mostly Tory, fell upon Steele as author of the "Crisis" and of a pamphlet called "The Englishman," being the close (No. 57) of the paper so called. Steele defended himself well, but he was expelled the House on the 18th of March, 1714, by a majority of 245 against 152.

The accession of George I. brought the Whigs again into power. Steele was made surveyor of the royal stables at Hampton Court, and a deputy-lieutenant in the Commission of the Peace for Middlesex. Through the death of the sovereign, the license of the royal company at Drury Lane required renewal. Steele was applied to; his name was, at their request, inserted in the patent as Governor of the Company, and, in kindly relation with the players, he began to receive an income of six hundred a year from the theatre. He was returned also to the first Parliament of George I., as member for Borough-bridge in Yorkshire; and in April, 1715, he was one of three deputy-lieutenants who were knighted upon going up to the king with an address.

In this year Steele published a translation of an Italian book on "The State of Roman Catholic Religion throughout the World," with an ironical dedication to the Pope. At Drury Lane he produced his friend Addison's one comedy, "The Drummer," written some years before. It was not successful, and is noticeable chiefly as another illustration of the religious feeling that was a mainspring of the literary work of Steele and Addison. A mock ghost of a drummer brings out a lively dread of the supernatural from below the surface of a fop who sets up for an atheist. Though Addison had no success in comedy, his famous tragedy of "Cato," first performed in 1713, had great immediate popularity.

Addison died in 1719, aged forty-seven; and his friend Steele survived him.

For his opposition to the Peerage Bill, Steele's patent at Drury Lane was threatened by the Government, and he started a paper called the "Theatre," continued from Jan. 2 to April 5, 1720, to protect his own interests and those of the stage. Steele's patent was revoked, whereby he was deprived of his six hundred pounds a year, and three years' continuance of that income after his death. This act proceeded chiefly from the ill will of the Duke of Newcastle, who was Lord Chamberlain. In May, 1721, Steele was restored to his office by the good will of Robert Walpole, then at the head of the Treasury; and in the following year, 1722 — the year of the death of his only son, Eugene — he produced, with very great success, his fourth and last comedy, "The Conscious Lovers." This was founded upon Terence's "Andria," designed, Steele said in the preface, "to be an innocent performance," and written chiefly for the sake of a scene in the fourth Act, in which the younger Bevil so deals with a challenge from a friend as to enforce once more Steele's doctrine that Christian duty rises far above, and utterly condemns, the point of honor worshipped by the duellists. The old tenderness of Steele's love for Addison appeared also this year in a letter to Congreve, prefixed to a new edition of Addison's comedy of "The Drummer." Steele began two more comedies, "The School of Action" and "The Gentleman," but his health failed. He withdrew from London to the West of England, and about 1726 settled on a mortgaged estate of his, at Llangunnor, near Carmarthen. There he was at home, with failing health and struck with palsy, at the end of the reign of George I. One who knew him, and received kindness from him in his last days, said of Steele, "I was told he retained his cheerful sweetness of temper to the last, and would often be carried out of a summer's evening where the country lads and lasses were assembled at their rural sports, and with his pencil give an order on his agent, the mercer, for a new gown to the best dancer." Steele died on the 1st of September, 1729, having survived Addison about ten years. Steele had paid every creditor before his death, and his children were not left in want. He had been a tender husband, a good father, a devoted friend, was open and kindly, while imprudently generous in the fellowship of men; and taking his place in literature with a high sense of responsibility, he was throughout a faithful servant of God and his country.

8. One of those who, in 1705, published their poems on Blenheim, was **John Philips**, born December 30, 1676, at Bampton, in Oxfordshire, where his father, Dr. Stephen Philips, Archdeacon of Salop, was vicar. John Philips, of delicate constitution and great sweetness of character, was sent from home education to Winchester School, where he was excused much roughness of school discipline, and often read Milton in play-hours. He had written imitations of Milton before he was sent, in 1694, to Christchurch, Oxford. There his simple, modest cheerfulness, and his quick wit, surrounded him with friends. Milton still was his favorite study, and he knew Virgil almost by heart. He traced out Milton's imitations of the classics, and himself imitated the blank-verse of his master poet. He was destined for the profession of medicine, and delighted in natural science, but his weak health made him unfit for active duty. At college he wrote in playful mood, to suggest to a careless friend the value of a shilling in the pocket, his "Splendid Shilling," a burlesque poem representing, in about a hundred and fifty lines, the commonest images in high-sounding Miltonic verse. In style as in subject it was small coin glorified, perhaps the best piece of burlesque writing in our literature. This was read in manuscript, praised, copied, printed without authority. It gave Philips a reputation for wit when he came to London, and he was hospitably received into the house of Henry St. John (afterwards Lord Bolingbroke), who was two years his junior. St. John had entered Parliament for Wootton Basset in 1701, and became one of the best speakers in support of Robert Harley. When Halifax and Lord Godolphin set Addison writing a poem upon Blenheim, their rivals, Harley and St. John, asked for a poem on the same theme from John Philips, and it appeared in 1705 as "Blenheim: a Poem inscribed to the Right Honorable Robert Harley, Esq.," a strain of blank-verse, with echoes in it of the roll of Milton's music. In the same year appeared the authorized edition of "The Splendid Shilling: An Imitation of Milton. Now First Correctly Published." In 1706, John Philips published, also in blank-verse, at a time when the orthodox measure was "heroic" couplet, his carefully-written poem in two books, "Cider." This is a good example of a form of poem which in modern literature had its origin in Virgil's "Georgics," and which had been especially cultivated in Italy by Alamanni, Rucellai, Tansillo, and others; indeed, Philips's "Cider" was presently translated into Italian. John Philips was preparing to rise to a higher strain, and attempt a poem on "The Last Day," when his health entirely failed, and in February, 1708, he died of consumption in his mother's house, at Hereford, when he was not yet thirty-three years old.

9. **Ambrose Philips**, born in 1671, was seventeen years older than Pope. He was of a good Leicestershire family, and educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. He came to London, was a zealous Whig, and published, in 1700, "The Life of John Williams, Archbishop of York," celebrating him as an opponent of the policy of Laud. Ambrose Philips became, next to Steele, Addison's most familiar friend. In 1709, when his "Pastorals" had been some time published, he was in Copenhagen, and wrote thence to the Earl of Dorset "A Winter Piece," much lauded by Addison in the "Spectator." Addison was over-zealous on his friend's behalf, and greatly magnified in the "Spectator" Philips's translation of Racine's "Andromaque," as "The Distrest Mother," acted in 1711. Pope's "Pastorals" were four, entitled "Spring," "Summer," "Autumn," "Winter," and their shepherds had names from the ancient classics. Ambrose Philips, in his six "Pastorals," included Spenser's "Shepherd's Calendar" among his models, and had among his shepherds Lobbin, Thenot, Colinet, Cuddy, and Hobbinol. He died in 1749.

10. Addison, having received from Oxford a poem in praise of his "Rosamond," sought out the author, and found him to be **Thomas Tickell** (b. 1686, d. 1740), son of a Cumberland clergyman, and undergraduate of Queen's College, Oxford. Tickell thenceforth became Addison's friend and follower. In 1710 he was chosen to a fellowship, which he continued to hold until his marriage in 1726. Under Addison's patronage, he early took part in political affairs, and rose to be Under-Secretary of State, and Secretary to the Lords Justices of Ireland. He is most frequently mentioned now on account of the part he played, consciously and unconsciously, in disturbing the friendly relations of Addison and Pope. In 1713, Tickell wrote for Steele's paper, the "Guardian," a series of five essays on pastoral poetry, which led up to a glorification of Addison's friend, Ambrose Philips; the last essay, on the 17th of April, ending with the dictum that Theocritus "left his dominions to Virgil, Virgil left his to his son Spenser, and Spenser was succeeded by his eldest-born, Philips." Of Pope's pastorals there was only implied condemnation. Pope resented this, and, as Tickell was Addison's retainer, Pope would rightly believe Addison privy to the slight thus put upon him. He took prompt revenge cleverly in the "Guardian" for April 27 (No. 40), with an essay professing to be one more of the series. This essay proceeded to compare Pope and Philips, and did so with ironical praise of all that Pope thought worst in Philips, and ironical condemnation of himself in company with Virgil. But a worse disturbance came afterwards. In 1715, in the same week in which appeared the first volume of Pope's translation of the "Iliad," Tonson published, as a verse pamphlet, "The First Book of Homer's Iliad. Translated by Mr. Tickell." It had this notification: "To the Reader. I must inform the reader, that, when I began this First Book, I had some thoughts of translating the whole 'Iliad;' but had the pleasure of being diverted from that design by finding the work was fallen into a much abler hand. I would not, therefore, be thought to have any other view in publishing this small specimen of Homer's 'Iliad,' than to bespeak, if possible, the favour of the publick to a translation of Homer's 'Odysseis,' wherein I have already made some progress." In spite of this courteous note, Pope resented the rivalry, ascribed it to Addison, who was supposed to have polished Tickell's verse, and who took part in the inevitable drawing of comparisons. Of talk at Button's, when the first volume of Pope's "Iliad" was new, Gay told Pope, "Mr. Addison says that your translation and Tickell's are both well done, but that the latter has more of Homer.'' Pope now expressed his annoyance in that satire which lays a bitter emphasis on the defects of Addison,

> "Who, if two wits on rival themes contest,
> Approves of each, but likes the worst the best,"

but not without generous recognition of his worth as one

> "Blest with each talent and each art to please,
> And born to write, converse, and live with ease."

This piece of satire was first printed in 1723, then among Pope's "Miscellanies," in 1727, and finally incorporated in the Epistle to Arbuthnot, in 1735. Addison was so free from ungenerous feeling in this matter, that he went very much out of his way, in the "Freeholder" for May 7, 1716, to say, that, as the illiterate could judge of "Virgil" from Dryden's translation, "those parts of Homer which have already been published by Mr. Pope give us reason to think that the 'Iliad' will appear in English with as little disadvantage to that immortal poem." Among Tickell's original poems are "The Prospect of Peace," "The Royal Progress," "Kensington Garden," and "Oxford."

11. **Nicholas Rowe** (b. 1673, d. 1718), son of a sergeant-at-law, was bred to the law, but, on the death of his father, turned to literature. He produced several plays — "The Ambitious Stepmother," in 1700; "Tamerlane," in 1702; "The Fair Penitent," in 1703; "The Biter," an unsuccessful comedy, in 1705; "Ulysses," in 1706; and, in 1708, "The Royal Convert;" afterwards, "Jane Shore" 1713, the best of his tragedies; and "Lady Jane Gray," 1715. Rowe had a reverence for Shakespeare, and was the first editor of his works. After the four folio editions of Shakespeare's Tragedies, Comedies, and Histories, in 1623, 1632, 1663, and 1685, came, in 1709–10, in seven volumes, "The Works of William Shakespeare; Revised and Corrected, with an Account of his Life and Writings, by Nicholas Rowe." Rowe's "Life of Shakespeare" preserves to us the traditions current in Rowe's time. Upon the death of Nahum Tate, in 1715, Nicholas Rowe succeeded him as poet-laureate, and held that office in the reign of George I., when he finished his translation of Lucan's "Pharsalia."

12. **Susanna Centlivre** (b. about 1667, d. 1723) was the daughter of a Mr. Freeman, of Holbeach, in Lincolnshire, who was ruined by resistance to the Stuarts. She was married at sixteen to a husband who died in a twelvemonth, then to an officer, who, after eighteen months, was

killed in a duel; then she supported herself by writing plays and by acting. As actress she fascinated Mr. Joseph Centlivre, the queen's head cook, who married and survived her. She wrote, between 1700 and 1721, nineteen lively plays, with good plots and frequent expression of her political feeling as a hearty Whig. The most successful of her plays were "The Busy-Body" (1709), "The Wonder" (1713), and "A Bold Stroke for a Wife" (1718).

13. **John Hughes** (b. 1677, d. 1720) was educated at a Dissenter's College in London; wrote a poem in 1697 on "The Triumph of Peace, occasioned by the Peace of Ryswick," and afterwards several odes, papers in the "Tatler" and in the "Spectator," translations from Fontenelle, and several plays. He had a situation in the Ordnance Office; was made afterwards, by Lord-Chancellor Cowper, Secretary to the Commissions of the Peace; and died of consumption on the first night of his most successful play, "The Siege of Damascus."

14. **John Arbuthnot** (b. about 1675, d. 1735) was the son of a Scotch Episcopal clergyman. The Revolution having deprived the father of church preferment, the son, M.D. of Aberdeen, came to London, and taught mathematics for a living. He obtained notice in 1695, by "An Examination of Dr. Woodward's Account of the Deluge;" was witty, learned, and a good talker, and was rising into medical practice. About 1704, he chanced to be at Epsom when Prince George was in sudden need of medical attendance, was called in, treated him successfully, and became his regular physician. In 1709 he was made also Physician in Ordinary to the Queen, and Fellow of the College of Physicians. Already he was F.R.S., and a friend also of the wits and poets. In 1712 he wrote one of the cleverest of English political satires, "Law is a Bottomless Pit; or, the History of John Bull," after the fashion of Swift's "Tale of a Tub," an allegory on the political disputes associated with the French War to its close in the Treaty of Utrecht. In 1714 he amused himself with Pope, Swift, Gay, Parnell, as members of a Scribbler's Club, and began with Pope and Swift a satire, after the manner of Cervantes, upon the abuse of human learning. They produced only Book I. of the "Memoirs of the Extraordinary Life, Works, and Discoveries of Martinus Scriblerus." On the death of Queen Anne, Arbuthnot was deprived of his post and of his official residence at St. James's.

15. Thomas Parnell, born in Dublin in 1679, and M.A. of Trinity College there, took deacon's orders in 1700, and in 1705 was made Archdeacon of Clogher. He married, was intimate with the wits of Queen Anne's time, and towards the end of her reign went over to the Tories. The queen's death destroyed his hope of advancement by the change. Parnell obtained a prebend through the influence of Swift, and in 1716 was vicar of Finglass. He died in 1718, aged thirty-nine, and his friend Pope published, in 1722, a collected edition of his poems. The best of them was "The Hermit," modernized from an old moral tale.

16. Lewis Theobald, son of an attorney, at Sittingbourne, in Kent, and bred to the law, published, in 1714, a translation of the "Electra" of Sophocles; and produced in the following year an acted tragedy, the "Persian Princess," written before he was nineteen. His "Perfidious Brother," acted in 1716, was on the model of Otway's "Orphan." In 1715 he published translations of the "Œdipus" of Sophocles, and versions from Aristophanes of "Plutus" and "The Clouds." To these he had added opera and melodrama; in 1725 the pantomime of "Harlequin a Sorcerer;" and in 1726 a pamphlet, called "Shakespeare Restored; or, a Specimen of the many Errors committed as well as unamended by Mr. Pope in his late Edition of this Poet." Theobald understood Shakespeare better than Pope did, and lived to show it; but this did not lessen the annoyance of his attack, and, fresh from the smart of it, Pope made Theobald the hero of his "Dunciad." In 1727 Theobald gave work to the critics by producing at Drury Lane, as a play of Shakespeare's, "The Double Falsehood; or, the Distrest Lovers." He made good his claim to criticise Pope's "Shakespeare," by producing, in 1733, his own edition of Shakespeare, in seven volumes. The literary controversy had brought Shakespeare into notice. Pope had replied to Theobald's strictures in a second edition of his own "Shakespeare," in 1728; but Theobald's edition, in 1733, destroyed Pope's, and about thirteen thousand copies of it were sold. Theobald died in 1744.

Colley Cibber (b. 1671, d. 1757) was the son of Caius Gabriel Cibber, a sculptor from Holstein, sculptor of the bass-relief on the Monument by which the fire of London was commemorated. After education at Grantham Free School, Colley

Cibber took to the stage within a year after the Revolution; first giving his services as an actor for the privilege of seeing plays, then rising gradually to twenty shillings a week, and marrying upon that, with twenty pounds a year from his father. His first play, "Love's Last Shift," had not much advanced him as an actor; but when Vanbrugh, in 1697, made his play of "The Relapse" a sequel to Cibber's first play, he secured Cibber as actor of its leading part, Sir Novelty Fashion, newly created Lord Foppington. From this time to the end of his long life, Cibber stood at the head of English comedians in that period. Among his next plays were "The Careless Husband" and "The Nonjuror." He continued to write new plays and to alter old ones, and became distinguished as one of the liveliest men of his age. In 1730 he became poet-laureate, and retired from the stage. Having offended Pope, he was most absurdly made the hero of the "Dunciad" in its second form; and when more than seventy years old, he had, in an "Apology for his Life," published in 1740, referred to Pope's hostility, of which the source lay deeper than he understood. He took his place in the "Dunciad" good-humoredly; published "A Letter to Mr. Pope, Inquiring into the Motives that might Induce him in his Satirical Works to be so Frequently Fond of Mr. Cibber's Name;" and then "Another Occasional Letter from Mr. Cibber to Mr. Pope, wherein the New Hero's Preferment to his Throne in the 'Dunciad' seems not to be accepted, and the Author of that Poem his more Rightful Claim to it asserted; with an Expostulatory Address to the Rev. Mr. W. W——n, Author of the New Preface, and Adviser in the Curious Improvements in that Satire." Though Colley Cibber had given up acting, he occasionally played fops and feeble old men for fifty pounds a night. In 1745 he played, at the age of seventy-four, Pandulph, in his own version of Shakespeare's "King John" as "Papal Tyranny."

17. John Gay was of Pope's age, born near Barnstaple, in 1688, and educated in that town before he was sent to London as apprentice to a silk-mercer. In 1712 he passed from behind the counter into the service of the Duchess of Monmouth, as her secretary; and in 1713 he published his first poem, "Rural

Sports," a Georgic, with a dedication to Pope. Thenceforth Pope and Gay were friends; and to his new friend, who had begun his career in verse with rural themes, Pope, with Tickell's trumpeting of Ambrose Philips fresh in his ears, suggested the writing of a set of pastorals that should caricature Philips's lauded rusticity. This was the origin of Gay's six pastorals called "The Shepherd's Week," published in 1714, with a proem in prose to the reader, and a prologue in verse to Bolingbroke. But though the proem burlesqued Philips, and the purpose of censure and caricature was evident enough, yet simple speech is better than the false classicism that condemned it; and Gay, being much more of a poet than Ambrose Philips, and in himself, as Pope said, "a natural man, without design, who spoke what he thought," "The Shepherd's Week" made its own mark as pastoral poetry, and, in spite of its Cloddipole and Hobnelia, by its own merit went far to disprove its case. At the end of Queen Anne's reign Gay went to the court of Hanover, as secretary to the Earl of Clarendon. He made the great success of his life just after the accession of George II. with "The Beggar's Opera." The publication of his "Poems" in two volumes by subscription in 1720 had produced him a thousand pounds. In 1726 he published his "Fables," with a dedication to the Duke of Cumberland, for whom they professed to be written. In January, 1728, his "Beggar's Opera," written on Swift's suggestion, with Newgate characters to caricature Italian opera, was produced with wonderful success. Gay was a bright, natural poet. Captain Macheath, Polly, and Lucy were for the public a welcome escape from the conventional, and Gay's profits from his author's rights came to seven hundred pounds. The Court considered itself satirized. The Archbishop of Canterbury thought that robbery was recommended. The performance of a sequel, "Polly," was therefore interdicted. But Gay got all the more from his bookseller for the publishing of "Polly," and the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry took care of him until his death in 1732, when he left six thousand pounds to his sisters.

18. Alexander Pope was born in Lombard Street, May 21 or 22, 1688. He was the only child of Roman Catholic parents. His father was a linen-draper, who retired from business about the time of his son's birth, and presently went to live at Binfield, about nine miles from Windsor, on the border of the forest. Sickly and frail from birth, Pope got instruction at home from a family priest named Banister, was sent for a short time to school at Twyford, then to London, where he contrived to see Dryden, who had interest for him both as poet and as Roman Catholic. Pope, still a boy, went home to Binfield, studied in his own way, and tried his skill in verse upon translations and imitations of Latin and English poets — some of them done, he said, at fourteen or fifteen years old. The popularity of Dryden's "Fables" also caused him to try, in Dryden's manner, adaptations of Chaucer. At the age of sixteen, in 1704, Pope wrote his "Pastorals;" but as they were not printed until he was twenty-one, they had, of course, the benefit of later revision. This was the case with all juvenile work of the poet, who wrote of himself ("Epistle to Arbuthnot"):

> "As yet a child, nor yet a fool to fame,
> I lisped in numbers, for the numbers came."

Pope first appeared as a poet at the age of twenty-one, in Tonson's "Poetical Miscellanies," of which the series had been begun by Dryden, and a former volume had contained the first published writing of Addison. The sixth part, issued in 1709, opened with the "Pastorals" of Ambrose Philips, and closed with "Pastorals" by Mr. Alexander Pope. It contained, also, Pope's "January and May," from Chaucer's "Merchant's Tale," and Pope's "Episode of Sarpedon," translated from the Twelfth and Sixteenth Books of Homer's Iliad, with two poems in praise of Pope's "Pastorals," one of them by Wycherley.

In the "Spectator" for May 15, 1711, appeared the advertisement, "This day is published 'An Essay on Criticism.' Printed for W. Lewis, in Russell Street, Covent Garden." Lewis was a Roman Catholic bookseller. Published in 1711, the "Essay" had been written as early as in 1709. It was writing about writing, in the fashion of the day. Young Pope was following the lead of Boileau. But the "Essay on Criticism," though suggested by "L'Art Poétique," was the work of a fresh mind, with native vigor of its own; and Pope surpassed all preceding attempts to write couplets that packed thought, with brilliant effect of antithesis and shrewd aptness of word, within the compass of a line or couplet. Almost every truth is associated, in a thoughtful mind, with considerations modifying any one abrupt expression of it; therefore, whoever seeks to express thought by a succession of bright flashes of speech must frequently say more or less than he means. For many of us, even now, the unaffected style of a true thinker is like the daylight that we work in and don't stay to praise. Yet Pope, while perfecting an artificial style, was in his own way very much in earnest. In his "Essay on Criticism," while he followed the lead of Boileau in setting up for models the Latin writers of the Augustan time as the true artists who formed their style on nature, he dwells more than Boileau dwells on the fact that nature is "at once the source, and end, and test of art." The spirit of the "Essay on Criticism" is, as a whole, thoroughly generous. Pope saw no critic in

"The bookful blockhead ignorantly read,
With loads of learned lumber in his head."

He knew the weak side of the legislation upon literature that had its source in Paris, for critic-learning flourished most in France:

"The Rules a nation born to serve obeys;
And Boileau still, in right of Horace, sways."

In Pope's ideal critic,

"Good-nature and good-sense must ever join:
To err is human; to forgive, divine."

There was no ill-nature in the poem, unless it were ill-nature to pair in a line Blackmore and Melbourne for their attacks on Dryden, and laugh at Dennis, who, with real merit, rather too much assumed the god, and was, in politics, intolerant of that which was to Pope most sacred. The wise, he said, can bear to be told their faults:

"But Appius reddens at each word you speak,
And stares, tremendous, with a threat'ning eye,
Like some fierce tyrant in old tapestry."

John Dennis had produced a play of "Appius and Virginia." His stare was a characteristic. "He starts, stares, and looks round him at every jerk of his person forward," said Steele; and he had an affection in his writing for the word "tremendous," that became a joke against him. Pope contributed to the "Spectator" for May 14, 1712 (No. 378), his "Messiah: a Sacred Eclogue, in Imitation of Virgil's 'Pollio.'" The fourth eclogue of Virgil, predicting the birth of a wonderful boy while Pollio is consul, and said by Virgil to have been founded on Sibylline verses, has a parallelism with parts of Isaiah, which Pope therefore formed into a Virgilian eclogue. The artificial gardening of the time had its match in the ornamental cultivation of the fields of poetry. But there is elevation in Pope's "Messiah," though it does write "dewy nectar" where Isaiah had written "righteousness," and refine sheep into the "fleecy care." Pope contributed also to the "Spectator" of Nov. 4, 1712, a short letter with some lines on "Cephalus and Procris," and another letter upon the Emperor Adrian's lines beginning, "Animula, vagula, blandula," to the "Spectator" of Nov. 10. Out of this correspondence came, by Steele's suggestion, Pope's poem called "The Dying Christian to his Soul."

In 1712, Bernard Lintot, the publisher, imitated Tonson by producing a volume of "Miscellaneous Poems and Translations." Pope may have been its editor. It contained translations of his from Statius and Ovid, with smaller original pieces, and "The Rape of the Lock" in its first form, in two books. "The Rape of the Lock" arose out of a suggestion made to Pope by his friend, Mr. Caryll, that a family quarrel arising out of the liberty taken by Lord Petre, aged twenty, in cutting off a lock of the hair of Miss Arabella Fermor, daughter of Mr. Fermor, of Tusmore, might be made the subject of a playful poem that perhaps would restore peace. The result was an airy satire on the vanities of fashionable life, which Pope thought he could enlarge into mock-heroic by providing an epic machinery, lively and slight enough to be in harmony with its design. The reading of a French story, "Le Comte de Gabalis," by the Abbé Villars, which talked about Rosicrucians, and four kinds of spirits of the four elements, — sylphs, gnomes, nymphs, and salamanders, — suggested to him what he called a Rosicrucian machinery of sylphs in place of the interposition of heathen gods and goddesses. Addison told Pope that his poem, as it stood in Lintot's "Miscellany" in 1712, was "merum sal," a delicious little thing, that he would not be likely to improve; and Pope, then irritable towards Addison, ascribed honest and natural advice to a mean motive. In 1714 Pope reproduced "The Rape of the Lock," as "an Heroi-Comical Poem in Five Cantos," separately published. Lintot paid seven pounds for the original two cantos, and fifteen pounds for the enlarged poem. Success was immediate. The poem went through three editions in the year. In some sense inspired by Boileau's "Lutrin," as the "Essay on Criticism" was inspired by "L'Art Poétique," "The Rape of the Lock" was a poem that surpassed all former writing of the kind. The fairy machinery was handled daintily; the style suited the theme. As in the "Essay on Criticism," there was a predominant good humor; and substance was given to the work by underlying English seriousness, that makes the whole a lesson summed up by Clarissa's speech, in the fifth canto, which has for its closing lines:

> "good humor can prevail
> When airs, and flights, and screams, and scolding fail.
> Beauties in vain their pretty eyes may roll;
> Charms strike the sight, but merit wins the soul."

There is more than idling in such lines as those which represent the lady's toilet-table as an altar, the toilet itself as a religious rite; and place the lady's Bibles by her looking-glass, among puffs, powders, patches, and billets-doux.

Pope's literary life falls into three periods, corresponding to three reigns. Under Queen Anne he produced his own earlier poetry; under George I. he was translator of Homer, and editor of Shakespeare; and the later period of his own verse falls under the reign of George II. After publishing, at the beginning of 1715, his version of Chaucer's "Temple of Fame," Bernard Lintot published, in June the same year, the first of the six volumes of Pope's "Iliad," containing four books with prefatory matter. A volume of the "Iliad" appeared annually after the first in 1715, until there was a pause in 1719, and in 1720 the work was completed by the issue of the fifth and sixth volumes. Pope was paid two hundred pounds a volume by his publishers, and six hundred and sixty copies to supply subscribers. Pope's friend, Parnell, wrote the Life of Homer, Broome and others found material for notes; but Pope, after deducting payment for aid, must have received at least five thousand pounds for his translation of the "Iliad." All his original work in Queen Anne's reign had not brought him a hundred pounds, and Dryden had not obtained more than twelve hundred pounds for his translation of Virgil. Pope next undertook to supply Tonson with an annotated edition of Shakespeare, and Lintot with a translation of the "Odyssey." For each there was to be a subscription-list. In the proposals for a translation of the "Odyssey," Pope said he had undertaken it, but that the subscription was also for two friends who would assist him in his work. These were Broome and Fenton.

William Broome had been educated at Eton as a foundation scholar, and at Cambridge by the subscription of friends, and was Vicar of Sturston in Suffolk. He had a turn for verse, and, with repute as a Greek scholar, had begun his literary life by taking part in a prose translation of the "Iliad." Introduced to Pope at Sir John Cotton's, in Cambridgeshire, Broome pleased the poet, and was employed in selecting extracts for notes to the "Iliad." Upon the "Odyssey" Broome was a chief helper. He translated eight books, — the second, sixth, eighth, eleventh, twelfth, sixteenth, eighteenth, and twenty-third, and compiled all the notes. The eleventh and twelfth books he had translated some years before, for his diversion. While the "Odyssey" translation was in progress, Broome wrote of Pope to Fenton, "he turns every thing he touches into gold." When it was ended, he obliged Pope by appending a note, in which he claimed for himself the translation of only three books, and for Fenton only two; with expectation that the rest of their work was to be praised as Pope's by the public, and its glory then claimed for the authors. But Broome's relation to Pope ended in just discontent; and, with a sense of fraud upon his reputation, he wrote of Pope to Fenton as a King of Parnassus, who held "all its gold and silver mines as privileges of his supremacy, and left coarser metals to the owners of the soil." Broome published a volume of Miscellaneous Poems in 1727, married a rich widow, and became LL.D. at the beginning of the reign of George II. He had several good preferments, and died in 1745. **Elijah Fenton**, who, after a Cambridge education, had been usher of a school in Surrey, afterwards master of the school at Sevenoaks; secretary to Lord Orrery, and tutor to his son, Lord Boyle; had published verse in 1709 and 1717; and in 1723, while at work for Pope, produced a tragedy, "Mariamne." He also edited Waller, and wrote a Life of Milton. Fenton, as fellow-worker on the "Odyssey," translated four books, — the first, fourth, nineteenth, and twentieth. Pope translated only twelve books, and his knack of translating Homer was so easily caught, that, when he had touched over the work of his assistants, few readers could observe in the "Odyssey" a difference between the books translated by him and those done by his colleagues, Broome and Fenton. Pope's reputation made the profit of the undertaking; and his share of the earnings by the "Odyssey," published in 1725–26, was thirty-five hundred pounds, after paying Broome five hundred pounds for the eight books and a hundred pounds for the notes, and Fenton three hundred pounds. Thus Pope earned eight or nine thousand pounds in the reign of George I. by that work of his life which is least valuable to posterity. But it was the age of French classicism, when Homer and Virgil were the names to conjure by.

During the years in which Pope was engaged on Homer, many changes took place in his domestic life. In 1715 the family removed to Twickenham, where Pope took a long lease of a house, with five acres of ground, — the house thenceforth known as Pope's Villa. An underground passage connecting the land on opposite sides of the public road, Pope, otherwise careful of money, spent much in transforming into an ornamental grotto. His father died in 1717; and he lived with his mother, to whom he was a devoted son, upon his small patrimony, increased substantially by the profits of translating Homer.

In 1715 Colley Cibber produced his "Non-juror," a version of Molière's "Tartuffe," directed against the Roman Catholics and Nonjurors who had sympathized with the Jacobite insurrection of that year. It had a great success, and its loyalty marked Cibber for the post of poet-laureate, to which he succeeded on the death of the Rev. Laurence Eusden, in 1730. But its bitterness towards those who were of the faith of Pope's household stirred Pope's resentment against Cibber, and marked him for the post to which he was afterwards promoted in "The Dunciad." Pope expressed his feeling at once in a satirical "Key to the Nonjuror," with a touch in it of serious indignation. This trifle was suggested by his former

"Key to the Lock," published in 1715, when he expounded the piece as a political allegory, the Lock being the Barrier Treaty, Belinda Queen Anne, and so forth. Cibber himself ascribed Pope's dislike of him to resentment of a piece of personal impertinence, introduced by Cibber as actor of the character of Bayes in the "Rehearsal."

In 1725 Pope's "Edition of Shakespeare" appeared, in six volumes. Only seven hundred and fifty copies were printed, and of these a hundred and forty remained unsold, until their price was much reduced. Shakespeare was not then a name to conjure with, and Pope received little more than two hundred pounds for his work upon him. But he brought Shakespeare into notice at a time when a writer on the Laws of Poetry said, in 1721: "To go through all the soliloquies of Shakespeare would be to make a volume on this single head. But this I can say in general, that there is not one in all his works that can be excused by reason or nature."

When Swift brought "Gulliver" to town, and was with Pope and Gay at Twickenham, in 1726, they, with aid from Arbuthnot, began to collect many pieces, chiefly of Swift's, into four volumes of "Miscellanies," of which the first two appeared in 1727. Among Pope's contributions were a satire on Burnet's "History of His Own Time," called "Memoirs of P. P., Clerk of this Parish," and "On Bathos; or, of the Art of Sinking in Poetry," in which Pope dealt satirically with many of the minor poets of the day, and did not spare his dissatisfied colleague, William Broome. The next step from this was to "The Dunciad."

As first published in three books in May, 1728, "The Dunciad" had Lewis Theobald for its hero. In the first book, the goddess of Dulness chose Theobald to be Settle's successor, and carry diversions of the rabble from Smithfield to the polite West. In the second book, poets, critics, and booksellers contended in games to honor the new king. In the third book, the new king, sleeping on the lap of Dulness, was transported in a vision to the banks of Lethe, where Settle's ghost, having discoursed to him of the glories of Dulness past and present, prophesied the triumph of her empire in the future. In April, 1729, "The Dunciad" appeared with "Notes Variorum and the Prolegomena of Scriblerus," to which Swift and Arbuthnot had contributed. There was, of course, much outcry; and in January, 1730, a "Grub Street Journal" was established, which appeared weekly unto the end of 1737, Pope contributing. It professed to be written by certain Knights of the Bathos, who, under guise of attack on Pope, fought his battle, and really attacked his adversaries. In March, 1741, Pope published "The New Dunciad, as it was Found in the Year 1741," with the original three books modified, a fourth book added, and Colley Cibber, who had been since 1730 poet-laureate, replacing Theobald as hero.

To return to Pope's occupations after the publication of "The Dunciad" in its first form, he wrote, in 1731, his "Epistle on Taste," including a supposed satire on the false luxury of the Duke of Chandos at Cannons. In August of that year he had finished three books of his "Essay on Man." In 1732 appeared his epistle to Lord Bathurst, "Of the Use of Riches," including his famous character of the Man of Ross, and his moralizing on the death-bed of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. In the same year he published, as an experiment, the first part of his "Essay on Man," containing the first two epistles inscribed to Bolingbroke as Lælius. There was no author's name, and for a little while nobody — not even Swift — supposed this to be Pope's work. In 1733 Pope published the third epistle of "The Essay on Man," and an imitation of Horace (Satire 1 of Book II.) in dialogue between Pope and his friend Fortescue, a lawyer in good practice, soon afterwards a Baron of the Exchequer. To the same year belonged "The Moral Essays, Characters of Men." In the summer of this year Pope lost his mother, so long a witness to the successes of the son who cheered her with unfailing love. In 1734 appeared the fourth epistle of "The Essay on Man." In the same year, Pope published "The Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot," in which he defended himself against aspersion. In 1735 appeared "Of the Characters of Women;" in 1737 four of the "Imitations of Horace;" and in 1738 the "Universal Hymn," closing "The Essay on Man," and the satirical dialogues, "One thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight," which afterwards formed the epilogue to the satires. Pope's ethical writings in the reign of George II. indicate not only the thoughtfulness of advancing years, but in some degree also new tendencies of thought in Europe. Even through the small pique and personal bitterness of "The Dunciad" there flowed a deeper current, that did work of its time in scouring out the channel through which better literature was to flow than that of the small critics and weak poets who claimed to represent the "understanding age."

"The Essay on Man," an argument for God's goodness, as Father of all mankind, excited warm controversy. It was and is ascribed to the influence of Bolingbroke. Its doctrines really came from Leibnitz's "Theodicée," in which, the author having spoken in his preface of forms and ceremonies as only the shadows of the truth, he argued that naked truth would easily bring faith into accord with reason. But we are in love, he said, with superficial subtleties. Leibnitz held by the continuity of nature, and sought to blend the truths of different schools of philosophy.

Pope, following Leibnitz, argued in his "Essay on Man," that, Man being only part of the great universe, linked to it by nice dependencies and just gradations, which he cannot understand until he see the whole plan of creation, we must have faith, while we see but in a glass darkly, that "our proper bliss depends on what we blame;" must know that there is in discord harmony not understood, in partial evil universal good. He argued that God's goodness may be found in passions and imperfections of the individual man. On self-love social love is built, and self-love, pushed from social to divine, "gives thee to make thy neighbour's blessing thine." He argued that God for man in society "on mutual wants built mutual happiness," and traced from the state of nature the development of government. Here there was abnegation of the old faith of his party in the divine right of kings, "For Nature knew no Right Divine in men." Advance of thought was indicated when from Pope the question came:

> "Who first taught souls enslaved, and realms undone,
> Th' enormous faith of many made for one?"

Thus, while injuring the expression of his mind by the constant labor for a brilliant antithesis not reconcilable with full sincerity of style, Pope wrote his "Essay on Man" in the spirit of his lines:

> "In Faith and Hope the world will disagree,
> But all mankind's concern is Charity:
> All must be false that thwart this one great end;
> And all of God that bless mankind, or mend."

His fourth epistle on the source of happiness placed it in virtue alone, and in the sympathies of life:

> "Abstract what others feel, what others think,
> All pleasures sicken, and all glories sink;"

placed it in love of God and love of man, open to each who can but think or feel:

> "Slave to no sect, who takes no private road,
> But looks through Nature up to Nature's God;
> Pursues that chain which links th' immense design,
> Joins heav'n and earth, and mortal and divine;
> Sees that no being any bliss can know,
> But touches some above, and some below;
> Learns, from this union of the rising whole,
> The first, last purpose of the human soul;
> And knows where faith, law, morals, all began,
> All end, in love of God, and love of man."

Whatever we may think of the sufficiency of Pope's doctrine, it was assuredly not irreligious in design or temper. Our best poet even of a corrupt and artificial age did what he could to meet the scepticism it produced. In Milton's day it had been the aim of the great poet to "justify the ways of God to man," by answering doubts of His goodness that touched doctrines of the national religion. A bolder spirit of doubt now asked whether the daily experience of life was consistent with man's faith in an All-wise and Almighty Ruler. Therefore, even adapting Milton's line, Pope, to the best of his own lower power, sought to meet this doubt, and "vindicate the ways of God to man." It is easy to misunderstand, away from its context, the formula twice repeated in the fourth epistle, "Whatever is is right;" but Pope meant only what Milton meant when he wrote:

"All is best, though oft we doubt
What the unsearchable dispose
Of highest Wisdom brings about,
And ever best found in the close."

Pope died in 1744, having done nothing important in literature after the publication of the fourth book of "The Dunciad" in 1742.

19. **Matthew Green** was born in 1696, and died in 1737; held a position in the Custom House; and was distinguished as a poet and wit. He wrote "The Grotto," and other poems; but his most noted production is "The Spleen," whose cheerful, thoughtful octosyllabics dealt with remedy for the depression of spirits which was said to have its source in the spleen.

20. **Allan Ramsay**, born in 1686, at Leadhills, in Lanarkshire, was the son of a poor worker in Lord Hopetoun's lead-mines. He worked there himself as a child, washing ore. Then he was sent to Edinburgh, apprenticed to a wigmaker, and worked at that trade some years. But he delighted in old songs and ballads of his country, and could sing himself. His interest in literature made him a bookseller; and his cheery nature, his gift of verse and innocent pride in it, made his shop popular. In 1721 he published, by subscription, a volume of "Poems," partly in his native dialect, and, in 1724, "The Evergreen: Scots Poems wrote by the Ingenious before 1600." These were mostly taken from George Bannatyne's MS., and included pieces by Henryson, Dunbar, Kennedy, Lindsay, and the true old ballad of "Johnnie Armstrong," never before printed. It was one of the first signs in our literature of the coming revival of nationality, and it began among the people, for correction of false classicism. In the same year followed Allan Ramsay's "Tea-Table Miscellany," and in 1725 "The Gentle Shepherd," of which the first sketch, only a short dialogue, had already appeared in 1720 as "Patie and Roger: a Pastoral by Mr. Allan Ramsay, in the Scots Dialect; to which is added an Imitation of the Scotch Pastoral, by Josiah Burchett." Ramsay's admirer, Mr. Burchett, was secretary of the Admiralty. Allan Ramsay's "Gentle Shepherd" is a pastoral play in five acts, with rustic humor and rustic sentiment breaking often into delightful lyric forms. Duplicate dialogue was provided in the lyric parts, lest any performer should be unable to sing; for the "Gentle Shepherd" has, from Ramsay's time to this day, been accepted by Scottish peasantry as a play of their own, and may even yet be seen acted by them in barns on holiday occasions. The true and homely sense of life is in the piece, although its author was not yet so free from the literary influences of the time as to venture on a Patie for his hero who was not to turn out well-born at the end. Therefore he is a "gentle" shepherd, that is, a shepherd in appearance, but really the son of a Sir

William Worthy; and his Peggy also proves to have been born a lady. But Allan Ramsay's homebred poetry is so simple and true that it is little damaged by contact with his more formal strains, and by his surface adoptions of the taste of a polite world that helped him to keep house in comfort. He wrote occasional verses for rich friends, and loved the poets. He sang praises of Pope's Iliad; wrote a Scottish ode to Gay; a pastoral, "Sandie and Richie," on the death of Addison; another on the death of Prior; lamented, in verse, Newton's death in 1727. For Allan Ramsay had broad sympathies, looked upon himself also as a man of genius, and spoke with a free, musical and hearty voice. He died in 1758.

21. In Roxburghshire there was born, in September, 1700, another poet, who was harbinger of a new time. **James Thomson,** eldest son of the minister at Ednam, and educated at Jedburgh, became, in 1719, student of Divinity at Edinburgh, where he had David Mallet among his fellow-students; and, in 1720, contributed to "The Edinburgh Miscellany" an essay "On a Country Life, by a Student of the University." In March, 1725, Thomson, aged twenty-five, embarked at Leith for London. He arrived almost without money; what was to have been sent to him could not be sent. His letters of introduction, wrapped in a handkerchief, were stolen from him, and presently he received news of the death of his mother. In July he was at East Barnet, teaching the five-year-old son of Lord Binning to read, and writing his "Winter." He became introduced to Pope, Arbuthnot, and Gay, and his "Winter," the first published section of his "Seasons," appeared in March, 1726. Its author went to be tutor to a young gentleman in an academy in Little Tower Street; but "Winter" was soon in a second edition, and opened a better career to the poet. "Summer" appeared in 1727, and the other seasons followed in the beginning of the reign of George II. There is more of the artificial and rhetorical in Thomson's poetry with its triple adjectives than we should now associate with a true sense of nature. His English is very Latin, but his words are apt, and he paints with a minute truth of detail. Until French classicism was overthrown, young poets who were growing into a new sense of beauty found a quickening influence in Thomson's "Seasons." Even Burns drew, in his youth, inspiration from the book which came out in the days of Swift's "Gulliver" and Pope's "Dunciad," alone of its kind with one remarkable exception.

In 1729 he gave to the stage his first tragedy, "Sophonisba," which had but moderate success in acting, though it went through four editions in 1730, when his "Seasons" first appeared in a complete edition, with "Autumn" and the closing "Hymn" of praise from all the works of Nature:

> "These as they change, Almighty Father, these
> Are but the varied God. The rolling year
> Is full of Thee."

In 1730 and 1731 Thomson travelled in France and Italy with a young gentleman, Charles Richard Talbot, who soon afterwards died, and to whose memory he inscribed his poem on "Liberty." Part I. of "Liberty" the poet published in December, 1734, when his pupil's father had become Lord Chancellor, and gave Thomson the office of Secretary of Briefs in the Court of Chancery. Parts II. and III. appeared in 1735, Parts IV. and V. in 1736. The poem deserved, perhaps, more credit than it received; but "Liberty" was no fresh topic, while a real sense of the charm of natural objects, almost gone out of our literature, had been revived in "The Seasons." Lord Chancellor Talbot's death, in 1737, caused Thomson to write a poem honoring his memory. He now lost his office as Secretary of Briefs. In 1738 another play of Thomson's, "Agamemnon," was acted without success. In 1739 the acting of his play of "Edward and Eleonora" was prohibited, because it took part, in marked political allusions, with the Prince of Wales against the king. His love of liberty caused Thomson to write a preface, in 1740, to a new edition of Milton's "Areopagitica;" he wrote also in that year, with Mallet, the masque of "Alfred," which contains the now national song of "Rule Britannia." In 1744 Thomson received the sinecure office of Surveyor-General of the Leeward Islands, worth three hundred pounds a year. In 1745 his most successful play, "Tancred and Sigismunda," was acted at Drury Lane. In 1747 he visited Shenstone at the Leasowes, and afterwards worked at a poem begun years before, "The Castle of Indolence," in Spenser's manner. He died in 1748.

22. **John Dyer** was born in Wales in 1700, published his "Grongar Hill" in the year 1726, when Thomson's "Winter" first appeared. He had been educated at Westminster School. He abandoned law for painting, found himself a poor artist, took orders, got some preferment, and wrote, not in the orthodox ten-syllabled couplet, but in octosyllabic verse, his "Grongar Hill," celebrating the charms of that hill near his birthplace in a strain of the simplest natural poetry. He became rector of Belchford, and afterwards of Kirkby, in Lincolnshire; then Sir John Heathcote gave him the rectory of Coningsby in the same county; and there, in 1758, he died of consumption. His "Ruins of Rome," published in 1740, was a poem suggested by his wanderings and sketches in Rome as an artist. "The Fleece," in four books, published in 1757, was the longest of Dyer's three poems. Beginning with a sketch of sheep upon the English downs, he described, in his four books, (1) the shepherd's craft, and the sheep-shearing; (2) passed to the wool, its qualities and treatment, and the trade created by it for the well-being of men; (3) spinning and weaving, roads and rivers by which merchandise is conveyed about our own country; (4) export trade and commerce with the whole world. Dyer's "Fleece" is an elevation of the Georgic to the praise of commerce, and shows how the contemplative mind of a good natural poet can find a soul of things in the wool-pack.

William Somerville, a gentleman of property at Edston, Warwickshire, who loved literature and field sports, died in 1742, aged fifty, having produced his poems of "The Chase," "Field Sports," "Hobbinol, or the Rural Games," etc.

23. **Gilbert West**, who was born in 1706, and who died in 1756, published in 1749 a translation of Odes of Pindar, and wrote two or three poems in the manner of Spenser. **John Armstrong** (b. 1709, d. 1779), a physician, published in 1744 a poem on "The Art of Preserving Health," and contributed to Thomson's "Castle of Indolence" four stanzas at the close of Canto 1, describing the diseases indolence has caused.

24. **William Shenstone** (b. 1714, d. 1763) was the eldest son of a gentleman farmer, who owned an estate worth about three hundred pounds a year, called the Leasowes, near Hales Owen, in a bit of Shropshire set in Worcestershire. He was educated as a commoner at Pembroke College, Oxford; and after his father's death ceased to farm the small property as before, but wasted its resources in the work of turning it into ornamental ground. He suffered house and land to go to ruin, that he might make beautiful gardens, with grottos, temples, and inscriptions, according to the invalid taste of his day. Shenstone left Leasowes to be sold after his death for payment of the debts incurred in beautifying it. His love of natural beauty was blended, far more than

in Thomson, with the conventional life of his time; but he wrote pleasant verse, often with tender simplicity, and, in his "Essays on Men, Manners, and Things," pithy prose. Perhaps the origin of his inactive life is told by his "Pastoral Ballad in Four Parts," written in 1743. The four parts are four love-poems, entitled "Absence," "Hope," "Solicitude," "Despair." Of the fickle fair one, in the strain of "Hope," he wrote:

"One would think she might like to retire
To the bower I have labored to rear;
Not a shrub that I heard her admire,
But I hasted and planted it there."

And in the strain of "Disappointment:"

"Yet time may diminish the pain;
The flower, and the shrub, and the tree,
Which I reared for her pleasure in vain,
In time may have comfort for me.
. . . .
"O ye woods, spread your branches apace;
To your deepest recesses I fly!
I would hide with the beasts of the chase,
I would vanish from every eye."

Perhaps this was not an empty sentiment. But in a healthy man there is no plea that can make inactivity respectable. Shenstone's "Schoolmistress" was first published in 1742, developed from some early verse of his. It sketches a village schoolmistress in thirty Spenserian stanzas, with kindly humor and poetic feeling, and is only bad as an imitation of Spenser. In that respect it is feeble, with mock antique phrases, and eighteenth-century affectations of rusticity.

25. **George Lillo** (b. 1693, d. 1739), a London jeweller, had a turn for writing plays. He was a Dissenter, who, said Fielding, had the spirit of an old Roman joined to the innocence of a primitive Christian. There was more of moral purpose than of genius in his tragedies. One of them, "George Barnwell," produced about 1731, for a long time kept the stage. Another citizen, **Edward Moore** (b. 1712, d. 1757), bred as a linen-draper, had an earnest purpose in his three plays, of which one, "The Foundling," produced in 1748, was censured for its resemblance to Steele's "Conscious Lovers;" and the tragedy of "The Gamester" had imperfect success, because of the righteous severity with which it attacked a fashionable vice of the day. **David Mallet** (b. about 1700, d. 1765), besides writing the tragedies of "Eurydice," in 1731, and "Mustapha," in 1739, and working with Thomson, in 1740, at the masque of "Alfred," published also, in 1740, the "Life of Lord-Chancellor Bacon," in which, as Warburton says, he forgot that Bacon was a philosopher. Among Mallet's poems is the ballad of "William and Margaret," a sentimental double to the old ballad of "Sweet William's Ghost," which had been given by Allan Ramsay in his "Tea-table Miscellany." In the original ballad the tormented ghost of an

unworthy Sweet William visits Marjorie, and shows her at his grave that which makes her give back to him the plight of troth he suffers for having broken:

> "And she took up her white, white hands,
> And struck him on the breast,
> Saying, 'Have here again thy faith and troth,
> And I wish your soul good rest.'"

In Mallet's ballad, Margaret, killed by William's faithlessness, comes to the living William and draws him to her grave, where "thrice he called on Margaret's name, And thrice he wept full sore; Then laid his cheek to her cold grave, And word spoke never more." Mallet said that the ballad was suggested to him by lines in Fletcher's "Knight of the Burning Pestle:"

> "When it was grown to dark midnight,
> And all were fast asleep,
> In came Margaret's grimly ghost
> And stood at William's feet."

The reviving taste for simple writing is indicated by this piece, as by Shenstone's "Jemmy Dawson." **Vincent Bourne** (b. about 1697, d. 1747), a sub-master of Westminster School, who was the best Latin poet of his time, turned "William and Margaret" into Latin, as "Thyrsis et Chloe." Vincent Bourne's Latin poems were collected in 1772. **William Whitehead** (b. 1715, d. 1785), son of a baker at Cambridge, was educated at Winchester School and Cambridge, became tutor to the son of Lord Jersey, wrote poems and plays, prospered by the good will of the Jersey family, and, in 1757, succeeded Cibber as poet-laureate. **Paul Whitehead** (b. 1710, d. 1774) was of another family, born in London, and apprenticed to a mercer before he entered the Temple. He married a rich wife, and also obtained a place worth eight hundred pounds a year. Among his verse was "The Gymnasiad," a mock heroic against the taste for boxing. **Richard Glover** (b. 1712, d. 1785), son and partner of a London merchant trading with Hamburg, published, at the age of twenty-five, in 1737, a serious epic poem on "Leonidas." It appealed to patriotic feeling, and was very popular. In 1739 he produced another poem, "London; or, the Progress of Commerce;" and the ballad of "Hosier's Ghost," to rouse national feeling against Spain. He produced, in 1753, a tragedy, "Boadicea," and afterwards "Medea" and "Jason." He entered Parliament at the beginning of the reign of George III. **Christopher Pitt** (b. 1699, d. 1748), educated at Winchester School and New College, Oxford, was Rector of Pimpern, in Dorsetshire. He wrote some original verse, published in 1725 a "Translation of Vida's Art of Poetry," and in 1740 a "Translation of the Æneid." **Stephen Duck**, who began life as a thresher, had a turn for verse, which was developed in his early manhood by the reading of Milton, who inspired him with a deep enthusiasm. His chief pieces, drawn from his work and his religion, were "The Thresher's Labour," and "The Shunamite." Spence's good offices obtained for Stephen Duck a pension of thirty pounds from Queen Caroline, and afterwards, when he had prepared himself for holy orders, the living of Byfleet, in Surrey. Like his friend Spence, Stephen Duck died by drowning. He fell into religious melancholy, and committed suicide from a bridge near Reading, in 1756.

26. **Edward Young,** also, was a Winchester boy, son of a chaplain to William III., and born in 1681 at Upham, near Winchester. He passed from Winchester School to New College, obtained a fellowship at All Souls, and published his first verse in Queen Anne's reign, in 1712, an "Epistle to the Right Honorable George Lord Lansdowne," and a poem on "The Last Day" in 1713. He produced, in the reign of George I., his tragedies of "Busiris, King of Egypt," and "The Revenge," both acted at Drury Lane, in 1719. In 1725–26 appeared his "Love of Fame, the Universal Passion," in seven satires. He took orders soon afterward, became chaplain to George II., and was presented by his college to the living of Welwyn, Herts. In 1730 he published "Two Epistles to Mr. Pope, concerning the Authors of the Age," satires in aid of Pope against the Dunces. Dr. Young — he had graduated as LL.D. — married, in 1731, the daughter of the Earl of Lichfield, and widow of Colonel Lee. She died in 1741. While in grief for this, he began to write his "Night Thoughts." "The Complaint; or, Night Thoughts," in nine parts, first appeared in 1742–46. In 1755 Young published a prose-book, "The Centaur not Fabulous; in Six Letters to a Friend on the Life in Vogue," — the Centaur being the profligate seeker of pleasure, in whom the brute runs away with the man. Young died in 1765. The leading subject of Young's "Night Thoughts" is the Immortality of the Soul; but, with aim to produce good lines that very often hit the mark, the treatment of the theme has a gloom not proper to it, although characteristic of much of the literature of his time. **Robert Blair** (b. 1700, d. 1746), the minister of Athelstaneford, in Haddingtonshire, published his poem of "The Grave" in 1743.

27. **William Collins** (b. 1721, d. 1759), the son of a hatter at Chichester, was another Winchester boy. He passed from

Winchester to Oxford in 1740; published, in 1742, his "Persian Eclogues," afterwards republished under the title of "Oriental Eclogues;" and, having taken his degree of B.A., came to London with genius and ambition, but an irresolute mind, not wholly sound. He suffered much from poverty. In 1747 he published his "Odes," polished with nice care, and classical in the best sense, rising above the affectations of the time, and expressing subtleties of thought and feeling with simple precision. "The Ode to Evening" is unrhymed, in a measure like that of Horace's "Ode to Pyrrha." The Ode on "The Passions," for music, rose in energy of thought and skill of expression to the level even of Dryden's "Alexander's Feast." But the volume was not well received. When Thomson died, in 1748, William Collins wrote an ode suggested by the event. In 1749 Collins was released from want by the death of his mother's brother, Colonel Martyn, who had often helped him, and now left him about two thousand pounds. But, in another year, his reason began to fail. He had been in a lunatic-asylum at Chelsea before he was removed to Chichester in 1754. There his sister took charge of him, and he died, at the age of thirty-eight, in June, 1759. When the great cloud was coming over him, he carried but one book about with him—a child's school Bible. "I have but one book," he said, "but that is the best;" and when he suffered most, in his latter days at Chichester, a neighboring vicar said, "Walking in my vicaral garden one Sunday evening, during Collins's last illness, I heard a female (the servant, I suppose) reading the Bible in his chamber. Mr. Collins had been accustomed to rave much, and make great moanings; but while she was reading, or rather attempting to read, he was not only silent, but attentive likewise, correcting her mistakes, which, indeed, were very frequent, through the whole of the twenty-seventh chapter of Genesis."

28. Richard Savage, born in 1698, was a natural son of the Countess of Macclesfield. When he accidentally discovered who was his mother she repelled him. He wrote plays, and was befriended by Steele, lived an ill-regulated life, killed a man in a tavern brawl, was found guilty, and had his mother active in opposing the endeavors made to obtain mercy for him. He was pardoned, and stayed from writing against his mother by a pension of two hundred pounds a year from Lord Tyrconnel, who also received Savage into his family. He published, in 1729, a moral poem called "The Wanderer." Lord Tyrconnel found Savage's wild way of life unendurable, and Savage, asked not to spend all his nights in taverns, resolved to "spurn that friend who should presume to dictate to him." They parted. Savage attacked his mother in a poem called "The Bastard: inscribed with all due reverence to Mrs. Brett, once Countess of Macclesfield;" in another poem, "The Progress of a Divine," he described a profligate priest who rose by wickedness, and who found at last a patron in the Bishop of London. He received fifty pounds a year from the queen, and, when he received the money annually, disappeared till it was spent. After the queen's death his friends promised to find him fifty pounds a year, if he would live quietly in Wales. He went to Wales, but was coming back to London when he was arrested for debt, died in prison, July 31, 1743, and was buried at the expense of his jailer. Johnson, who knew and pitied him,—as poor as he, and knowing what the struggle was in which Savage had fallen, while he rose himself in dignity,—said, "Those are no proper judges of his conduct who have slumbered away their time on the down of plenty." He told Savage's sad tale with the kindliness of a true nature, while he drew from it the lesson, "that nothing will supply the want of prudence; and that negligence and irregularity, long continued, will make knowledge useless, wit ridiculous, and genius contemptible."

CHAPTER XIII.

FIRST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY, AND RELIGION.

1. Thomas Burnet. — 2. William Whiston. — 3. Richard Bentley. — 4. George Berkeley. — 5. David Hartley. — 6. Bernard de Mandeville. — 7. Henry St. John. — 8. Isaac Watts. — 9. Joseph Butler. — 10. John Wesley; Charles Wesley. — 11. William Warburton. — 12. Francis Atterbury; Samuel Clarke; Benjamin Hoadly.

1. **Thomas Burnet** was born about 1635, was educated at Cambridge, and became, in 1685, Master of the Charterhouse. Four years before, he had published his "Telluris Theoria Sacra," in which he discussed the natural history of our planet, in its origin, its changes, and its consummation, and the four books contain — (1) The Theory of the Deluge by Dissolution of the Outer Crust of the Earth, its Subsidence in the Great Abyss, and the Forming of the Earth as it now Exists; (2) Of the First Created Earth and Paradise; (3) Of the Conflagration of the World; and (4) Of the New Heavens and the New Earth, and the Consummation of all Things. This new attempt made by a doctor of divinity to blend large scientific generalization with study of Scripture, more imaginative than scientific, stirred many fancies, and was much read and discussed. But, under William III., Thomas Burnet's speculations in his "Archæologiæ Philosophicæ Libri Duo" drew on him strong theological censure; and he was called an infidel by many because he read the Fall of Adam as an allegory. This not only destroyed his chance of high promotion in the church, but caused him to be removed from the office of Clerk of the Closet to the king, and he died at a good old age, in 1715, still Master of the Charterhouse.

2. **William Whiston**, who was born in 1667, was chaplain to a bishop when, in 1696, he published "A New Theory of the Earth, from its Original to the Consummation of all Things." This fed the new appetite for cosmical theories with fresh speculation. In Burnet's system, fire, in Whiston's, water, played chief part as the great agent of change. In 1698 Whiston became Vicar of Lowestoft, and in 1700 he lectured at Cambridge, as deputy to Newton, whom he succeeded in the Lucasian professorship. In Queen Anne's reign his search for a primitive Christianity affected his theology, and brought on him loss of his means of life in the church and university. He taught science; lived,

as a poor man, a long and blameless life, until his death, in 1752; and in his writings blended love of nature with the love of God.

3. Richard Bentley, born in 1662, the son of a small farmer in Yorkshire, received his education at Cambridge, and became the greatest scholar in England. In his "Epistola ad Clarum Virum Joannem Millium," he first publicly displayed the powers of his mind and the extent of his learning; and his reputation was raised to the highest point by his "Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris," published in 1699. In 1700, he was made Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; in 1717, he was made Regius Professor of Divinity. His great learning was further exhibited in his editions of Homer, Phædrus, Terence, and "Paradise Lost." He died in 1742.

4. George Berkeley was born in the county of Kilkenny, in 1685. He was educated at the Kilkenny Grammar School and Trinity College, Dublin, of which he became a fellow in 1707. In 1709 appeared Berkeley's "New Theory of Vision;" in 1710, his "Principles of Human Knowledge;" in 1713, his "Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous;" and in 1732, his "Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher." He opposed the materialist tendencies of the time with a metaphysical theory that represented an extreme re-action from them. The existence of matter could no more, he said, be proved, than the existence of the spirit could be disproved. We know only that we receive certain impressions on the mind. Berkeley was made Bishop of Cloyne in 1735, and died in 1753.

5. David Hartley (b. 1705, d. 1757) was a physician, educated at Cambridge, who, in 1749, published "Observations on Man; his Frame, his Duty, and his Expectations," arguing that vibrations of the nerves produce all intellectual energy, by causing the association of ideas.

6. Bernard de Mandeville represented the rising tendency to speculate on the corruptions of society. Great principles still underlying public contests were now buried under party feuds and personal ambitions. Men were growing up with little in the public life about them to inspire a noble faith, or stir them to the depths. Polite life in the time of George I. had become artificial; with small faith in human nature, negligent of truth. The fashionable world had the king's mistress for a leader; and the prevailing influence of French fashion, which had been low at its best, was degraded since the death of Louis XIV., in 1715. The court of France was sinking into infamy. Polite society in France was the more tainted, and the nation suffered many tyrannies. Mandeville, born at Dort, in Holland, about 1670, graduated as a physician, and practised in England. After a coarse, outspoken book, in 1709, he published, in 1711, "A Treatise on the Hypochondriac and Hysteric Diseases," in three dialogues, with amusing strictures upon medical follies; and in 1714 appeared a short poem of five hundred lines, called "The Grumbling Hive; or, Knaves Turned Honest." There was a volume, in 1720, of "Free Thoughts on Religion, the Church, and National Happiness," and "The Grumbling Hive" re-appeared, in 1723, with a full prose commentary, as "The Fable of the Bees." This book outraged conventional opinion, by working out an argument that civilization is based on the vices of society. The bees lived in their hives as men, "Millions endeavoring to supply Each other's lust and vanity;" lawyers, physicians, priests, thriving upon the feuds, follies, and vices of mankind. Luxury employed its million, pride its million, envy stirred men to work. Fickleness of idle fashion was the wheel that kept trade moving. But the hive grumbled at the vice within it, and the knaves turned honest. In half an hour meat fell a penny a pound; masks fell from all faces. The bar was silent, because there were no more frauds; judges, jailers, and Jack Ketch retired, with all their pomp. The number of the doctors was reduced to those who knew that they had earned their skill. Clergy who knew themselves to be unfit for their duty resigned their cures. All lived within their incomes, and paid ready money. Glory by war and foreign conquest was laughed at by these honest bees, who "fight but for their country's sake, When right or liberty's at stake." Then followed fall of prices, extinction of trades founded upon luxury, and of the commerce that supplied it. These glories of civilization are gone, still Peace and Plenty reign, and every thing is cheap, though plain. At last the dwellers in the honest hive appeared so much reduced as to become a mark for foreign insult, and they were attacked. Because there was no hireling in their army, but all were bravely fighting for their own, their courage and integrity were crowned with victory. But they suffered much loss in the conflict. "Hardened with toils and exercise, They counted ease itself a vice; Which so improved their temperance, That, to avoid extravagance, They flew into a hollow tree, Blest with content and honesty." This satire, with the remarkably plain speaking in the appended notes and dissertations — one "A Search into the Nature of Society" — startled many people; and in 1723 the book was presented by the Grand Jury of Westminster as one "having a direct tendency to the subversion of all religion and civil government, our duty to the Almighty, our love to our country, and regard to our oaths." Bernard de Mandeville, who certainly meant none of these things, but whose book was as a first faint swell before the rising of another mighty wave of thought, published a second volume of it in 1729. He was partly supported by some Dutch merchants, and had for his patron the first Earl of Macclesfield. In 1732 he published "An Inquiry into the Origin of Honor, and the Usefulness of Christianity in War;" and he died in 1733.

7. **Henry St. John** (afterwards **Lord Bolingbroke**) was born in 1678; and entering Parliament in 1701, became one of the best speakers there, and a very powerful politician. After the death of Queen Anne, he was dismissed from the office of Secretary of State, which he had held several years. In 1715 he was impeached for high treason by Robert Walpole, attainted, and had his name erased from the roll of peers. He became for a time Secretary of State to the Pretender, who gave him a paper earldom, dealt treacherously with him, entered upon the Scottish rebellion against his counsels, and dismissed him summarily after his return. Bolingbroke had seen enough of Jacobitism at headquarters, knew that its last chance of success was lost, and gave it up. He lived for the next seven years in exile at La Source, near Orléans. His wife died in 1718, and in May, 1720, he privately married the widow of the Marquis de Villette. At La Source, in harmony with the new tone of French thought, Bolingbroke began his philosophical writings, and was visited by young Voltaire. His

French wife managed his return to England in 1723, through the Duchess of Kendal, with a bribe of eleven thousand pounds. In 1725 he obtained a grant of restored property, but not the reversal of attainder, which would restore him to the House of Lords and political life. He bought an estate at Dawley, near Uxbridge, within easy ride of Twickenham. There he affected philosophical contempt of ambition, and played at farming. He was much visited by Pope; and by Swift also when, in 1726, Swift came to England. But Bolingbroke had ambition, and took his place as the most vigorous writer against Sir Robert Walpole, by his letters in "The Craftsman," after 1726; and a series of letters, called "The Occasional Writer," begun in January, 1727. Some of these were afterwards republished as "A Dissertation on Parties," in nineteen letters; and as "Remarks on the History of England," signed "Humphrey Oldcastle," and ironically dedicated to Walpole. Bolingbroke's writing gave "The Craftsman" a sale far exceeding even that of "The Spectator." After this, in 1735, he retired again to France, until the death of his father called him home in 1742. He himself died in 1751. The religion expressed in Bolingbroke's essays on Human Knowledge, and in "The Philosophical Writings," published by David Mallet, in 1753–54, was contained in his parting words to Lord Chesterfield, after he had given orders that none of the clergy should visit him in his last moments: "God, who placed me here, will do what he pleases with me hereafter; and he knows best what to do. May he bless you."

8. **Isaac Watts**, born at Southampton in 1674, son of a Nonconformist schoolmaster, became first a tutor, then pastor of a congregation in Mark-Lane; and after the failure of his health in 1712, retained his pastoral charge, preaching when he could, and lived as guest with his friends, Sir Thomas and Lady Abney, at Theobalds, until 1748, the year of his death. In 1728 he had been made D.D. by the universities of Edinburgh and Aberdeen. He published "Horæ Lyricæ" in 1706, "Hymns" in 1707, "Psalms and Hymns" in 1719, "Divine and Moral Songs for Children" in 1720; and, among various other works, a volume of "Logic," in 1725. There was a supplement on "Improvement of the Mind," in 1741.

9. In 1736 **Joseph Butler** (b. 1692, d. 1752), son of a Presbyterian at Wantage, and first educated at a school for Dissenters, and then at Oxford, had become one of the chief preachers in the Church of England, when, in 1736, he sought to satisfy the questioner by his "Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature." In 1738 Butler was made a bishop.

10. John Wesley (b. 1703, d. 1791) and his brother **Charles** (b. 1708, d. 1788) produced in 1738 their "Collection of Psalms and Hymns." John Wesley was a clergyman's son, educated at the Charterhouse, and at Christchurch, Oxford, where his brother Charles followed him from Westminster. Charles persuaded some undergraduates to join with him in seeking religious improvement, living by rule, and taking the sacrament weekly. They were laughed at as "Bible Moths," "The Godly Club," etc. Then somebody, noticing their methodical ways, said that, like the old school of physicians so called, here was a new school of "Methodists." This name abided by them. John, when he returned to Oxford, became leader of the little society established by his brother. Then there was added strong influence upon his mind by the Moravians, and by his associate, George Whitefield (b. 1714, d. 1770), and soon John Wesley began to influence the people as a preacher, with an enthusiasm that gave life to their religion. In 1749 Wesley published at Bristol, where he had built a meeting-house, "A Plain Account of the People called Methodists." Among Wesley's other writings was, in 1763, "A Survey of the Wisdom of God in the Creation." Methodism under John Wesley became an organized association, with himself for its directing head. The conditions of membership were prayer, and study of Scripture, with a resolved attempt to avoid vices and follies, practise Christian virtues, and bear in patience the reproach of men, for Christ's sake. Wesley sought, in fact, to join men in one grand endeavor to be true, without fear of the world and its conventions.

11. William Warburton, born in 1698, son of the town clerk at Newark-upon-Trent, was educated at the grammar school there, and then articled to an attorney, with whom he served five years. In 1723 he took deacon's orders, and in 1724 published "Miscellaneous Translations, in Prose and Verse, from Roman Poets, Orators, and Historians," with a Latin dedication to Sir Robert Sutton, who gave him a small Nottinghamshire vicarage in 1727. He then came to London with a few introductions, one to Theobald, whom he helped a little in his Shakespeare. In 1727 he dedicated to Sir Robert Sutton, whose wife was the Countess of Sunderland, "A Critical and Philosophical Inquiry into the Causes of Prodigies and Miracles, as related by Historians, with an Essay towards Restoring a Method and Purity in History." Sir Robert caused Warburton to be put on George II.'s list of Masters of Arts, created when he visited Cambridge in 1728; and procured for him the better living of Brand-Broughton, in Lincolnshire, where Warburton lived many years with his mother and sisters. In 1736 he produced a book on the "Alliance between Church and State," which went through four editions in his lifetime; and in 1738, the first volume of "The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated." This led to controversy, and was followed by a "Vindication." In the same year, 1738, Warburton was made Chaplain to the Prince of Wales. When M. de Crousaz, Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics in the university of Lausanne, attacked "The Essay on Man," Warburton defended Pope in several letters. This established the friendship between Pope and Warburton. In 1741 Pope introduced his friend to Ralph Allen, at Prior Park, near Bath. Warburton afterwards added a commentary to Pope's "Essay on Man" and "Essay on Criticism," and was left, in 1744, Pope's literary executor. In 1746 he married Ralph Allen's niece and heiress, Miss Gertrude Tucker, and thenceforth lived chiefly at Prior Park, which became his own when Allen died, in 1764. In 1747 Warburton followed Hanmer in the series of editions of Shakespeare. Pope's edition, in 1725, and Theobald's, in 1733, had been followed, in 1744, by the edition of Sir Thomas Hanmer, thirty years member, and at last Speaker of the House of Commons. Now came that of Warburton, in 1747, with much rash and dogmatic change, but not a few happy suggestions. These were the editions preceding that of Samuel Johnson, in 1765, all from Pope's downward resting their claim to credit on conjectural dealing with the text, but all helping to fix attention on the greatest of all poets. Warburton became King's Chaplain in 1754; got, in 1755, the Lambeth degree of D.D. from Archbishop Herring; in 1757 became Dean of Bristol, and in 1760 Bishop of Gloucester. He died in 1779, aged eighty-one.

12. **Francis Atterbury** (b. 1662, d. 1732), educated at Oxford, became distinguished as pulpit-orator, wit, prelate, and politician. He published a Latin version of Dryden's "Absalom and Achitophel," and many controversial pamphlets relating to letters, ecclesiastical matters, and civil government. In 1740 his "Sermons and Discourses" were issued in four volumes; and in 1789–98, his "Miscellaneous Works," in five volumes. **Samuel Clarke** (b. 1675, d. 1729), distinguished himself as a mathematician at Cambridge, and became proficient in ancient languages and divinity. He received holy orders in 1698. Among his publications are "A Paraphrase on the Four Evangelists;" "Three Practical Essays on Baptism, Confirmation, and Repentance;" "The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity;" "Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God;" "Sermons;" and numerous writings on mathematics and natural philosophy. **Benjamin Hoadly** (b. 1676, d. 1761), became Bishop of Bangor in 1715, afterwards of Hereford, of Salisbury, and of Winchester; and published a work on miracles; "The Reasonableness of Conformity to the Church of England;" "A Brief Defence of Episcopal Ordination;" "A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Lord's Supper;" and many sermons.

CHAPTER XIV.

FIRST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: HISTORIANS, PAMPHLETEERS, AND NOVELISTS.

1. John Oldmixon. — 2. George Lyttelton. — 3. Daniel Defoe. — 4. Samuel Richardson. — 5. Henry Fielding.

1. **John Oldmixon**, born in 1673, of a Somersetshire family, published in 1698 a translation of Tasso's "Amyntas," and in 1700 "The Grove; or, Love's Paradise," an opera. Afterward, he took especial interest in history. He produced, early in the reign of George I., "Memoirs of North Britain," and "Memoirs of Ireland from the Restoration," and he began, towards the end of the reign, "A Critical History of England."

2. **George Lyttelton**, born in 1709, at Hagley, Worcestershire, friend to Fielding and to some of the best poets of his time, was educated at Eton and Oxford, and became secretary to Frederick, Prince of Wales, when he was in opposition to George II. He became a Lord of the Treasury after Sir Robert Walpole's resignation, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and afterwards took a peerage. He printed verses, also "Letters from a Persian in England to his Friend at Ispahan," in 1735; "Dialogues of the Dead;" and in 1767, "The History of the Life of King Henry the Second and of the Age in which he Lived," a book upon which he had been at work for thirty years. He died in 1773.

3. **Daniel Defoe**, born in 1661, was the son of James Foe, a well-to-do butcher, in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate. His father, a Dissenter, sent him to the school kept at Newington Green by Charles Morton, a good scholar, who included English among school studies, and afterwards, when driven to America by persecution, became Vice-President of Harvard College. After a full training with Mr. Morton, Daniel Foe began the world in Freeman's Court, Cornhill, as an agent between manufacturers and retailers in the hosiery trade. After the accession of James II. he was one of those citizens of London who, when they heard Monmouth had landed,

rode away to join him. He was with Monmouth at Sedgemoor. After that, according to one account, he left England; went to Spain and Portugal as a trader; but when the cruel search for Monmouth's followers had long been over he returned, having picked up abroad the fancy for a "De" before his name. Three pamphlets, belonging to this period, are attributed to him. One was "A Tract against the Proclamation for the Repeal of the Penal Laws," then came "A Pamphlet against the Addresses to King James," and yet again "A Tract upon the Dispensing Power."

After the accession of William III., Defoe married. He soon lost all his possessions by speculation; and to escape the prison which was threatened, he withdrew for two years to Bristol. There he wrote his "Essay on Projects," which was published in 1698. It suggested many things — improvement in roads, reforms in banking, a savings bank for the poor, insurance offices, an academy like that of France, a military college, abolition of the press-gang, and a college for the higher education of women. "A woman," said Defoe, "well-bred and well-taught, furnished with the additional accomplishments of knowledge and behavior, is a creature without comparison. Her society is the emblem of sublimer enjoyments; she is all softness and sweetness, love, wit, and delight." One project, also, was for improvement of the law of debtor and creditor. When he had compounded with his creditors, and thus secured for himself liberty to work, he returned to London, and worked on till he had paid voluntarily beyond the composition the last penny of his debts. His patriotic suggestions of plans for raising war-money caused Defoe to be employed from 1695 to 1699 as accountant to the Commissioners of the Glass Duty.

To the cry raised by the Opposition that King William was no true-born Englishman, especially represented by the bad poem of one Tutchin, called "The Foreigners," Defoe replied, in 1701, with his satire of "The True-born Englishman," rhymes of which eighty thousand copies were sold in the streets. Among their home-truths are vigorous assertions of the claims of the people against persecution in the Church or despotism in the State. In these he finds as dangerous a thing

> "A ruling priesthood, as a priest-rid king;
> And of all plagues with which mankind are curst,
> Ecclesiastic tyranny's the worst."

While of the kings false to their trust he says:

> "When kings the sword of justice first lay down,
> They are no kings, though they possess the crown.
> Titles are shadows, crowns are empty things;
> The good of subjects is the end of kings."

Then came to the throne Queen Anne, and hard words hailed on the Dissenters. A substantial blow was aimed in a bill that was to disqualify them from all civil employments. It passed the Commons, but failed with the Lords. Sacheverell, preaching at Oxford, had denounced him as no true son of the Church who did not raise against Dissent "the bloody flag and banner of defiance." But, in 1702, Defoe spoke boldly on behalf of liberty of conscience, in his pamphlet called "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters." He wrote, as in all his controversial pieces, to maintain a principle, and not a party.

He began his satire with a quotation from Roger L'Estrange's Fables. A cock at roost in a stable, having dropped from his perch, and finding himself in much danger among restless heels, had a fair proposal to make to the horses — that we shall all of us keep our legs quiet. This fable Defoe applied to the Dissenters, who were then asking for equal treatment, although they had been intolerant enough themselves not long since, when they had the upper hand. Professing, in his assumed character of a bigoted High Churchman of the day, to show the vice of Dissent before teaching its cure, he dealt, in the first place, a fair blow to his own side for past intolerance. The Dissenters ought not, perhaps, to have been blind to the irony of the second half of the pamphlet; but in the first half the irony is not all against ecclesiastical intolerance. Defoe was against all intolerance, and to the bigotry of his own party Defoe gave the first hit. The succeeding satire, since it could not easily surpass the actual extravagance of party spirit, had in it nothing but the delicate, sustained sharpness of ironical suggestion to reveal the author's purpose to the multitude. Several reasons, he said, are urged on behalf of the Dissenters, "why we should continue and tolerate them among us:" as, "They are very numerous, they say; they are a great part of the nation, and we cannot suppress them. To this may be answered, They are not so numerous as the Protestants in France, and yet the French king effectually cleared the nation of them at once, and we don't find he misses them at home." Besides, "the more numerous the more dangerous, and therefore the more need to suppress them; and if we are to allow them only because we cannot suppress them, then it ought to be tried whether we can or no." It is said, also, that their aid is wanted against the common enemy. This, argues Defoe, is but the same argument of inconvenience of war-time that was urged against suppressing the old money; and the hazard, after all, proved to be small. "We can never enjoy a settled uninterrupted union and tranquillity in this nation till the spirit of Whiggism, faction, and schism is melted down like the old money." The gist of the pamphlet, the scheme set forth on the title-page as the Shortest Way with the Dissenters, is propounded in this passage:—"If one severe law were made, and punctually executed, that whoever was found at a conventicle should be banished the nation, and the preacher be hanged, we should soon see an end of the tale; they would all come to church, and one age would make us one again. To talk of five shillings a month for not coming to the sacrament, and one shilling a week for not coming to church — this is such a way of converting people as never was known, this is selling them a liberty to transgress for so much money. If it be not a crime, why don't we give them full license? And if it be, no price ought to compound for the committing it; for that is selling a liberty to people to sin against God and the Government. . . . We hang men for trifles, and banish them for things not worth naming; but an offence against God and the church, against the welfare of the world and the dignity of religion, shall be bought off for five shillings. This is such a shame to a Christian government, that 'tis with regret I transmit it to posterity."

The pamphlet delighted men of the Sacheverell school. A Cambridge fellow thanked his bookseller for having sent him so excellent a treatise — next to the Holy Bible and the Sacred Comments, the most valuable he had ever seen. Great was the re-action of wrath when the pamphlet was found to be a Dissenter's satire; nevertheless, the Dissenters held by their first outcry against the author. Defoe paid for this service to the English people, in the pillory and as a prisoner in Newgate. But his "Hymn to the Pillory," which appeared on the first of the three days of the shame of the government in his exposure, July 29, 30, and 31, in the year 1703, turned the course of popular opinion against the men who placed him there — men, as his rhyme said, scandals to the times, who

"Are at a loss to find his guilt,
And can't commit his crimes."

Defoe returned from the pillory to Newgate, whence he was not released till July or August, 1704. It was in Newgate, therefore, that he began his career as the first critical and independent journalist, by producing his "Review." This was begun on the 19th of February, 1704, came out on Saturdays and Tuesdays until the end of February, 1705, and then three times a week till June 11, 1713.

While still writing his "Review," and, among other works, publishing, in 1706, a long poem in folio, "Jure Divino," in favor of limited monarchy, and against the doctrine of divine right in kings, Defoe was actively employed in Scotland as a promoter of the Union of the legislatures of Scotland and England, which became law on the 1st of May, 1707. In 1709 Defoe published a "History of the Union between England and Scotland."

He was under persecution for his independence of thought, both near the close of Queen Anne's reign, and after the accession of George I. For a time, he had withdrawn to Halifax, where he lived in Back Lane, at the sign of the "Rose and Crown." Against the claims of the Pretender he wrote "A Seasonable Warning and Caution," which he distributed gratuitously among the ignorant country-people in different parts of England; and he wrote two other pamphlets, with titles designed to catch Jacobite readers: "And what if the Pretender Should Come?" and "Reasons Against the Succession of the House of Hanover." For writing these, Defoe was arrested and prosecuted in 1713. His enemies declared him Jacobite. They might as well, he said, have made him Mahometan. He had, in fact, written these pamphlets in the interest of Harley; and to Harley he was indebted for the queen's pardon. The persecution was continued under the new reign; for Defoe, with sturdy independence, had opposed false cries of every party in the state, and had never flinched from upholding what he thought sound policy because it came from his political opponents. Thus he had incurred a sort of infamy by asserting the soundness of what we should now all hold to be sound in the treaty of commerce which the Tories had associated with their treaty of peace with France, while he opposed the terms of peace; for at the last elections in Queen Anne's reign, the Whigs raised their battle-cry hotly against the commercial treaty. In 1715, Defoe, failing in health, and attacked on all sides, wrote his "Appeal to Honor and Justice," being a true account of his conduct in public affairs. He had reason, he said, to think that his death might be near, and wished, before he embarked on his last voyage, to "even accounts with this world, that no slanders may lie against my heirs, to disturb them in the peaceable possession of their father's inheritance, his character." Defoe was, in fact, struck with apoplexy before the "Appeal" was finished; and the publisher, after waiting six weeks, issued it as it then stood, with the note, that, "in the opinion of most who knew him, the treatment which he here complains of, and others of which he would have spoken, have been the cause of this disaster." Defoe said here: "It has been the disaster of all parties in this nation to be very hot in their turn, and as often as they have been so I have differed from them all, and ever must and shall do so." He cited seven chief occasions of such differences with his friends. Against intemperate party warfare, Defoe urged that to attain harmony in the State there must be moderation in the exercise of power by the Government, and that, "to attain at the happy calm which is the consideration that should move us all (and he would merit to be called the nation's physician who could prescribe the specific for it), I think I may be allowed to say, a conquest of parties will never do it; a balance of parties may." After this, Defoe lived at Newington, with his wife and six children. There, with a keen sense of his own isolation, he now wrote "The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner, who lived Eight and Twenty Years all alone in an Uninhabited Island on the Coast of America, near the Mouth of the great River of Oroonoque; having been Cast on Shore by Shipwreck, wherein all the Men Perished but Himself. With an Account how he was at last as Strangely Delivered by Pirates. Written by Himself." The two parts of "Robinson Crusoe" were published one at the beginning and the other at the close of the year 1719, with prefaces affecting to present them to the world as a true narrative of fact. The book had no relation whatever to the existing novel of the French school, or to any other kind of novel. It was an imitation of those simple and graphic records of adventure by sea, which, since the days of Elizabeth, had quickened the delight of England in her sailors. If we would bring to mind how much imagination went to Defoe's exact suggestion of the real in this thoroughly English story-book, let us think how a man of weak imagination would have solved the problem: given one man and an island, to make a story. In Defoe's story, all is life and action. There is no rhetorical lament, or waste of energy upon fine writing; attention, from first to last, is bound to the one man, only the more after the man Friday has been added to the scene, and the reader is made to feel that healthy life consists in trusting God, and using steadily with head and hand whatever faculties he gave us. Some part of the charm of the book springs from a reality below the feigned one, Defoe's sense of the fellowship of his own life with that of the solitary worker. The suggestion of the story was found in Captain Woodes Rogers's account of his "Cruising Voyage Round the World," published in 1712, which told how, in February, 1709, he took from the island of Juan Fernandez a seaman, named Alexander Selkirk, who, when out on a piratical voyage, had been left ashore on that uninhabited island, after a quarrel with his captain, in September, 1704. Selkirk had been furnished only with a few books, nautical instruments, a knife, a boiler, an axe, and a gun, with powder and ball. Capt. Rogers had brought him to England in 1711.

Robinson Crusoe was followed by Defoe's other novels, which still imitated forms of literature distinct from fiction, and sometimes included pictures of the coarse life of the time. "The Life, Adventures, and Piracies of the famous Captain Singleton," and "The History of the Life and Adventures of Mr. Duncan Campbell," appeared in 1720; "Moll Flanders;" "The History and remarkable Life of the truly Honorable Colonel Jacque," included commonly in genuine accounts of highwaymen, and "A Journal of the Plague Year," which Dr. Mead quoted as the narrative of an eye-witness, all in 1722; "The Memoirs of a Cavalier" probably in 1723; "Roxana" in 1724; "The New Voyage Round the World" in 1725. At the beginning of the reign of George II., Defoe is said to have produced, in 1728, Captain Carleton's "Memoirs," which Dr. Johnson fastened upon as an addition to English history. Defoe's health then failed completely, when he had begun another book. His last letter was to a son-in-law, when looking forward to his rest after life's troubled journey: "By what way soever He please to bring me to the end of it, I desire to finish life with this temper of soul—'Te Deum laudamus.'" Defoe died in April, 1731.

4. Samuel Richardson was born in 1689, in Derbyshire, one of the nine children of a joiner who had been in business in London, and who could afford him only a common school education. As a boy he liked letter-writing, and wrote their love-letters for three damsels of his village. In 1706 he was apprenticed to a printer in London, served seven years, and corresponded with a gentleman of fortune who "was a master of the epistolary style." When out of his time, he worked five or six years as compositor and corrector of the press, married his late master's daughter, and set up for himself in a court in Fleet Street. Richardson's first wife died in 1731, and he married afterwards the sister of a bookseller at Bath. By his first wife he had five boys and a girl, and by his second, five girls and a boy. He lost all his sons and two of his daughters; the remaining four daughters had much work in transcribing his letters. By ability and steady industry Richardson advanced in life, removed to Salisbury Court, and was employed by booksellers, not only to print, but also to make indexes and write prefaces and dedications. Two booksellers, Mr. Rivington and Mr. Osborne, asked the good printer to write for them a volume of "Familiar Letters," in a common style, on such subjects as might be of use to those country readers who were unable to indite for themselves. Then writes Richardson: "'Will it be any harm,' said I, 'in a piece you want to be written so low, if we should instruct them how they should think and act in common cases, as well as indite?' They were the more urgent with me to begin the little volume for this hint." He set about it, and in the progress of it, writing two or three letters to instruct handsome girls who were obliged to go out to service how to avoid the snares that might be laid against their virtue, a story occurred to him that he had heard from a friend many years before. He thought that this, if told by letters, "in an easy and natural manner, suitably to the simplicity of it, might possibly introduce a new species of writing that might possibly turn young people into a course of reading different from the pomp and parade of romance-writing; and dismissing the improbable and marvellous, with which novels generally abound, might tend to promote the cause of religion and virtue." The book, as first complete in two volumes, was written in two months, from Nov. 10, 1739, to Jan. 10, 1740, published at once, received with great applause, and immediately translated into French and Dutch. Richardson, as well as he could, brought simple nature into the novel, from which it had been altogether banished, and led strong re-action against the faith in princes and princesses as the only true heroes and heroines. I will take, he said to himself, a poor servant-girl, make her the namesake of one of the choicest of romance princesses, — the Pamela of Sidney's "Arcadia," — set my Pamela corresponding artlessly with her low-born father and mother, Goodman Andrews and his wife, and make you feel that human sympathies are broader than conventional distinctions. It was another step from the conventional towards that clear light of nature which for most writers was still lost in the cloud of French classicism. But as Allan Ramsay must needs give a titled father to his Gentle Shepherd, and as Thomson's young Lavinia could not make Palemon happy without turning out to be the daughter of his noble friend Acasto,

> "whose open stores,
> Though vast, were little to his ampler heart;"

so in Pamela the conventional homage to rank was still conspicuous. Pamela, left by the death of her mistress subject to a young master who was a worthless libertine, resisted infamous practices upon her, in the hope that she might thus become his wife; and the full title of Richardson's book, "Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded," means that in the end she did, with pious gratitude, marry the scoundrel. As for Goodman Andrews, when he heard the glad tidings, his "heart was full; and he said, with his hands folded and lifted up, Pray, sir, let me go — let me go to my dear wife, and tell her all these blessed things while my breath holds; for it is ready to burst with joy." The success of the book caused Richardson to write two more volumes, which were superfluous, the work having been completed as first published.

In 1748 Richardson took his place in literature by publishing, when his age was fifty-nine, the second of his three novels, "Clarissa Harlowe," in eight volumes. Here, as always, Richardson told his story in the form of correspondence. Clarissa Harlowe, a young lady of birth and fortune, pressed by her family to marry against her inclination, left home, and threw herself on the generosity of her lover, Sir Robert Lovelace, an attractive libertine. He persecuted her, and treacherously wronged her to the uttermost: she refused then his offer of marriage, and died broken-hearted. Lovelace left England, not reformed, and was killed in a duel by one of Clarissa's relations, Colonel Morden. Clarissa's correspondent was Miss Anne Howe, a widow's lively daughter, with a formal but estimable suitor, Mr. Hickman. Lovelace had for his correspondent a friend, Mr. John Belford; this party of four answering the place of hero and male friend, heroine and female friend, in the mock classical French tragedies. The moral of the piece was, that the most unhappy home is shelter for a young girl safer than she may succeed in finding by quitting it to trust herself among the snares of life. The book is full of improbability; it contains, like "Pamela," scenes unfit to be read by the young, and no page of it is like the work of a man of genius in texture of thought or vigor of expression. Yet the whole effect produced is equal to that of a work of high genius. If Richardson's mind was not large, his story filled it. His nature, even with all its little pomps and vanities, was absorbed in his work; the ladies about him, who, as the least critical of his admirers, were his chosen friends, fed him with sweet solicitudes and enthusiasms about the persons of his story; his fictitious characters and situations lived and were real for him; and he became the great example, in our literature, of the might that comes of giving all one's powers — even if they be not great powers — to whatever one has to do. By thoroughly believing in his work, and giving all his mind to it, Samuel Richardson, as novelist, secured the full attention of his readers, and sometimes even by importunity of tediousness, by the drop after drop that in time hollows the stone, compelled his readers to see as he saw, feel as he felt, and not seldom to weep where he wept — and he wept much himself — over the sorrows of Clarissa.

Richardson published his third and last novel, "Sir Charles Grandison," in 1753. He had accused his lady correspondents of liking Lovelace too well. They replied that he had given them nobody else to like. Thereupon he resolved to give them his ideal of a good man in Sir Charles Grandison, well born, rich, accomplished, travelled, and always right, in Richardson's view, though he has two heroines in love with him, and is in love with each, — the one who did not marry him went mad, — and though he fought duels. Richardson could not rise like Steele above convention; but as he knew duelling to be wrong, and reasoned against it in his novel, he compromised by making Sir Charles so skilful a swordsman that he could disarm without murdering an antagonist. Richardson's three novels painted life respectively in the lower, middle, and higher classes of society. Richardson, meanwhile, throve in business. His printing-offices and warehouses at Salisbury Court covered the site of eight houses which he had pulled down. In 1755 he removed from his country house at North End, Hammersmith, to a house at Parson's Green. In 1760 he bought half the patent of Law Printer to the King; and in July, 1761, he died, at the age of seventy-two.

5. The publication of Richardson's first novel, "Pamela," struck new life into literature, not only by its bold and direct challenge to the romance-writing hitherto in fashion, by what was new and right in its plan, but also by what was wrong in its plan; for the flaw in its morality — obscured by the prevalence of the low social tone it represented — was obvious to **Henry Fielding,** and in ridicule of this he began to write his "Joseph

Andrews.'' He would pair the virtuous serving-maid with a virtuous serving-man. Before he had gone far he felt his strength, and produced not a mere caricature, but a true novel. Thus Fielding, our greatest novelist, received his impulse from Richardson.

Fielding was born on the 22d of April, 1707, at Sharpham Park, near Glastonbury, Somersetshire, son of a Captain Fielding, who was youngest son of the Earl of Desmond. Young Henry Fielding was educated at Eton and at the University of Leyden, where he was to study civil law, and did study, until the supplies from home failed. His father lived with careless extravagance. At twenty, Henry Fielding had to leave Leyden and live by his wits, with a nominal allowance from his father of two hundred pounds a year. At twenty-one he wrote his first comedy, ''Love in Several Masques;'' then followed ''The Temple Beau,'' ''The Author's Farce,'' ''The Coffee-House Politician,'' and ''Tom Thumb the Great.'' The last, published as ''Tragedy of Tragedies; or, the Life and Death of Tom Thumb the Great, with the Annotations of Scriblerus Secundus,'' was a burlesque on the conventional fine writing of the stage, having an aim like that of Buckingham's ''Rehearsal,'' and was richly illustrated with ironical notes, showing the passages burlesqued. Among the dramatic pieces of Fielding were ''The Covent Garden Tragedy,'' a jest on Ambrose Philips's play of ''The Distrest Mother;'' ''The Mock Doctor;'' ''The Miser;'' and ''Don Quixote in England.'' During his first ten years in London, Fielding was among the players at Bartholomew Fair, and kept a booth in the George Inn Yard, usually with John Hippesley. The fair was a great institution then, and the theatres closed that the players might appear in it. It was probably in 1737 that Fielding married Miss Craddock, one of three sisters who were beauties of Salisbury. The lady had fifteen hundred pounds, and he had from his mother a small country house at East Stour, in Dorsetshire. Fielding had married for love. He would live at East Stour and feel the peace of a country life. But country life, with open hospitality, horses, coach, and livery servants, soon made an end of fifteen hundred pounds. Fielding and his wife then came to lodgings in London with a single maid-servant, and Fielding worked for bread. He formed, in 1736, a "Great Mogul's Company of Comedians," and produced with great success "Pasquin: a Dramatic Satire on the Times," its plan a mock rehearsal of two plays. In 1737 he continued his free dramatic criticism upon life and politics with a piece called "The Historical Register for 1736," Sir Robert Walpole figuring in the piece as "Quidam." The result of this was the passing, in June, 1737, of the Act which forbade any play to be represented before it had obtained the license of the Lord Chamberlain. The Licensing Act broke up the Great Mogul's Company, and in November Fielding entered himself as a student of the Middle Temple. To a paper of periodical essays, called the "Champion," Fielding became an active contributor from November, 1739, to June, 1740, creating representatives of the chief subjects of discussion in the Vinegar family. In June, 1740, he was called to the bar, and began practice on the Western Circuit. In June, 1741, his father died, but there was nothing to inherit. In February, 1742, Fielding published the novel suggested by Richardson's "Pamela," "The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews, and of his friend Mr. Abraham Adams." In Mr. Abraham Adams, Fielding drew, with exquisite humor and a healthy sense of what is pure and true, a scholar and a Christian, who had external oddities, as absence of mind, which might bring him into ridiculous situations, but whom nothing could lower in our respect, simply by reason of his essential purity and truth. Parson Adams was a clergyman dignified with the best graces of his office, and in Parson Trulliber his opposite was shown. Through Parson Adams, Fielding, in his first novel, spoke out of the depths of his own heart not seldom, and it is pleasant to find him, in a first novel, noticing the character of Richard Steele's work, when he makes Parson Adams, in talking of the theatre, say: "I never heard of any plays fit for a Christian to read but 'Cato' and 'The Conscious Lovers;' and, I must own, in the latter there are some things almost solemn enough for a sermon." Fielding, who was not all himself as an eighteenth century dramatist, quitted the stage in 1743, after the not unmerited failure of his comedy, "The Wedding Day." In the same year he published three volumes of "Miscellanies." These contain some verse, a few essays, — on "Conversation," on "Knowledge of the Characters of Men," on "Nothing," — and two works of mark, "A Journey from this World to the Next," and "The History of the Life of the Late Mr. Jonathan Wild the Great," a thief-taker who came to be hanged. Fielding's "Jonathan Wild" was written with masterly irony, as "an exposition of the motives which actuate the unprincipled great in every walk and sphere of life, and which are common alike to the thief or murderer on the small scale, and to the mighty villain and reckless conqueror who invades the rights or destroys the liberties of nations." At this time Fielding lost the wife to whom he was devotedly attached. He had lost a child but a few months before, and was himself suffering much from gout. He wrote a preface for his sister, **Sarah Fielding**, to her clever novel, "The Adventures of David Simple; Containing an Account of his Travels through the Cities of London and Westminster, in the Search of a Real Friend," published in 1744. She published another, "The History of Ophelia," in 1760.

On the 5th of November, 1745, Fielding began a paper, the "True Patriot," to oppose the Jacobitism stirred into activity by the Rebellion of that year. The work of Fielding's "True Patriot" changed only its form when, in December, 1747, he started "The Jacobite Journal; by John Trott-plaid, Esq.," to throw cold water of jest and satire upon the yet smouldering embers of rebellion. This paper appeared every Saturday until November, 1748; and about that time, by the good offices of his friend, George Lyttelton, then Lord of the Treasury, Fielding was made a justice of the peace for Middlesex and Westminster. In those days such an office had been brought into contempt by men like Justice Thrasher, in his "Amelia," who had drawn dishonorable profit out of it. Henry Fielding, by taking the highest view of his duty, "reduced," as he says, "an income of about five hundred pounds a year of the dirtiest money upon earth to little more than three hundred pounds, a considerable portion of which remained with my clerk; and, indeed" — observe the kindliness of what follows — "if the whole had done so, as it ought, he would be but ill paid for sitting sixteen in the twenty-four in the most unwholesome as well as nauseous air in the universe, and which hath in his case corrupted a good constitution without contaminating his morals."

In 1749 Fielding published his "Tom Jones." No critic has over-praised the skilful construction of the story of "Tom Jones;" but the durability of the work depends on something even of more moment than its construction — upon the imperishable character of its material, and on the security with which its foundations are laid, deep in the true hearts of Englishmen. Fielding's first novel was provoked by an affectation, and it was prefaced with a distinct explanation of his own "idea of romance." In the first pages of his first novel he taught that "the only source of the true ridiculous is affectation." His jest was against insincerity in all its lighter forms; his power was against untruth. In all his novels, and in "Tom Jones" most conspicuously, a generous and penetrating mind, familiar with the ways of men, dealt mercifully with all honest infirmities, sympathized with human goodness, and reserved its laughter, or its scorn, only for what was insincere. In "Tom Jones" a work was planned upon the ample scale to which readers had become accustomed. There was room for a wide view of life. The scene was divided fairly between country and town. The story was built out of the eternal truths of human nature, and was exquisitely polished on its surface with a delicate and genial humor that suggested rather than preached censure on the follies of society in England, not unmixed with the directest Christian condemnation against crime. The very soul of the man enters into the construction of "Tom Jones." The picture of a good man, colored by Fielding with some of the warmth of living friendship for Ralph Allen of Bath, is presented at once in Squire Allworthy; and there is a deep seriousness in the manner of presenting him, on a May morning, walking upon the terrace before his mansion, with a wide prospect around him, planning a generous action, when "in the full blaze of his majesty up rose the sun, than which one object alone in this lower creation could be more glorious, and that Mr. Allworthy himself presented — a human being replete with benevolence, meditating in what manner he might render himself most acceptable to his Creator, by doing most good to His creatures." The two boys bred by Allworthy, Tom Jones and Blifil, about whom the whole story revolves, are as the two poles of Fielding's mimic world. One of them is everybody's friend but his own; the other nobody's friend but his own. One is possessed of natural goodness, with all generous impulses, but with instincts, as we are once or twice distinctly reminded, wanting the control of prudence and religion. He lies open to frequent heavy blame, and yet more frequent misconstruction; yet we have faith in him because he is true, his faults are open, his affections warm. We know that time and love will make a noble man of him. The other conceals treachery under a show of righteousness and justice. His fair outside of religion and morality, the readiness with which he gives an honest coloring to all appearances, are represented wholly without caricature. His ill deeds are secret, his affections cold, and he is base to us by reason of his falsehood. Appreciation is due not only to the sterling English in which this book is written, and the keen but generous insight into human character that animates every page, but also to its brave morality. Scenes of incontinence, which the corrupt manners of his age permitted Fielding to include among his pictures of the life about him, were not presented as jests by their author. Fielding differs in this, as in many things, essentially from Smollett, that in his novels he has never used an unclean image for its own sake as provocative of mirth in ruder minds. In Fielding's page evil is evil. In "Tom Jones," Allworthy delivers no mock exhortations; whenever Jones has gone astray, the purity of Sophia follows next upon the scene, a higher happiness is lost, and his true love is removed farther from his reach. At last the youth is made to assent to Sophia, when she replies, very gravely, upon his pleading of the grossness of his sex, the delicacy of hers, and the absence of love in amour: "I will never marry a man who shall not learn refinement enough to be as incapable as I am myself of making such a distinction."

The episodes of the book are as true limbs of it. It is not merely variety that they supply: it is completeness. It is true that the Man of the Hill's story is not a part of the direct mechanism of the plot; but it is equally true that it is a vital part of the whole epic history. Only by episode could there have been interpolated between Jones's generous and Blifil's ungenerous principle of intercourse with other men the picture of one who has wholly withdrawn himself from human intercourse, and dares to solve the question of life's duties by looking from afar with scorn upon his fellows.

It is a minor excellence that this part of the work has been contrived also to supply to the large study of English life those chapters, excluded from the main action of the tale by the peculiar education and the characters of Jones and Blifil, which paint the follies of youth at the university and the life of the gambler. Partridge once breaks upon the narrative of the Man of the Hill with a characteristic story of his own, in which Fielding commands wise reflection on the undefended state of criminals tried for their lives.

In June, 1749, Henry Fielding, who had been elected by the Middlesex magistrates their Chairman of the Sessions, delivered a "Charge to the Grand Jury" touching seriously upon many faults in the condition of society; and in January, 1751, he published "An Inquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Robbers, etc.; with some Proposals for Remedying the Growing Evil," in which he urged the checking of intemperance, and denounced the new vice of gin-drinking. This led to an Act of Parliament that placed restrictions on the sale of spirits. It was also in the year 1751 that Fielding, aged forty-four, published his "Amelia." For "Tom Jones" the publisher had paid a hundred pounds beyond the stipulated price of six hundred pounds. For "Amelia" he paid a thousand pounds. Thus, by the middle of the eighteenth century, Richardson and Fielding (with Smollett for new ally), had destroyed the faith in royal Arcadians, had carried a large body of the people on from reading of short papers to the reading of substantial works of fiction that dealt with the life they knew and cared for, and had made the novel of real life a great recognized power. French classicism was decaying, and there was no influence above that of the main body of the people influencing the form of our best literature. Fielding's "Amelia," dedicated to his kind friend Ralph Allen, of Bath, has for its theme the beauty of true womanhood. He constantly identified his first wife with Amelia, while condemning often his own failings in the character of her husband, Mr. Booth. Fielding dealt also in his novel with those evils of society against which he had been contending, and brought pathos and sharp satire in his jail scenes against what were in his day the iniquities of criminal law.

On the 4th of January, 1752, Fielding began "The Covent Garden Journal; by Sir Alexander Drawcansir, Knight, Censor of Great Britain," which lasted until the end of the year. His health was still failing, but he staid in London to complete the breaking up of an organized gang of street ruffians; took, morning and evening, half a pint of the tar-water recommended by Bishop Berkeley's "Siris;" and, when hope of life was gone, left England with his wife and eldest daughter for Lisbon. "The Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon" was Fielding's last work. He arrived in the middle of August, and died, aged forty-seven, on the 8th of the following October, 1754.

ENGLISH LITERATURE.

SECOND HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

NOVELISTS AND HISTORIANS.

Tobias Smollett.
Laurence Sterne.
David Hume.
William Robertson.
Edward Gibbon.
Oliver Goldsmith.
Hannah More.
Henry Mackenzie.
Frances Burney.
Sophia Lee.
Harriet Lee.
William Beckford.
Clara Reeve.
Ann Radcliffe.

BIOGRAPHERS, ESSAYISTS, AND CRITICS.

Joseph Warton.
Thomas Warton.
Horace Walpole.
Lady Mary Montague.
Samuel Johnson.
Earl of Chesterfield.
James Boswell.
Thomas Percy.
Sir Joshua Reynolds.
Edmund Malone.
Anna Seward.

WRITERS ON THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, POLITICS, AND LAW.

Richard Hurd.
Thomas Reid.
Adam Smith.
Sir William Blackstone.
Edmund Burke.
Gilbert White.
William Paley.
Joseph Priestley.
Thomas Paine.
Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin.

POETS.

Samuel Johnson.
Mark Akenside.
Thomas Gray.
Oliver Goldsmith.
Thomas Chatterton.
Charles Churchill.
James Grainger.
William Falconer.
James Beattie.
James Macpherson.
William Cowper.
Robert Burns.
Erasmus Darwin.
Elizabeth Carter.
John Wolcot.
Anna Lætitia Barbauld.
Henry James Pye.
James Grahame.

DRAMATISTS.

Samuel Foote.
David Garrick.
George Colman.
Richard Cumberland.
John Home.
Richard Brinsley Sheridan.
Oliver Goldsmith.
Samuel Johnson.
Elizabeth Inchbald.
Hannah Cowley.
Charles Dibdin.
Thomas Dibdin.

CHAPTER XV.

SECOND HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: HISTORIANS, BIOGRAPHERS, ESSAYISTS, NOVELISTS, AND PHILOSOPHERS.

1. Tobias Smollett.—2. Laurence Sterne.—3. Joseph Warton; Thomas Warton.—4. Richard Hurd.—5. Horace Walpole; Lady Mary Montague.—6. Samuel Johnson.—7. David Hume.—8. William Robertson; Edward Gibbon.—9. Thomas Reid.—10. Adam Smith; Sir William Blackstone.—11. Edmund Burke.—12. William Paley.—13. Joseph Priestley; Thomas Paine; Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin.—14. Sir Joshua Reynolds; Gilbert White; Edmund Malone; Anna Seward; Hannah More; Henry Mackenzie; Frances Burney; Sophia and Harriet Lee; William Beckford; Clara Reeve; Ann Radcliffe.

1. Tobias Smollett, born in 1721, in the parish of Cardross, was left dependent on his grandfather, Sir James Smollett, of Bonhill, was sent to school at Dumbarton, where he wrote satirical verse, and a poem on Wallace, went from Dumbarton to Glasgow, where he studied medicine and was apprenticed to a surgeon, the Potion of his first novel. He came to London with a tragedy, "The Regicide," written before he was eighteen. It was rejected by managers, but several years afterwards was published with a preface. In 1741, when "Pamela" was a new book, Smollett, aged twenty, was surgeon's mate on board a ship of the line, and sailed in the expedition to Carthagena. This experience of life was also used as material for his first novel. He quitted the service when in the West Indies, lived some time in Jamaica, and met the lady whom he afterwards married. He was back in London in 1746, and then published anonymously "The Tears of Scotland," expressing from his heart, though no Jacobite, his just indignation at the cruelties that disgraced the suppression of the Rebellion of 1745; also "Advice," a satire which gave offence. He wrote "Alceste," an opera, for Covent Garden, quarrelled with the manager, published in 1747 "Reproof," a sequel to "Advice," married, and produced in 1748, when his age was twenty-seven, his first novel, "The Adventures of Roderick Random." This work, written in the form of autobiography, was a bright story, rich in mirth and a quick sense of outside character, that painted life as Smollett had seen it, blending his own experiences with his fiction. It became immediately popular, and helped much in establishing the new form of fiction in which writers dealt immediately with the life of their own time, and the experience in it of common men and women.

In 1750 he graduated as physician, at Marischal College, Aberdeen, but was a doctor with few patients. In the summer of 1750 he visited Paris, and probably wrote there his "Peregrine Pickle," published in 1751. Its brightness, and the hearty fun of many of its chapters, like that which describes an entertainment in the manner of the ancients, made the book widely popular, and Smollett famous. This book was followed, in 1753, by a study of depravity in an adventurer chosen from the purlieus of treachery and fraud, the "Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom." In 1755 he published a free translation of "Don Quixote," then visited his mother and friends in Scotland, and, when he came back, accepted the invitation of booksellers to edit the "Critical Review," set up in 1756, to oppose the Whig "Monthly Review," that had been started in 1749. Smollett was genial, but irritable, and now submitted himself to vexation by the irritable race of the small authors. At this time Smollett began "A complete History of England, deduced from the Descent of Julius Cæsar to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748, containing the Transactions of One Thousand Eight Hundred and Three Years." He is said to have written it in fourteen months. It was published in four volumes in 1757–58, and reprinted afterwards in numbers, extending to eleven volumes, with a weekly sale of twelve thousand. For a paragraph in the "Critical Review" Smollett was fined a hundred pounds, and imprisoned for three months, at the suit of Admiral Knowles, and worked in prison at "The Adventures of Sir Lancelot Greaves," an imitation of Cervantes, published in the "British Magazine" in 1760 and 1761. Smollett then worked at the "Continuation of the History of England" to 1765, published in 1769, in two volumes. After the loss of his only child, Smollett had travelled for health, and in 1766 he published his "Travels through France and Italy." In 1769 appeared his "Adventures of an Atom," dealing, under Japanese names, with English politics, from 1754 to 1768. In 1770 he went to Italy with broken health, and while there published, only a few months before his death, his last, and perhaps his best novel, "The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker." Smollett died, at the age of fifty, near Leghorn, in October, 1771.

2. **Laurence Sterne** (b. 1713, d. 1768), grandson of Richard Sterne, Archbishop of York, and son of Lieutenant Sterne in a marching regiment, was born at Clonmel barracks. After education at Halifax in Yorkshire, and at Jesus College, Cambridge, he obtained, in 1738, the vicarage of Sutton, near York, and in 1741 a prebend in York Minster, with a house in Stonegate. In that year Sterne married. The first two volumes of "Tristram Shandy" were published at York, in December, 1759, witty and whimsical, suiting the spirit of the time in their defiance of convention, and sometimes of decency. Their success brought Sterne to London, and he thenceforth weakly sacrificed himself to the shallow flatteries of London society. The second edition of this part of "Tristram Shandy" was followed at once by two volumes of the "Sermons of Mr. Yorick." Oliver Goldsmith, in his "Citizen of the World," condemned Sterne's affectations of freedom in dashes and breaks, with the worst license of indelicacy, and was so far displeased by the superficial tricks of the book that he was unjust to the true genius of the writer, and missed the charm of his Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim. In 1761 appeared the third and fourth volumes of "Tristram Shandy;" in 1762, the fifth and sixth; in 1765, the seventh and eighth; in 1767, the ninth and last. In 1768, after a visit to France and Italy, appeared Sterne's "Sentimental Journey," of which the style reminds us that 1761 and 1762 were the dates of the chief sentimental writings of Rousseau. In the same year Sterne died, on the 13th of September, at lodgings in Bond Street, with no friend near; the only sign of human affection

the knock of a footman, sent by some of his grand friends from a neighboring dinner-party to learn how Mr. Sterne was. A single mourning-coach, with two gentlemen inside, one of them his publisher, followed his body to the grave. It was dug up after burial, and recognized in a few days on the table of the Professor of Anatomy of Cambridge. Sterne left no provision for his widow and daughter at York, but died in debt, and his family were aided by a collection made at the next York races. His daughter, Lydia, married a Frenchman, and is said to have been among the victims of the French Revolution.

3. **Joseph Warton**, born in 1722, son of an Oxford professor of poetry, was educated at Winchester School and at Oxford. He wrote verse; went to France, in 1751, as companion to the Duke of Bolton, having previously obtained from him the Rectory of Wynslade, to which that of Tunworth afterwards was added. In 1755 he became second master of Winchester School, and was head master from 1766 to 1793. He published, in 1756, an "Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope," to which a second volume was added in 1782. In his latter days he had more church preferment, and he died in 1800. His brother, **Thomas Warton**, six years younger, was educated at Trinity College, Oxford, wrote poems, and, in 1753, aided the reviving taste for our best literature by critical "Observations on the Faery Queen of Spenser." In 1757 he was elected Professor of Poetry at Oxford for ten years; and, in 1774, produced the first volume of his "History of English Poetry," followed by a second volume in 1778, a third volume in 1781, and later a fragment of the fourth volume. Thomas Warton succeeded William Whitehead as poet-laureate, in 1785; published in that year Milton's Minor Poems, with notes; and died in 1790.

4. **Richard Hurd**, born in 1720, who became Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry in 1775, and died in 1808, was a friend of Warburton; and, among other works, wrote, between 1758 and 1764, his "Dialogues Moral and Political," and "Letters on Chivalry and Romance."

5. **Horace Walpole**, born in 1717, had a large income from posts given him by Sir Robert, his father. He entered Parliament in 1741, but seldom spoke, though for many years a member. In 1747 he bought the estate of Strawberry Hill, near Twickenham, and lavished money upon its adornment. There he set up a printing-press, from which, in 1757, Gray's odes on "The Bard," and "The Progress of Poesy," were the first works issued. In 1791 he became Earl of Orford, and he died in 1797. His chief works were "A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England" (1758); "Anecdotes of Painting in England, with some accounts of the principal artists," by George Vertue, digested

from his MSS. (1762–71); "The Castle of Otranto," a romance, published in 1765; and "Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard the Third" (1768). Publications of Horace Walpole's "Letters" began to appear in 1818, and were finally arranged in nine volumes in 1857. The small talk of their time is also illustrated by the letters of **Lady Mary Montague**, born in 1690, eldest daughter of Evelyn Pierrepont, Duke of Kingston. She married, in 1712, Addison's friend, Edward Wortley Montague, went with him, in 1716, to Constantinople, and after their return lived near Pope, at Twickenham. In 1739 Lady Mary left her husband and connections, to live abroad, and did not return to England for twenty years. She was in Venice when her husband, with whom she had corresponded, died in 1761. She came home in January; and died in August, 1762. There was, in the following year, an unauthorized publication of her letters. Her letters, with her poems and essays, were published in 1837, edited by Lord Wharncliffe.

6. **Samuel Johnson** was born on the 18th of September, 1709. His father was a bookseller at Lichfield, and he was named Samuel, as godson of a friendly lodger in the house, Dr. Samuel Swinfen. He was born scrofulous, and as in his earliest days the Tory party was re-asserting the doctrine of Divine right, by reviving in the person of Queen Anne the pretence to cure scrofula, therefore called "king's evil," by touch of a royal hand, he was taken to London to be touched by Queen Anne. The disease remained, and it was part of the hard work of Johnson's life to battle with it. In 1716, at the age of seven, he was sent to Lichfield Grammar School; and in 1724, aged fifteen, to a school at Stourbridge, as assistant pupil. In 1726 he came home for two years, and in October, 1728, went, by Dr. Swinfen's advice, and with some assistance from him, to Pembroke College, Dr. Swinfen's own college, at Oxford. There the hypochondriacal oppression of the brain, to which he had been subject, increased. Johnson's scrofulous constitution made itself felt by him chiefly in the brain, and might have reduced another man to the insanity of which he never lost the dread. He feared it at college, and wrote in Latin for Dr. Swinfen an account of his symptoms. Dr. Swinfen, proud of the Latin, and forgetting that Johnson was revealing to him a very secret dread, showed the report to others, and made Johnson less willing to accept help from him. Johnson

remained at Oxford from the 31st of October, 1728, to the autumn of 1731. His father died in the latter year. Johnson received twenty pounds, all he could hope for from his father's effects, laid by eleven guineas of it, and in 1732 went to be usher in the school at Market Bosworth. He gave that up in a few months, and went to stay with a friend and schoolfellow, Edmund Hector, who was seeking practice in Birmingham as a surgeon, and lodged at the house of a bookseller. For the bookseller Johnson translated, for five guineas, "Father Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia," which was published in 1735. In 1734 Johnson was at home with his mother, who kept the shop at Lichfield, proposing to print the Latin poems of Politian by subscription. In November of that year he wrote from Birmingham to Edward Cave, who in 1731 had established "The Gentleman's Magazine," offering to supply it with a literary column; and Cave answered the letter. In July, 1736, Johnson married Elizabeth, widow of a Mr. Porter. Her first husband, a mercer, had died insolvent. After his marriage Johnson set up school in a large house at Edial, near Lichfield. He had been refused the mastership of the grammar school at Solihull, because it was found, on inquiry, that he was so independent in spirit that he might "huff the feoffees;" and "y^{t} he has such a way of distorting his fface (w^{h} though he can't help), y^{e} gent. think it may affect some young ladds." The want of control over his face and gestures sprang from that affection of the brain against which Johnson battled through life. There came to Johnson's school at Edial only the two sons of Captain Garrick, of Lichfield, who had known and respected Johnson at home, and one other boy. Here the foundation was laid of a lifelong friendship between Johnson and David Garrick. The school failed, and in March, 1737, Johnson, aged twenty-eight, and Garrick, aged twenty-one, came to London together, Mrs. Johnson being left at Edial or Lichfield, while a new start in life was being looked for. Johnson, while school-keeping, had begun a tragedy, "Irene." Having come to London with Garrick in March, 1737, in July he was lodging at Greenwich, to work at his play, and offered to translate for Cave a "History of the Council of Trent."

He went back for three months to Lichfield, where he finished "Irene," and then returned to London with his wife, to do or die. His tragedy was refused. He looked again to Cave, and in March, 1783, appeared his first contribution to "The Gentleman's Magazine," Latin verses to Sylvanus Urban. In June he began to contribute to the Magazine "Debates of the Senate of Lilliput." Report of proceedings in the English Parliament was unlawful; but a Mr. William Guthrie at first provided Johnson with accounts of them, which he worked up in his own way. These became famous, and were dropped by Johnson when in full success, because they were accepted as faithful reports, and he would not be even indirectly party to a fraud. In May of 1738 appeared Johnson's first poem, his "London," a poem in imitation of the third satire of Juvenal, for which Dodsley gave ten pounds. It expressed the depth of Johnson's feeling as a lonely struggler in the great city, and had printed in capitals one line:

> "This mournful truth is everywhere confessed;
> SLOW RISES WORTH BY POVERTY DEPRESSED."

It was in a second edition within a week. Pope caused inquiry to be made for the author, and recommended him to the good offices of Lord Gower, who would have made him master of a grammar school at Appleby, in Leicestershire, with a salary of about sixty pounds a year; but the degree of M.A. was a necessary qualification. This was asked in vain for the author of "London" from his own university at Oxford, and also from Dublin. In the following year, 1739, Johnson, aged thirty, received advances from Cave, as small as half a crown, for work to be done. One letter was signed "Yours *impransus*" —without a breakfast; for Johnson sturdily sought to pay his way, and ate or hungered as his means required. As a good Tory he published this year a small satirical pamphlet, "Marmor Norfolciense; or, an Essay on an Ancient Prophetical Inscription in monkish rhyme, lately discovered near Lynn, in Norfolk, by Probus Britannicus." The next four years were years of work and poverty. In 1744 he was still struggling, and it was at this time that he published his "Life of Savage," who had died in 1743.

In 1745, Johnson published "Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth, with Remarks on Sir Thomas Hanmer's Edition of Shakespeare," to which he added proposals for a new edition of Shakespeare. In 1747 his friend Garrick opened Drury Lane, and turned at once to Johnson for the opening prologue. In the same year Johnson issued "The Plan of an English Dictionary," addressed to Lord Chesterfield. In 1748 he wrote "The Vanity of Human Wishes," chiefly at Hampstead, where his wife was staying for her health; and in 1749, the year of the publication of "Tom Jones," Garrick, as patentee of Drury Lane, brought out Johnson's "Irene," and, though it was not successful, forced its run for nine nights, that Johnson might not lose his three author's nights. They brought him in £195 17*s.*, besides a hundred pounds from Dodsley for the copyright. In the same year Dodsley gave but fifteen pounds for Johnson's second poem, published in May, "The Vanity of Human Wishes," which has in it, like "London," depths of feeling stirred by a long conflict with adversity.

In 1750 Johnson began the "Rambler" on the 20th of March, and continued it every Tuesday and Saturday till its close, on the 17th of March, 1752, about a fortnight before the death of his wife. The deeply religious nature of Johnson animated his work in joining himself to the number of those who had followed the track of the "Tatler" and "Spectator." The Latin style of the "Rambler," and its studied avoidance of common words, represented only a full working out of the fashionable theory of the time, derived from France. Johnson did for the style of his own day what Lyly had done in his time, and identified his name with it. But he lived on and partially outgrew it, as his neighbors did; so that the style of his "Lives of the Poets" differs greatly from that of the "Rambler." His wife's death left Johnson with none but his old mother at Lichfield dependent on him. In 1754 Cave died with his hand in Johnson's, and Johnson wrote his life for the next number of the "Gentleman's Magazine." To the "Adventurer," a series of a hundred and forty papers, issued between Nov. 7, 1752, and March 9, 1754, by his friend, Dr. John Hawkesworth, Johnson contributed. In the "World," by Adam Fitzadam, a series of essays in two hundred and ten numbers, published between January, 1753, and December, 1756, the **Earl of Chesterfield** — Philip Dormer Stanhope (b. 1694, d. 1773), whose "Letters to his Son" were published the year after his death — praised Johnson's "Dictionary." Chesterfield's two letters appeared in the "World" just before the "Dictionary" came out, and on the 7th of February, 1755, Johnson addressed a letter to him, repudiating the patronage of one to whom seven years before he had looked for aid, and who during his seven years of labor against difficulties had not given him one word of encouragement or one smile of favor. In 1755, his "Dictionary" appeared. To supply letters after his name upon the title-page, for satisfaction of the booksellers, Oxford had now conceded to Johnson the degree of M.A., and Dublin spontaneously added that of LL.D. Johnson received for the "Dictionary" in all fifteen hundred and seventy-five pounds, which was payment at the rate of two hundred and twenty-five pounds a year while it was in progress, out of which he had to buy books for reference, and pay six amanuenses. He was so poor that in March next year he was arrested for a debt of £5 18*s*., and was helped by Samuel Richardson. To avoid debt, he did any honest work — wrote sermons for clergymen, and prefaces for authors. It was at this time that he issued new "Proposals" for his edition of Shakespeare. In April, 1758, he began the "Idler," a weekly essay in the "Universal Chronicle," continued for two years. In 1759 his mother died, at the age of ninety. His poverty had kept him from her, because he could not spare from his aid to her the money it would cost to go to and from Lichfield. There were her little debts to pay, and there would be the funeral expenses. To provide these he wrote his moral tale of "Rasselas," for which he was paid a hundred pounds; with twenty-five pounds afterwards for a second edition. Johnson had now neither wife nor mother to support, and the "Idler" was discontinued in April, 1760. In 1762 his influential friends obtained for him, from Lord Bute, a grant of three hundred pounds a year. It required courage to tell him that they had done so. In his

"Dictionary," as in all works of his, he had set the mark of his mind. Its religious spirit was in his careful choice of illustrative extracts, which should be in themselves worth reading, and tempt nobody to read a book that he believed could be injurious. Its spirit of independence broke out in some of his definitions, and he had defined Pension, "An allowance made to any one without an equivalent;" Pensioner, "A slave of state, hired by a stipend to obey his master." When told of the grant of a pension to himself, and assured that this was not said to him in joke, he remained silent for a time, and then assented. His after-course of life showed that he had resolved to take this part of the money usually wasted on unworthy men, not for his own enrichment, but in trust for those whom it could relieve from unmerited suffering. He always carried money for occasional charities, and he had, in Bolt Court, these house companions, rescued from distress:—Robert Levet, an awkward and helpless surgeon to the poor, had shown his need of a protector, and for the last thirty years of his life found shelter under Johnson's roof. Miss Williams, a friend of his wife's, daughter of a Welsh doctor, who ruined himself, had, in Mrs. Johnson's time, come to London for an operation on her eye. She became blind. Poor creature! Johnson must take care of her. She stuttered, and had a vile temper. Johnson bribed the maid to bear with that by the addition of half a crown a week to her wages. Mrs. Desmoulins; for her claim it was enough that she was Dr. Swinfen's daughter, now the widow of a writing-master, and in want. Another of his pensioners and hearth-sharers was Miss Carmichael; another, a negro, Francis Barber, whom Johnson took when his old master, Dr. Bathurst, had been unable to support him. Disdainful of so poor a bar to human fellowship as color of the skin, Johnson treated this negro servant with friendship, was at some cost to educate him, and addressed him in letters as "Dear Francis," signing himself "Affectionately yours." Johnson lived among these people as their friend, not as their benefactor, and did not affect patronage. "No man," said Mrs. Thrale, "loved the poor like Dr. Johnson." His outside rudeness covered the tenderest heart. His own experience of poverty quickened his sympathies, while it roughened his spirit of independence. "He had nothing of the bear but his skin," said Garrick.

It was not till 1763 that **James Boswell** (b. 1740, d. 1795), then a young man of twenty-three, first saw Dr. Johnson in the back-parlor of Thomas Davies, actor, bookseller, and author of some useful books upon the stage. Boswell had studied law in Scotland, and was afterwards called to the English bar. His minute chronicling, thenceforth, of Johnson's sayings and doings is made interesting by a rare vigor of thought in the man whose common talk is thus recorded. Such hero-worship as Boswell's has its weak side, but there was no meanness or self-seeking in the young gentleman's choice of an object of reverence. Boswell's "Life of Johnson" was first published in 1791, seven years after Johnson's death. **Mrs. Thrale**, who, before she married the rich brewer, had been a lively Welsh girl — Miss Hester Salusbury — first met Johnson in 1764, when he was brought to her house at Streatham to meet a poetical shoemaker named Woodhouse who was then being talked about. He soon became the most honored friend of the house, and the centre of attention at Mrs. Thrale's literary parties. In 1765 Johnson's mind suffered so much that he wrote in his diary on Easter day: "My memory grows confused, and I know not how the days pass over me. Good Lord deliver me!" In that year his edition of Shakespeare appeared, and he wrote to Joseph Warton, that, as he felt no solicitude about the work, he felt no comfort from its conclusion. In 1766 he was confined to his rooms for weeks together, and declared himself on the verge of insanity. His failing health had obliged him to feel that he was himself benefited by his pension; and as he resolved that he would not take the benefit without giving an equivalent, he began to write political pamphlets. His first, in 1770, was called "The False Alarm," on the commotion caused by the expulsion of Wilkes from the House of Commons. In 1775 he published "Taxation no Tyranny," — a vehement pamphlet in opposition to all efforts in England for conciliating the American Colonies. He had paid a visit to the Hebrides, and described it in the year before he wrote his pamphlet on the American question. In 1777, when he was sixty-eight years old, the booksellers asked him to write lives of the poets since the Commonwealth, to be prefixed to new editions of their works in a series of volumes. The "Lives of the English Poets" appeared in 1779–81, and represent the clearness of Johnson's critical power, and the natural force of his style in later life. He had his own strong predilections, and was himself in his judgments, but he tried honestly to be fair. "They will ask you to write the life of some dunce," Boswell, said "will you do that, sir?" "Yes, and say he was a dunce." When Johnson was asked to name his own price for his work, he fixed it at two hundred pounds; the publishers gave more, but still much less than the work was worth. Johnson, true to his own maxim, "I hate a complainer," was thoroughly content. "It is not," he said, "that they gave me too little, but that I wrote too much." In 1782 his friend Levet died. In 1783 his friend Mrs. Williams died, and he had a stroke of palsy. In 1784 he died himself. Opium was given to him in his last illness to relieve pain; he asked if it could restore health, and being told that it could not, said, "Then I will take no more, for I wish to meet my God with an unclouded mind." The dread of loss of intellect remained to the last. He turned his prayers into Latin to assure himself that he was still master of his faculties. On the 13th of December he whispered to a young lady who had come to beg his blessing, "God bless you, my dear!" and fell into a quiet sleep. In that sleep God took the soul of a true servant, who had lived in his own different way, like Milton, as ever in his great Task-Master's eye.

7. **David Hume** was born in 1711, of a good Scottish family. His father died when he was young. His mother bred him to the law, but he cared most for literature. In 1734, at the age of twenty-three, he was sent to Bristol with letters to merchants. Proving unfit for commerce, he went to France to economize and write. In 1739 he published the first two Books of his "Treatise of Human Nature," written in France. He published the third Book in 1740. In 1741–42 he published at Edinburgh, "Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary," in which he discussed politics as a science, superstition and enthusiasm, civil liberty, national characters, the

rise of arts and sciences. Among studies of different solutions of the social problem, Hume expressed inclination rather to dispute than to assent to the conclusions of the philosophers. He upheld the dignity of human nature, and held "that the sentiments of those who are inclined to think favorably of mankind are much more advantageous to virtue than the contrary principles, which give us a mean opinion of our nature." In 1745 Hume, aged thirty-four, came to England to live with the young Marquis of Annandale, who was weak in mind and body. In the following year General St. Clair appointed him his secretary in an expedition to Canada, but the expedition was not made. In 1748 he was with St. Clair on a military embassy to Vienna and Turin. He recast his first part of the treatise concerning Human Nature, and it was published in 1748 while he was abroad, as "An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding." In 1749 and 1750 Hume was in Scotland with his brother in the country, writing. In 1751 he removed to Edinburgh, and published there in 1752 his "Political Discourses," which was well received. In the previous year he had published in London, with less success, an "Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals," which he considered to be his best work. In 1752 he was made Librarian to the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, and had an access to books which suggested the writing of his History. The first section appeared in 1754, as a "History of Great Britain," containing the reigns of James I. and Charles I., in a quarto volume, which was decried and neglected. There were only forty-five copies sold in a twelvemonth. In 1757 Hume published his "Natural History of Religion," and in 1756 a continuation of his "History," from the death of Charles I. to the Revolution. This was better received. He then went back in time, and published, in 1759, the "History of England under the House of Tudor," which was clamored against; and in 1761–62 he went back to a still earlier time, and completed his "History of England from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the Revolution in 1688." Smollett's History, from that date to the death of George II., is usually printed as a continuation of Hume. As a philosopher, Hume denied miracle, and drew from Locke's doctrine, that knowledge comes to us only from the outside world, an argument that the experience we reason from is based only on custom, without assurance that we see cause and effect. Our notion of necessity, he said, rests only on the association of ideas. From a combination of swiftly-succeeding ideas which arise from and cease with movements of the body, we form, Hume argued, an imaginary entity which we call the soul, and assign to it immortality. In 1763 Hume went with the Earl of Hertford, who was ambassador, to Paris, became secretary to the embassy, and remained in Paris as chargé-d'affaires till 1766, when he returned to England. He brought with him Rousseau, who was made much of in England, and pensioned by George III. Hume, between 1767 and 1769, was an under-secretary of state. In 1769 he retired to Edinburgh, possessed of a thousand a year, and died in 1776, aged sixty-five.

8. **William Robertson** (b. 1721, d. 1793) was a popular pulpit orator, who published, in 1759, a "History of Scotland, during the Reigns of Mary and of King James VI., till his Accession to the Throne of England," a work of labor and pains rather than of genius, and written with artificial dignity. It went through fourteen editions in his lifetime. In 1760 Robertson was made King's Chaplain; in 1762, Principal of the Edinburgh University; and, in 1764, Historiographer Royal for Scotland, a post revived for him, with a salary of two hundred pounds a year. In 1769 he published a "History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V., with a View of the Progress of Society in Europe from the subversion of the Roman Empire to the beginning of the sixteenth century;" and, in 1777, a "History of America." Robertson had the natural insight of good sense with patient industry, but none of Hume's freshness of thought; and his Latin style wants the wealth of mind and richness of expression that gives life to the pomp of a Latin style in **Edward Gibbon** (b. 1737, d. 1794), the first volume of whose "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" appeared, when its author was thirty-nine years old, in 1776, the year of the death of David Hume. Gibbon had been a delicate child, and had been educated chiefly

at private schools before he went to Magdalene College, Oxford. When he had been there fourteen months he turned Romanist, and to wean him from his new opinions his father placed him under a Calvinist minister at Lausanne, by whom he was reconverted. In 1758, aged twenty-one, he returned to England; in 1761 he published, in French, his "Essai sur l'Étude de la Littérature." In 1763 he travelled through France and Switzerland to Italy, and in 1764, aged twenty-seven, when musing among the ruins of the capital, it first occurred to him to write a history of the decline and fall of the great Roman Empire. In 1770 Gibbon was thirty-three years old, and the death of his father gave him property. He was in Parliament for eight years after 1774, finished his history at Lausanne, and published the close of it on his birthday in 1788. After his death, his miscellaneous writings were published, the best of them being "Memoirs of my Life and Writings."

9. **Thomas Reid** (b. 1710, d. 1796), a Scottish clergyman, who became, in 1752, Professor of Moral Philosophy at King's College, Aberdeen, was the first who attempted a philosophical answer to Hume's scepticism. This was by his "Inquiry into the Human Mind," which appeared in 1764, and was submitted to Hume's friendly criticism before publication. Reid's "Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man," in 1785, and "Essays on the Active Powers of the Human Mind," in 1788, completed an argument which Reid sought to pursue by Bacon's method of investigation, carefully distinguishing between observation and reflection, while he endeavored to vindicate against attacks of scepticism those fundamental laws of belief which base human knowledge upon what Reid called the common sense of mankind.

10. **Adam Smith** (b. at Kirkcaldy in 1723, d. 1790) was from 1752 to 1763 Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow, and published, in 1759, his "Theory of Moral Sentiments;" but his "Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations" did not appear till 1776. This famous book developed Locke's doctrine, that labor is the source of wealth. **Sir William Blackstone** published the first volume of his "Commentaries on the Laws of England" in 1765, and finished in 1769.

11. **Edmund Burke**, the son of an attorney at Dublin, was born probably in 1730, educated first at a famous school kept by Abraham Shackleton, a member of the Society of Friends, at Ballitore, in Kildare, then at Trinity College, Dublin, where he was fellow-student with Goldsmith, and graduated as B.A.

in 1748, M.A. in 1751. In 1750 he came to study law in London. To aid his means of entering into society he contributed to periodicals. In 1756 he published as a satire upon Bolingbroke, whose works Mallett had published in 1754, and against the new turn of thought in France, "A Vindication of Natural Society, or a View of the Miseries and Evils arising to Mankind from every species of Artificial Society. In a letter to Lord . . . : by a late Noble Writer." This piece of irony was followed in the same year by Burke's "Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful." This continued the form of speculation of which Addison had given the first example in his essays on Imagination; and worked out with ingenuity, and eloquence of style, a theory that sense of beauty is associated with relaxation, terror with contraction, of the fibres of the body. Burke's health suffered; there were signs of consumption; and he was received at Bath into the house of an Irish physician, Dr. Nugent, whose daughter he married in the latter part of 1756. In 1758 his only son Richard was born. Burke resumed work in London, and on Christmas Day, 1758, at Garrick's house first dined with Dr. Johnson, thenceforth his warm friend. In June, 1759, he started "The Annual Register," and was its chief writer and editor for several years. In 1761 he was appointed Private Secretary to William Gerard Hamilton, then become chief Secretary in Ireland. For his help to the Irish Government Burke received in 1763 a pension of three hundred pounds a year, which he resigned when he had held it about two years, because he found it was regarded as a pledge of servitude. Burke became one of the first members of the literary club founded in 1764 at the Turk's Head in Gerrard Street, Soho: Goldsmith and its founders, Johnson and Sir Joshua Reynolds, were among the other members. A Mr. William Fitzherbert was so much impressed by Burke's powers, as shown at the Turk's Head Club, that he recommended him to the Marquis of Rockingham, who became Premier in July, 1765, as private secretary. Another of Burke's admirers at the same time gave him a seat in Parliament for Wendover. Lord Rockingham felt Burke's power, and used his counsel in dealing with the American difficulty.

Parliament in the beginning of 1764 had voted its right to tax the colonies; it proceeded to tax sugar and other articles of colonial import, and passed a Stamp Act which had been proposed some time before. The American colonies protested vigorously, and their first Congress produced a "Declaration of the Rights and Grievances of the Colonies" in October, 1765. Burke, who dreaded revolution in all forms, reverenced all old institutions, and was by nature a conservative, advised the avoidance of collision by a compromise. Great Britain should assert the right to tax, but at the same time abstain from using it. Accordingly, the Stamp Act was repealed, and an Act was passed asserting the legislative power of Great Britain. Lord Rockingham's ministry then gave place, in July, 1766, to that of Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and Burke defended its policy in "A Short Account of a Late Short Administration." To the liberality of Lord Rockingham, Burke in part owed the means of buying in 1768, for twenty-two thousand pounds, the estate at Beaconsfield. His heart was set upon founding a family; his hope all rested upon his one son Richard. Burke was among those wrongly suspected of authorship of the "Letters of Junius," which appeared in the "Public Advertiser," with bold denunciation of the men in power, between January 21, 1769, and January 21, 1772, and are now commonly ascribed to Sir Philip Francis. His policy of conciliation caused Burke to be appointed agent for New York, while the English Government was making the breach with the colonies more hopeless. In 1770 he published "Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents," in which he maintained that government ought to be in the hands of an aristocracy. On the 19th of April, 1774, he made a famous "Speech on American Taxation," including a history of the question for the last eleven years. "Again and again," he said, "revert to your old principles; seek peace and ensue it. . . . Be content to bind America by laws of trade; you have always done it. Let this be your reason for binding their trade. Do not burden them by taxes; you were not used to do so from the beginning. Let this be your reason for not taxing. These are the arguments of states and kingdoms. Leave the rest to the schools." In 1774 Burke became member for Bristol, and his colleague, who had to follow him as orator on the hustings, in thanking the electors, contented himself with, "Gentlemen, I say ditto to Mr. Burke! ditto to Mr. Burke!" On the 22d of March, 1775, Burke laid before the House of Commons thirteen resolutions for reconcilement with America, and made a famous "Speech on American Conciliation." After the peace with America made in 1783, Burke held office in the coalition ministry; and was foremost prosecutor in the seven-years' trial of Warren Hastings, which ended with acquittal, in April, 1795. He first expressed in the House, in February, 1790, his desire to check the French Revolution by armed interference. In November, 1790, he published his "Reflections on the Revolution in France." This pamphlet was answered by Thomas Paine with the first part of "The Rights of Man;" by James Mackintosh, afterwards Sir James, then a young man, with his "Vindiciæ Gallicæ." In December, 1791, Burke wrote "Thoughts on French Affairs." In 1794 occurred the calamity of Burke's life, that crushed all his energy. He had lived in his son Richard, then thirty-six years old, a barrister, for whom, in 1794, he vacated his seat at Malton. Richard was to outshine his father, who was anxious to become Lord Beaconsfield, that he might transmit the title to his son; and that his son, uniting himself with the aristocracy, might realize his own highest ideal. Because it crossed this hope, Burke had forbidden his son's marriage to a young lady who had lived in the house as companion to his mother, and whom he loved. Richard obeyed. On the 26th of July there was a dinner-party at Burke's house, to celebrate his son's return as member for Malton — father and mother alike blind to the fact that he was dying of consumption. The truth was urged on them. Richard was taken to a house at Brompton, and, as he lay there dying, he heard his father and mother in loud lament in the next room, rose, dressed, and tottered in to them, that he might seem well and cheer them. He spoke comfort, heard the rustle of the trees outside; said, "What noise is that — does it rain?" then, seeing what it was, he repeated twice the lines of Milton that his father had delighted in:

"His praise, ye winds, that from four quarters blow,
Breathe soft or loud; and wave your tops, ye pines,
With every plant, in sign of worship wave,"

then bowed his own head in sign of worship, sank into the arms of his parents, and died. Burke cared no more to be Lord Beaconsfield. He was a broken man for the remaining three years of his life, and died in July, 1797.

12. William Paley, the son of a clergyman, was born in 1743, and was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, of which he was elected fellow in 1766. He resided at the university during the next ten years. He received many valuable positions in the church. He died in 1805. He was an acute thinker, and wrote powerful works on morals, politics, and theology. The chief of these are the following: "The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy;" "Horæ Paulinæ; or, the Truth of the Scripture History of St. Paul evinced by a comparison of the Epistles which bear his name with the Acts of the Apostles, and with one another;" "A View of the Evidences of Christianity;" and "Natural Theology."

13. Joseph Priestley, born in 1733, became a Dissenting minister, and first devoted himself to the study of physical science, in which he made many important discoveries. He subsequently gave great attention to theology and politics; was a defender of the French Revolution; and in 1794 he removed to America, where he died in 1804. His writings on all subjects include more than sixty titles. **Thomas Paine,** born in Norfolk, in 1737, became a staymaker and an exciseman; removed to America, and by his writings greatly influenced events during the American Revolution; returned to Europe in 1787, where he wrote "The Rights of Man," in reply to Burke. He wrote many political and theological pamphlets. **Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin** was born in 1759, and published in 1792 a bold and radical book, entitled "Vindication of the Rights of Woman."

14. Sir Joshua Reynolds was born in 1723, became the most famous artist of his day, and published his "Discourses" on Art. **Gilbert White** (b. 1720, d. 1793) has still great reputation as a naturalist, and as a delightful writer, by his

"Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne," first published in 1789. **Edmund Malone** (b. 1741, d. 1812) distinguished himself as an acute literary critic. He published editions of Shakespeare and Dryden, and several biographies. **Anna Seward** (b. 1747, d. 1809) wrote verses and a "Life of Dr. Darwin;" but is chiefly remembered for her "Letters," published after her death. **Hannah More** (b. 1745, d. 1833) was a prolific and popular writer of dramas, and afterwards of religious and moralizing works, especially in the form of stories. Her most noted books are "The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain," "Practical Piety," and "Cœlebs in Search of a Wife." **Henry Mackenzie** (b. 1745, d. 1831) wrote plays, essays, and novels. His most successful novels are "The Man of Feeling," 1771; "The Man of the World," 1773; and "Julia de Roubigné," 1777. **Frances Burney**, or **Madame D'Arblay** (b. 1752, d. 1840), wrote several famous novels, — "Evelina," "Cecilia," and "Camilla." The sisters **Sophia** and **Harriet Lee** were once popular story-writers, their joint work, "The Canterbury Tales" (five vols., 1797–1805), having still a wide diffusion among children. A celebrated romance entitled "Vathek" was published in 1784 by **William Beckford** (b. 1760, d. 1844). **Clara Reeve** (b. 1725, d. 1803) wrote several novels, of which the most notable is "The Old English Baron." **Ann Radcliffe** (b. 1764, d. 1823) has had great popularity as a novelist, especially by her "Mysteries of Udolpho."

CHAPTER XVI.

SECOND HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: POETS AND DRAMATISTS.

1. Mark Akenside. — 2. Thomas Gray. — 3. Oliver Goldsmith; Thomas Chatterton; Charles Churchill. — 4. James Grainger; William Falconer; James Beattie; James Macpherson; Thomas Percy. — 5. Samuel Foote; David Garrick; Richard Cumberland; John Home; Richard Brinsley Sheridan. — 6. William Cowper. — 7. Robert Burns. — 8. Erasmus Darwin; Elizabeth Carter; John Wolcot; Anna Lætitia Barbauld; Henry James Pye; James Grahame. — 9. Elizabeth Inchbald; Hannah Cowley; Charles and Thomas Dibdin.

1. **Mark Akenside** (b. 1721, d. 1770) was son of a butcher at Newcastle-on-Tyne. He was sent to the Edinburgh University, with aid of a fund for the purpose, to be educated as a Dissenting minister; but he made medicine his study, was proud of his oratory in the debates of the Medical Society, and aspired to a seat in Parliament. After three years at Edinburgh Akenside went to Leyden, where he staid another three years, took his degree as M.D., and found a friend in a student of law, Jeremiah Dyson, who came home with him. "The Pleasures of Imagination," in its first form, appeared in 1744, when Akenside's age was twenty-three. Its subject was suggested by Addison's essays on Imagination, in the "Spectator." Akenside wrote odes also, and worked at the elaboration of his chief poem throughout his life, publishing the enlargement of his First Book in 1757, and of the Second in 1765; the enlargement of Book III., with an unfinished fragment of Book IV., appeared after his death. Akenside had less feeling for the sense of poetry than for its sound. His style was artificial. In life he affected a false dignity, and his pompous manner laid him open to Smollett's ridicule. He was ashamed of a lameness caused in childhood by the fall of a cleaver in his father's shop. He never married, and was greatly indebted to the liberality of Mr. Dyson for income while he was endeavoring to make a practice.

2. **Thomas Gray,** born in 1716, was son of a money-scrivener on Cornhill, and the only one of his twelve children who survived their infancy. His father was morose and indolent, neglected business, and spent money in building a country house at Wanstead, without telling his wife what he was about. Mrs. Gray, on her part, had joined Miss Antrobus — one of

her sisters — in business, and made money by a kind of India warehouse, on Cornhill. Gray was sent to school at Eton, because his mother had a brother among the assistant masters there. At Eton he formed a friendship with Horace Walpole, youngest son of Sir Robert. His uncle at Eton being a fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, Gray entered there as a pensioner, in 1734, but afterwards removed to Peterhouse. In 1738 he left without a degree, and in the spring of 1739 set out for travel in France and Italy, as the companion of Horace Walpole. In Italy the friends disagreed. Gray left Walpole at Reggio, went on before him to Venice, and returned to England about two months before his father's death, in 1741. Gray and Walpole were not reconciled till 1744. Being urged by his friends to make law his profession, Gray went to reside at Cambridge again, and took the degree of B.C.L. At Stoke, in 1742, he wrote his ode "On the Spring" — much verse was written by Gray in the spring and summer of this year — and in the autumn his ode "On a Distant Prospect of Eton College," the first published verse of Gray's, although it did not appear until 1747. From 1742 until his death, in 1771, Gray lived chiefly at Cambridge, where, in 1768, he was made Professor of Modern History. In 1750 he had completed his "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard," suggested by the churchyard at Stoke Pogis. In February, 1751, Gray wrote to Horace Walpole that the proprietors of a magazine were about to publish his Elegy, and said: "I have but one bad way left to escape the honor they would inflict upon me; and therefore am obliged to desire you would make Dodsley print it immediately (which may be done in less than a week's time) from your copy, but without my name, in what form is most convenient for him, but on his best paper and character. He must correct the press himself, and print it without any interval between the stanzas, because the sense is in some places continued beyond them; and the title must be, 'Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard.' If he would add a line or two to say it came into his hands by accident, I should like it better." Walpole did as was wished, and wrote an advertisement to the effect that accident alone brought the poem before the public, although an apology was unnecessary to any but the author. On which Gray wrote, "I thank you for your advertisement, which saves my honor." Gray's fame has its deepest foundations in the simplest of his poems — that on the site of his old Eton playground, and the Elegy, which in all revisions he sought to bring into simple harmony with its theme. He expunged classicism. In one familiar stanza he put Hampden in the place of Gracchus, or some other ancient worthy. Milton and Cromwell, for Tully and Cæsar, improved the lines —

> "Some mute, inglorious Tully here may rest,
> Some Cæsar guiltless of his country's blood."

In March, 1753, Gray's mother died, as his father had died, of gout, from which he himself suffered severely; and in the same year appeared "Six Poems," with designs by R. Bentley. In 1754 he wrote his odes on "The Progress of Poesy," and on "The Bard," both published in 1757, at Strawberry Hill. The first collected edition of Gray's "Poems" was not published till 1768, three years before his death.

3. Oliver Goldsmith (b. 1728, d. 1774) was one of seven children of a poor Irish clergyman; was educated at the village school of Lissoy; entered, with aid from an uncle, Mr. Contarine, in 1745, as a sizar at Trinity College, Dublin, and there graduated as B.A. in 1749. From 1752 to 1754 he was studying medicine at Edinburgh, and continued like studies in 1755 at Leyden. He then travelled on foot about the Continent. In 1756 he was in London, and tried many ways of earning bread. He had no skill in managing outward affairs of life, but had within him a pure breath of genius. He wrote criticisms for "The Monthly Review," and then for "The Critical Review;" published, in 1759, "An Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe;" produced eight numbers of a paper called "The Bee;" and contributed in 1760, to Newbery's new daily paper, "The Public Ledger," two articles a week for a guinea apiece. These essays, collected in 1762, as "The Citizen of the World," are full of the kindliest humor, and in prose written with the unaffected grace of a true poet. In 1763 Johnson, who felt the worth of Goldsmith, and was his firm friend, sold the manuscript of the "Vicar of Wakefield" for sixty pounds, to relieve Goldsmith from immediate distress and debt. In December, 1764, his poem of the "Traveller; or, a Prospect of Society," appeared, and Goldsmith rose in fame. Its success caused the purchaser of the "Vicar of Wakefield" to publish it, at last, in February, 1766; and it went through three editions before the end of August. Goethe tells us that when, aged twenty-five (and in the year of Goldsmith's death), he was a law-student at Strasburg, Herder read to him a translation of the "Vicar of Wakefield." More than half a century after Goldsmith's death, when the German poet was by many regarded as the patriarch of contemporary European literature, he ascribed, in a letter to his friend Zelter, the best influence over his mind to the spirit of that wise and wholesome story as it was made known to him "just at the critical moment of mental development." In 1768 Goldsmith's first comedy, the "Good-natured Man," was produced; in 1770 appeared his other poem of great mark, "The Deserted Village;" in 1773, his other comedy, "She Stoops to Conquer," was acted; and Goldsmith died on the 4th of April, 1774. He did much other work of the pen, wrote histories of Greece, Rome, England, and of Animated Nature. His "Vicar of Wakefield" brought idyllic grace into the novel of real life, and his "Traveller" and "Deserted Village" calmly reflect some shadows of the life and thought of Europe in his day.

Thomas Chatterton was born in 1752, and was taught at a charity school in his native town of Bristol, and articled to an attorney. The boy, with a poet's genius, and a turn for antiquities, played upon the reviving taste for our old national literature among men who had still but a faint critical sense of its form of thought or language, by inventing a series of mock antique poems, which he ascribed to an imaginary priest of Bristol, named Thomas Rowley. Rowley lived, he said, three centuries before the poems were discovered by his father in an old chest in the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, where he and his forefathers had been sextons for many generations. Chatterton came to London in 1770, with the confidence of genius, warmed by young hope and ambition; found himself starving in the midst of plenty, with a defiant sense of power. He was but a boy; his was not yet a sustaining power; and he poisoned himself in the agony of his despair.

Charles Churchill (b. 1731, d. 1764) had been ordained without a degree; had a wife and two sons, and lived by a poor school when he succeeded his father as curate and lecturer of St. John's, Westminster, and added to his little income by teaching English to young ladies at a boarding-school. He delighted in the theatre, and in 1761 published at his own cost, as a shilling pamphlet, the "Rosciad," a critical satire on the stage, in thought bold, in verse masterly. Other keen satires in verse followed. Churchill turned to the larger stage, supported Wilkes, wrote, in 1762, "The Ghost;" in 1763, "The Prophecy of Famine," a satire on Scotland and the Scotch; lived a wild life, wrote other satires, and died after four years of a brilliant intellectual career that caused Garrick to say of him after his death, "Such talents, with prudence, had commanded the nation."

4. **James Grainger** (b. 1723, d. 1767), was a Scotch physician, who left practice in London, and, finding a wife on his way out, settled in the Island of St. Christopher, where he wrote his poem of the "Sugar-Cane," published in 1764. Another Scot, **William Falconer**, born about 1735, published in London, in 1762, a touching poem, called "The Shipwreck," and himself died by shipwreck in 1769. **James Beattie** (b. 1735, d. 1803) was the son of a village shopkeeper at Lawrencekirk. He became an usher in the Aberdeen Grammar School, then professor in Marischal College. He published "Original Poems and Translations" in 1761; in 1770 an angry "Essay on Truth" against Hume; and in 1771 the first book of "The Minstrel." That won him strong friends in London, and a pension of two hundred pounds from the king. Another Scotsman, **James Macpherson** (b. 1738, d. 1796), published, in 1762, poems attributed to Ossian, founded in part on Gaelic traditional poetry, but so modern in form, and so expressive of the sentimental gloom then fashionable, that they owed their great success to the reproduction in new form of living tendencies of thought. The controversy as to their genuineness was, like that over the Rowley poems, sign of a sympathy with the past, that was not yet informed by any critical understanding. **Thomas Percy** (b. 1729, d. 1811), son of a grocer at Bridgenorth, was sent from his town grammar-school with an exhibition to Oxford, and was from 1753 to 1778 Vicar of Easton Maudit, in Northamptonshire. He had a turn for literature, and amused himself as a collector of old ballads, having for the basis of his collection a folio manuscript collection in a handwriting of about the time of Charles I.

The result was his "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry," published in 1765, in which he meddled with the old ballads to bring them into some accord with the conventional taste of his age, and still was condemned by many as an antiquary. But his book struck a true note, and was food for young minds in the coming time. Walter Scott remembered the spot where he read Percy's "Reliques" for the first time, and believed that he read no book "half so frequently, or with half the enthusiasm." Percy became chaplain to the Duke of Northumberland, with whose house his name of Percy inspired him to claim kindred; he was blessed also with a wife whose pride it was to have once nursed a prince; he became Dean of Carlisle in 1778, and, in 1782, Bishop of Dromore, in Ireland.

5. In 1770 **Samuel Foote** (b. about 1720, d. 1777) was satirizing men of his time in the series of comedies begun in 1752. **Garrick** also was among the dramatists; and **George Colman** (b. about 1733, d. 1794) and **Richard Cumberland** (b. 1732, d. 1811), who began their dramatic careers in 1760. **John Home** (b. 1724, d. 1808), ordained, in 1750, minister of Athelstaneford, in East Lothian, produced in 1756, at Edinburgh, his tragedy of "Douglas," whereby he so much offended the Presbytery, that, to avoid church censure, he resigned his living, and became a layman. He then wrote several other plays. **Richard Brinsley Sheridan**, whose wit revived English comedy towards the close of the eighteenth century, was born in Dublin in 1751, son of an actor who taught elocution. After education at Harrow, he eloped from Bath with Miss Linley, a famous singer, then eighteen years old, and daughter of a composer; fought two duels; and then, having to live by his wits, produced his comedy of "The Rivals," in January, 1775, when he was twenty-four years old. "The Duenna" followed at the close of the same year; in February, 1777, "The Trip to Scarborough," an alteration of Vanbrugh's "Relapse;" and in May, 1777, "The School for Scandal." Sheridan's last piece was "The Critic," in 1779. He died in July, 1816.

6. **William Cowper**, though he lived longer and wrote later in life, was of the same age as Charles Churchill, and about three years younger than Goldsmith. He was born in November, 1731, son of the Rev. John Cowper, rector of Great Berkhamstead, and chaplain to George II. His mother died when he was six years old. After early experience of a rough school and two years' suffering from inflammation of the eyes, Cowper was sent, aged ten, to Westminster School, where he had Charles Churchill and Warren Hastings among his school-fellows. The kindness of school-fellowship made Cowper afterwards recognize in his verse the good of Churchill when the

world only condemned him for his faults. In 1749 Cowper left Westminster, was entered of the Middle Temple, and articled for three years to a solicitor, who had two daughters. One of them, Theodora, touched his young fancy; the other, Harriet, was his friend afterwards as Lady Hesketh. A nervous melancholy, shadow of evil to come, had weighed on Cowper. When he was called to the bar in 1754, Theodora's father refused sanction to his daughter's engagement with Cowper, and he saw her no more. Two years later, his father died. Cowper's means diminished. He was made a Commissioner of Bankrupts, which brought him sixty pounds a year. In 1763, an uncle, Major Cowper, offered him the choice of two out of the three offices of Clerk of the Journals of the House of Lords, Reading Clerk, and Clerk of Committees, to which he had a right of presentation. He flinched from taking more than one; and when the Major's right of nomination to that was questioned, and the fitness of the nominee was to be tested, Cowper's nervous excitement passed into lunacy, and he was placed, in December, 1763, in an asylum at St. Albans. When he recovered, Cowper gave up his small office of Commissioner of Bankrupts, and was chiefly dependent on his friends. In June, 1765, he went into retired lodgings at Huntingdon, where he became acquainted with the Rev. William Unwin and his wife, and their son, a young clergyman. He went to live with them as friend and lodger. Mrs. Unwin became a widow in June, 1767, and presently removed, Cowper with her, to Olney, Buckinghamshire, where the Rev. John Newton, once master of a slave-vessel, was curate. The influence of Mr. Newton, and the death of his own brother, in 1770, increased Cowper's melancholy. In 1771 Cowper joined Newton in the composition of a hymn-book, for which Cowper wrote those signed "C." in the volume published in 1779, as "Olney Hymns." In 1773 Cowper had another attack of insanity, in which he attempted suicide. In 1780 Mr. Newton left Olney. Mrs. Unwin then suggested to Cowper that he should write some sustained work in verse, believing that this occupation would preserve health for his mind. He wrote "The Progress of Error" — found health in the occupation — and wrote "Truth," "Table-Talk," "Expostulation," these pieces being all written between December, 1780, and the following March. They were sent to a publisher who asked for more. Then "Hope" and "Charity" were added; "Conversation" and "Retirement" while the book was being printed; and in March, 1782, William Cowper, aged fifty, first joined the company of English poets. Lady Austen, a baronet's widow, sister-in-law of a clergyman near Olney, had then become Cowper's friend. Her liveliness cured his low spirits; she set him laughing with the story of John Gilpin. When he went to bed, it amused him half through the night, and next morning it was turned into the best of playful ballads. Lady Austen advised him to give up the couplet, and write something in blank-verse. "Set me a subject, then," said he. "Oh, you can write on any thing; write upon this sofa." So Cowper began the best of his poems, and called it "The Task," begun in the summer of 1783, finished in 1784, and published in 1785. In 1784 he began his translation of Homer. Work at Homer was his chief security for health. The Homer, in blank-verse, was published in 1791, and a thousand pounds paid for it. Then Mrs. Unwin was seized with palsy. Cowper's mind suffered again. He battled with insanity; planned work upon Milton; but sank again into painful sickness of mind, from which, after Mrs. Unwin's death, in 1796, only revision of his Homer gave relief. "I may as well do this," he said, "for I can do nothing else;" and worked on sadly till his death in 1800. The rising spirit of the time speaks even from the pure strain of Cowper in his solitude. He denounced the Bastile. "My ear is pained," he said,

> "My soul is sick with every day's report
> Of wrong and outrage with which earth is filled."

7. **Robert Burns** was born January 25. 1759, two miles south of the town of Ayr. In 1766, his father, with a hundred pounds, borrowed money, took the farm of Mount Oliphant, in the parish of Ayr. He was unsuccessful, and fell into the hands of a harsh factor. Robert Burns was sent, at six years old, with his next brother, Gilbert, to a school at Alloway Mill for a few

months; then taught with children of neighbors by a Mr. Murdoch; then by their father, a devout, hard-headed Scot, with a touch of obstinacy in him. Then they were sent to school on alternate weeks for a quarter, at Dalrymple, two or three miles off, for writing-lessons. About 1777 the lease of Mount Oliphant was broken, and William Burness went to Lochlea, in the parish of Tarbolton. Robert was sent to Kirkoswald parish school to learn mensuration, and passed his nineteenth summer on a smuggling coast. At home he and his brother worked on the farm, and had seven pounds a year each as wages from their father, with which to clothe themselves and meet other expenses. In 1781 Robert went for six months to Irvine to learn flax-dressing. In 1783, at the end of the year, three months before their father's death, he and his brother Gilbert had taken the farm of Mossgiel, of a hundred and nineteen acres, at ninety pounds' rent, in the neighboring parish of Mauchline. Robert was there four years, during which the farm did not prosper, but the poet's genius developed fast. He found a friend in Gavin Hamilton, of Mauchline, from whom the farm was subleased, and joined in a feud of his with Mr. Auld, the minister of Mauchline, who was fierce against all heterodox opinions. Thus Burns came to write "The Holy Fair," "The Twa Herds," and "Holy Willie's Prayer," a scathing satire against self-righteous intolerance. To the same period belong "Halloween" and the "Cotter's Saturday Night," in which his father was the pious cotter. Burns drew his notion from "The Farmer's Ingle" of **Robert Ferguson**, a Scottish poet, nine years older than himself, son of a draper's clerk at Edinburgh, who had poured out his native strain of verse between 1771 and the date of his death in a lunatic-asylum, in 1774, when he was only twenty-four years old. Burns sang to himself also in the days at Mossgiel as he drove the plough (completing the verses in his head, and writing them down when he went home in the evening) his touching poems "To a Mountain Daisy," that lay in the path of his plough, and "To a Mouse," whose home the ploughshare laid in ruins. On the unprosperous farm Burns was thinking of emigration from his native land when he wrote:

"But, Mousie, thou art no thy lane,
In proving foresight may be vain;
The best-laid schemes o' mice an' men
Gang aft agley,
An' lea'e us nought but grief an' pain
For promised joy.

"Still thou art blest, compared wi' me!
The present only toucheth thee;
But, och! I backward cast my e'e
On prospects drear,
An' forward, tho' I canna see,
I guess an' fear!"

Hopeless of Mossgiel, Robert Burns thought of trying his fortune as manager of a plantation in the West Indies, if he could raise money to pay for his passage. Then it occurred to him that the money might be raised by printing the poems he had written. He added a new piece or two, including "The Twa Dogs," and the "Poems" of Robert Burns first appeared, printed at Kilmarnock, in the autumn of 1786. At the last moment, when Burns was about to leave Scotland, a generous letter from **Dr. Thomas Blacklock** changed his destiny. Blacklock was the son of a Scotch bricklayer; had been blinded by small-pox in his infancy, and had developed unusual powers through being much read to by his friends. He became a scholar and a poet, was a man of the finest tone of mind, and having been made easy by a post in the University, he took orders, and became D.D. The gentle Blacklock, who had also published verse, brought Burns to Edinburgh, and found him friends in the University. In April, 1787, a second edition of his poems was published at Edinburgh, by subscription. Burns was supplied with money; but although then and always he yielded too readily to temptation, he held to his vocation as a farmer, sent one hundred and eighty pounds to his brother to help him at Mossgiel, and after a little tour agreed for a farm at Ellisland, in March, 1788. Johnson's "Museum of Scottish Song" was started in 1787, and to this Burns, whom nature had made greatest among lyric poets, sent lyric after lyric in pure love of song, taking no payment, and disdaining the thought of being paid for singing. In April, 1788, he married Jean Armour, who had been refused him by her father when he was poor and there was scandal in their love; and then he sang to her:

> "She is a winsome wee thing,
> She is a handsome wee thing,
> She is a lo'esome wee thing,
> This dear wee wife o' mine.
>
> . . . .
>
> "The warld's wrack we share o't,
> The warstle and the care o't;
> Wi' her I'll blythely bear it,
> And think my lot divine."

The wild, wilful, defiant verse, the wanton lines cast in the teeth of censure, belonged partly to Burns's own nature, partly to the tumult of his time; but out of the depths of his soul came many a strain of thought and feeling that had taken root there in the poor farm at Mount Oliphant, when, "The cheerfu' supper done," "The saint, the father, and the husband" prayed. In 1787 Burns had asked for and got a place in the Excise, but it now took him away from his farm-work. Captain Grose, the antiquary, came to his farm when gathering materials for his "Antiquities of Scotland," published in 1789–91. Burns told him a Galloway legend, and gave it him in verse for his book as "Tam o' Shanter." In the winter of 1791 Burns was promoted to the Dumfries division of the Excise, with seventy pounds a year, and went with his family to Dumfries. Parted from the nature of which he was poet, exposed to the temptations that he was weak to resist, Burns failed in health and spirits. War with France was impending. Burns felt all the revolutionary fervor and the hope that sprang out of the ruins of the Bastile. He had gallantly seized an armed smuggling craft, and when her effects were sold he bought four small carronades, and sent them as a gift from Robert Burns to the French Convention. They were stopped at Dover, and the too zealous exciseman was admonished. The rest is a sad tale of poverty and failing health, until the poet's death on the 21st of July, 1796.

8. There were several poets in this period who once had considerable reputation. **Erasmus Darwin** (b. 1731, d. 1802) published, in 1781, "The Botanical Garden," in exposition of the loves of plants. **Elizabeth Carter** (b. 1717, d. 1806) was noted as a letter-writer, poet, and linguist. **John Wolcot** (b. 1738, d. 1819) published, under the name of Peter Pindar, many witty but coarse satires; particularly, "A Poetical Epistle to the Reviewers;" "Lyric Odes to the Royal Academicians;" "The Lousiad;" and "The Apple Dumplings and a King." **Anna Lætitia Barbauld** (b. 1743, d. 1825) was an industrious writer of many sorts of books, particularly of poems, of which the last is "Eighteen Hundred and Eleven." **Henry James Pye** (b. 1745, d. 1813) was made poet-laureate in 1790. Among his poems are "Farringdon-Hill;" "The Progress of Refinement;" and "Alfred," an epic. **James Grahame** (b. 1765, d. 1811) is remembered chiefly for his poem, "The Sabbath."

9. Elizabeth Inchbald (b. 1753, d. 1821) was first an actress; then won success as a writer of plays, including "Such Things Are," "Lovers' Vows," and "To Marry, or not to Marry." She also wrote novels. **Hannah Cowley** (b. 1743, d. 1809) wrote several successful poems, — "The Maid of Arragon," "The Siege of Acre," etc.; besides many comedies, such as "The Runaway," and "The Belle's Stratagem." **Charles Dibdin** (b. 1748, d. 1814), and his son, **Thomas Dibdin** (b. 1771, d. 1840), wrote operas, comedies, farces, popular songs, etc.

ENGLISH LITERATURE.

FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

POETS.

William Wordsworth.
Samuel Taylor Coleridge.
Robert Southey.
Sir Walter Scott.
George Crabbe.
Samuel Rogers.
Thomas Campbell.
Walter Savage Landor.
Thomas Moore.
Lord Byron.
Percy Bysshe Shelley.
John Keats.
Robert Bloomfield.
William Lisle Bowles.
Mary Tighe.
James Montgomery.
Robert Montgomery.
Henry Kirke White.
Reginald Heber.
Felicia Hemans.
James Hogg.
Thomas Lovell Beddoes.
John Keble.
Ebenezer Elliott.
Hartley Coleridge.
Arthur Henry Hallam.
Letitia Elizabeth Landon.

NOVELISTS.

William Godwin.
Maria Edgeworth.
Matthew Gregory Lewis.
Amelia Opie.
Jane Austen.
Jane Porter.
Anna Maria Porter.
Barbara Hofland.
Mary Brunton.
Sir Walter Scott.
Mrs. Shelley.
James Morier.
Thomas Hope.
Robert P. Ward.
Theodore Hook.
Thomas H. Lister.
Lady Blessington.
Mrs. Trollope.
Mary Russell Mitford.
G. P. R. James.
John Galt.
William H. Ainsworth.
Captain Marryat.
Lord Lytton.
Lord Beaconsfield.
Charlotte Bronté.
Charles Dickens.
William M. Thackeray.

DRAMATISTS.

Joanna Baillie.
Sir Thomas N. Talfourd.
James Sheridan Knowles.

ESSAYISTS AND SATIRISTS.

William Gifford.
William Cobbett.
Leigh Hunt.
Charles Lamb.
William Hazlitt.
Sydney Smith.
John Wilson.
Walter Savage Landor.
Thomas De Quincey.
James Smith.
Horace Smith.
Lord Jeffrey.
Lord Brougham.
Lord Macaulay.
John Foster.
Thomas Hood.
Douglas Jerrold.
Thomas Carlyle.

HISTORIANS AND BIOGRAPHERS.

Henry Hart Milman.
James Mill.
William Mitford.
Connop Thirlwall.
John Lingard.
Patrick Fraser Tytler.
Henry Hallam.
George Grote.
Thomas Arnold.
Earl Stanhope.
Sir William Napier.
Sharon Turner.
Lord Macaulay.
Thomas Carlyle.
John Gibson Lockhart.
William Roscoe.
Nathan Drake.

SCHOLARS.

Richard Porson.
Isaac Disraeli.
Thomas F. Dibdin.
George L. Craik.
John Payne Collier.

PHILOSOPHERS.

Dugald Stewart.
Thomas Brown.
Sir James Mackintosh.
Sir William Hamilton.
Richard Whately.

THEOLOGIANS.

Robert Hall.
Thomas Chalmers.
Augustus William Hare.
Julius Charles Hare.
Edward Bouverie Pusey.
John Keble.
John Henry Newman.
Thomas Arnold.
Frederick Denison Maurice.
Frederick William Robertson.

MEN OF POLITICAL SCIENCE.

Jeremy Bentham.
Thomas Robert Malthus.
David Ricardo.
Nassau William Senior.

MEN OF PHYSICAL SCIENCE.

Sir William Herschel.
Sir Humphry Davy.
Michael Faraday.
Mary Somerville.
Sir Charles Lyell.
Hugh Miller.

CHAPTER XVII.

FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: POETS.

1. William Wordsworth. — 2. Samuel Taylor Coleridge. — 3. Robert Southey. — 4. Sir Walter Scott. — 5. George Crabbe. — 6. Samuel Rogers. — 7. Thomas Campbell. — 8. Walter Savage Landor. — 9. Thomas Moore. — 10. Lord Byron. — 11. Percy Bysshe Shelley. — 12. John Keats. — 13. Robert Bloomfield; William L. Bowles; Mary Tighe; James Montgomery; Robert Montgomery; Henry Kirke White; Reginald Heber; Felicia Hemans; James Hogg; T. L. Beddoes; John Keble; Ebenezer Elliott; Hartley Coleridge; Arthur Henry Hallam; Letitia Elizabeth Landon.

1. William Wordsworth was born at Cockermouth, on the 7th of April, 1770, second son of John Wordsworth, attorney and law-agent to Sir James Lowther, afterwards Earl of Lonsdale. From 1770 to 1778, when his mother died of consumption, Wordsworth spent his infancy and early boyhood at Cockermouth, and sometimes with his mother's parents at Penrith. He was the only one of her five children about whom she was anxious; for he was, he says, of a stiff, moody, violent temper. He was bold in outdoor sports; and, free to read what he pleased, read Fielding through in his boyhood, "Don Quixote," "Gil Blas," "Gulliver's Travels," and the "Tale of a Tub." After home teaching at a dame school, and by a Rev. Mr. Gilbanks, Wordsworth was sent, in 1778, to Hawkshead School, in the Vale of Esthwaite, in Lancashire. His father died in 1783, and bequeathed only a considerable debt from his employer, paid to his children long afterwards, when Lord Lonsdale died. In October, 1787, Wordsworth's uncles sent him to Cambridge, where the university life of that time fell below his young ideal. He spent his first summer vacation, 1788, in the old cottage at Esthwaite with Dame Tyson; his second vacation he spent with his uncles at Penrith, who were educating him, and who designed him for the church. But that was the year when the Fall of the Bastile resounded through Europe, and young hearts leaped with enthusiastic hope. It was with young Wordsworth as with his Solitary in "The Excursion." Men had been questioning the outer and the inner life:

> "The intellectual power, through words and things,
> Went sounding on, a dim and perilous way,"

and men were rousing from that abstraction:

> "For lo! the dread Bastile,
> With all the chambers in its horrid towers,
> Fell to the ground; by violence overthrown
> Of indignation, and with shouts that drowned
> The crash it made in falling! From the wreck
> A golden palace rose, or seemed to rise,
> The appointed seat of equitable law
> And mild paternal sway. The potent shock
> I felt: the transformation I perceived,
> As marvellously seized as in that moment
> When, from the blind mist issuing, I beheld
> Glory, beyond all glory ever seen,
> Confusion infinite of heaven and earth,
> Dazzling the soul. Meanwhile, prophetic harps
> In every grove were ringing 'War shall cease;
> Did ye not hear that conquest is abjured?
> Bring garlands, bring forth choicest flowers, to deck
> The tree of Liberty.' My heart rebounded;
> My melancholy voice the chorus joined—
> 'Be joyful all ye nations; in all lands,
> Ye that are capable of joy be glad!
> Henceforth, whate'er is wanting to yourselves
> In others ye shall promptly find; and all,
> Enriched by mutual and reflected wealth,
> Shall with one heart honor their common kind.'"

His next holiday Wordsworth took in France, with his friend Robert Jones, each carrying a stick, his luggage in a handkerchief, and twenty pounds in his pocket. They landed at Calais on the eve of the fête of the Federation, July 14, anniversary of the capture of the Bastile, when the king was to swear fidelity to the Constitution. All that he saw raised Wordsworth's enthusiasm as they travelled through France to the Alps:

"a glorious time,
A happy time, that was; triumphant looks
Were then the common language of all eyes;
As if awaked from sleep, the nations hailed
Their great expectancy."

Wordsworth came home; graduated as B.A. in 1791; visited his friend Jones in the Vale of Clwydd, and made an excursion in North Wales. In the autumn he was in Paris again; went thence to Orleans, to learn French where there were fewer English. At Orleans, where he formed intimate friendship with the Republican general Beaupuis, at Blois, and at Paris, where he arrived a month after the September massacres, he spent thirteen months. In events terrible to him he saw the excesses of re-action, but he sympathized so strongly with the Brissotins that he would have made common cause with them, and perhaps have perished, if he had not been compelled to return to London before the execution of the king, January 21, 1793. Like other young men of the day, he was bitterly indignant at the alliance of his country with despotic powers to put down the Revolution. That war of the Revolution, which began in 1793, and ended at the Peace of Amiens in 1802, was in his eyes an unholy war, and laid the foundations of the patriotic war against Napoleon which followed, from 1803, to the battle of Waterloo, on the 18th of June, 1815. In 1793, after his return from France, Wordsworth published "Descriptive Sketches during a Pedestrian Tour on the Italian, Swiss, and Savoyard Alps;" also, "An Evening Walk, an Epistle in Verse." In May, 1794, he was planning a literary and political miscellany, called "The Philanthropist," which was to be Republican, not Revolutionary. In November, he was looking for employment on an Opposition newspaper, that he might pour out his heart against the war. But presently he heard of the sickness of a young friend at Penrith, Raisley Calvert, like himself the son of a law-agent. Wordsworth went to Penrith and nursed him. Calvert was dying, and had nine hundred pounds to leave, a sum that would make Wordsworth master of his fortunes. He died in January, 1795, and left Wordsworth his money. Then Wordsworth resolved, by frugal living, to secure full independence, and to be a poet.

In the autumn he and his sister Dorothy settled at Racedown, near Crewkerne, a retired place with a post once a week. And thus Wordsworth began his career at the time when that of Burns was ending. He was newly settled with his sister at Racedown when he heard of the death of Burns. He was at work on his tragedy of "The Borderers" (first published in 1842). At Racedown, in June, 1797, Coleridge, who had read the "Descriptive Sketches," looked in upon Wordsworth and his sister. Each young poet felt the genius of the other, and there was soon a warm friendship between them. Soon the Wordsworths removed to Alfoxden in order to be near Coleridge, who then lived at Nether Stowey. The two poets then began to plan the volume of "Lyrical Ballads," first published in September, 1798. It included the "Ancient Mariner," with Wordsworth's "We are Seven," the "Idiot Boy," etc., written with distinct sense of a principle that deliberately condemned and set aside the poetic "diction" of the eighteenth century. As much pains was taken by Wordsworth to avoid the diction as other men take to produce it. The poet, he argued, thinks and feels in the spirit of human passions, and differs from others in a greater promptness to think and feel without immediate external excitement, and a greater power in expressing such thoughts and feelings as are produced in him in that manner. His painting of men and nature must show his perception of deep truths; but to do that fitly, it must be true itself to the life of his fellow-men in every imagined incident, and speak the common language. A selection, he said, of the language really spoken by man, wherever it is made with taste and feeling, will itself form a distinction far greater than would at first be imagined, and will entirely separate the composition from the vulgarity and meanness of ordinary life. For if the poet's subject be judiciously chosen, it will naturally, and upon fit occasion, lead him to passions, the language of which, if selected truly and judiciously, must necessarily be dignified and variegated, and alive with metaphors and figures. In their common work, Coleridge was to give the sense of reality to visions of the fancy, Wordsworth to make the soul speak from the common things of life. The first edition of the "Lyrical Ballads" was published by Southey's friend, Cottle, at Bristol. The second edition, containing only Wordsworth's work, was published in London, in 1800, as "Lyrical Ballads, with Other Poems." After the founding of "The Edinburgh Review" in 1802, Wordsworth had to fight for his doctrine, and stormed all the positions of the hostile critics.

For the first edition of the "Lyrical Ballads," in September, 1798, there was some money paid. Wordsworth had thirty guineas for his part, and a holiday abroad was resolved on. Wordsworth and his sister, with Coleridge and a friend of his, crossed, in the autumn of 1798, from Yarmouth to Hamburg, where they staid a few days, and met Klopstock several times. Coleridge went north, to Ratzburg; Wordsworth and his sister went south, and wintered, for cheapness, at Goslar, near the Hartz mountains. There, in the spring, Wordsworth wrote the opening lines of that autobiographical poem which was published after his death, in 1850, as "The Prelude; or, Growth of a Poet's Mind." His purpose was to review thoughtfully the course of his own mind through surrounding influences, and now that he had, with the "Lyrical Ballads," fairly begun work as a poet, to determine what his aim should be, what was the highest duty he could hope to do in his own calling. This work of retrospect and self-examination was not complete until the summer of 1805. Meanwhile he married. After his return from Goslar, in the spring of 1799, his first visit was to the family of Mary Hutchinson, his cousin, his old playmate and companion at dame school, and his future wife. He then settled with Dorothy in a small cottage at Grasmere, to which, in 1802, he brought his wife. It was there that he finished "The Prelude," and, after tracing his life from childhood to the days of his enthusiastic sympathy with the French Revolution, showed how, after his return, the influence of his sister Dorothy, and communion with nature, brought him calmer sense of the great harmony of creation and of the place of man in the great whole. His interest in man grew deeper, as he cared less for the abstract questions about life, and more for the real man;

> "Studious more to see
> Great truths, than touch and handle little ones."

We have fought our battle, and won freedom enough to work on and show the use of freedom — to what end the powers of civil polity were given. All we have now to do is to remove hindrances and furnish aids to the development of each individual Englishman and Englishwoman. Let each unit become better and wiser, and the whole nation will grow in strength and wisdom by the growth of its constituent atoms. There are millions helpless or mischievous because not born to conditions which have made the lives of others happy. We are not idly to lament "what man has made of man," but actively to mend the mischief. Whoever makes his own life and its influence wholesome, or in any way helps to make lives about him wholesome, adds thereby to the strength of England, and is doing the true work of the nineteenth century. Having gained, said Wordsworth,

"A more judicious knowledge of the worth
And dignity of individual man;
No composition of the brain, but man —
Of whom we read, the man whom we behold
With our own eyes — I could not but inquire,
Not with less interest than heretofore,
But greater, though in spirit more subdued,
Why is this glorious creature to be found
One only in ten thousand? What one is
Why may not millions be?"

Upon this thought Wordsworth rested, but this thought is the key-note of the days in which we live. Wordsworth made it the one work of his life as a poet to uphold the "dignity of individual man," strengthen the sense of all the harmonies of nature, and show how, among them all, when taking its true place,

"the mind of man becomes
A thousand times more beautiful than the earth
On which he dwells, above this frame of things
(Which, 'mid all revolution in the hopes
And fears of men, doth still remain unchanged)
In beauty exalted, as it is itself
Of quality and fabric more divine."

In 1807, he published two volumes of poems; in 1814, "The Excursion;" in 1822, "Ecclesiastical Sketches in Verse;" in

1835, "Yarrow Revisited, and Other Poems." In 1842, he received a pension of three hundred pounds a year; in 1843, he was made poet-laureate; and he died at his home, Rydal Mount, in 1850.

2. **Samuel Taylor Coleridge,** two years and a half younger than Wordsworth, was born October 21, 1772, the son of the vicar and schoolmaster at Ottery St. Mary. His father died when he was nine years old. In the following year he had a presentation to Christ's Hospital from an old pupil of his father's, and was educated there till 1791. Then he was sent to Jesus College, Cambridge, and obtained, in the summer, Sir W. Brown's gold medal for a Greek ode on the Slave Trade. In 1793 he passed the summer at Ottery, wrote "Songs of the Pixies;" and returned, in October, to Cambridge. In November, being in despair over his poverty and a hundred pounds of college debt, he left Cambridge, and soon afterwards enlisted as Private Silas Titus Comberbach, in the 15th Light Dragoons. He was found at last, his discharge was obtained in April, 1794, and he went back to Cambridge, gave up hope of a fellowship, but could not take orders because he had become a Unitarian. He resolved to join Citizen Southey, and turn author. After a ramble in Wales he went to see Southey at Bristol, where he spent some time in wild political and literary schemes. Then Coleridge wrote political articles, preached in Unitarian pulpits, and travelled to obtain subscribers for a periodical outpouring of thought, to be called "The Watchman," which appeared from the 1st of March to the 13th of May, 1796, in which year also there were Poems of his published. He earned money by writing verse in a newspaper. Coleridge had rare powers as poet and thinker, and a gift of speech that made them felt in daily intercourse by those about him. To be near a substantial helper, Mr. Thomas Poole, he went to live in a cottage at Nether Stowey, on the Bristol Channel. There was his home when he called on Wordsworth and his sister, and so strong a friendship was established that the house at Racedown was given up, and William and Dorothy Wordsworth went to live at Alfoxden, to be near Coleridge. In the autumn of 1797, Coleridge, with Wordsworth and his sister, started from Alfoxden for Linton,

and in the course of the walk "The Ancient Mariner" was planned as a poem to be sent to "The London Magazine," and bring five pounds towards expenses of the little holiday. Coleridge made the story out of a dream of his friend, Mr. Cruikshank. Wordsworth suggested introducing into it the crime of shooting the albatross, because he had been reading about albatrosses in Shelvocke's "Voyage round the World." Wordsworth also suggested the navigation of the ship by dead men, and furnished here and there a line. The poem grew till it was too important to be given to a magazine. It was at this time, also, that he wrote "Christabel," "An Ode to the Departing Year," and his tragedy, "Remorse." In 1798, through the generosity of a wealthy friend, Josiah Wedgewood, he was enabled to go to Germany to study. He spent the most of his time at Göttingen, and acquired that knowledge of German philosophy and literature that influenced all his own subsequent work, as well as the quality of English thought and of English literature since that time. On his return to England, he translated Schiller's "Wallenstein;" and soon afterward went to reside in the Lake district, with his friends, Wordsworth and Southey. He had now become a conservative in theology and politics; and he also fell into the habit of opium-eating, which gave a blight to the remainder of his life. He lost the power of persistent work; was continually forming great literary projects, which he soon dropped. In 1809, he wrote "The Friend." In 1816, he went to live with Mr. Gillman, a surgeon at Highgate, and in his house he found a home for life. Here he wrote "Zapolya," a dramatic poem; his "Statesman's Manual," "Lay Sermons," "Aids to Reflection," and "Biographia Literaria." He died in 1834.

3. **Robert Southey,** nearly two years younger than Coleridge, was born at Bristol, August 12, 1774, the son of an unprosperous linen-draper. He was educated by help of his mother's maiden aunt, Miss Tyler, until 1788, when Miss Tyler, and an uncle, the Rev. Herbert Hill, chaplain to the English factory at Lisbon, sent him to Westminster School. He was expelled from the school for a jest on the head master's faith in flogging, contributed to a school magazine called the "Flagel-

lant." His uncle Hill thought he had been hardly treated, and resolved that Robert Southey should still have justice done to his unusual abilities. He was sent, therefore, to Balliol College, Oxford, in 1792, soon after his father's death. There he distinguished himself by his fervent zeal for the cause of the French Revolution, the general overthrow of tyrannies, and the re-establishment of the world on a right basis. In June, 1794, Coleridge came to him, and sympathized with all his aspirations, joined him afterwards at Bristol, was introduced to Robert Lovell, George Burnet, and other kindred spirits. In this year Southey published his revolutionary dramatic poem of "Wat Tyler," and joined Coleridge in his writing of "The Fall of Robespierre." The new associates agreed that as the old state of things in Europe would impede prompt settlement in social questions, the wisest thing they could possibly do would be to proceed to the New World, and there, on virgin soil, establish a community in which all should be equal and all good. From three Greek words meaning "all-equal-government," they called their proposed state a Pantisocracy. Wives, of course, would be needed, and there were the three Miss Frickers, eligible wives. One of these ladies was an actress, one kept a little school, one was a dressmaker. Lovell would marry one, Coleridge one, and Southey one. They would and they did. Sarah Fricker became Mrs. Coleridge, and Edith Fricker was to become Mrs. Southey, when aunt Tyler had been told of the young enthusiast's intentions. Aunt Tyler raged, and discarded Southey. Good-natured uncle Hill held by the youth, in whom he saw "every thing you could wish a young man to have, excepting common sense and prudence;" and as the Pantisocrats could not, for want of funds, get to the Susquehannah, he tempted him with the offer of a visit to Lisbon. Change of scene, and absence from Bristol, might suffice to cure his fever. Southey went with his uncle, but privately married Edith Fricker the day before he started. When he came home, in 1796, he claimed his wife, and at once began to seek his living as an indefatigable writer. He produced at Bristol his first epic, "Joan of Arc," and as he worked on with patient industry, and saw much to disenchant him, he became, in time, a supporter of the old order of things. In 1801, he published his second epic, "Thalaba." In 1804, he settled near Keswick, about fourteen miles from Wordsworth, and there he spent the remainder of his long life, dying in 1843. He was one of the most industrious writers that ever lived, and his productions included almost every form of literature in prose and verse. In 1805, he published "Madoc;" in 1810, "The Curse of Kehama;" and in 1814, "Roderick, the Last of the Goths." Other poems of his are "Carmen Triumphale," and "A Vision of Judgment." In 1813, he was made poet-laureate. Among his prose works are "Book of the Church," "History of Brazil," "History of the Peninsular War," "Life of Wesley," "Life of Lord Nelson," "Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society," and "The Doctor."

4. **Sir Walter Scott** was born in 1771, and died in 1832. After studying at the High School and University of Edinburgh, he entered his father's law office, and was admitted to the bar in 1792. His heart was in literary work, though he wisely held to his profession as a means of livelihood. He trained himself for poetry by translations from the German, and by the composition of ballads. In 1802–3, he published "The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border;" and in 1805, "The Lay of the Last Minstrel," by which he sprang into instant popularity. Then followed with great rapidity his other poems in the same vein: "Marmion," "The Lady of the Lake," "The Vision of Don Roderick," "Rokeby," "The Bridal of Triermain," "The Lord of the Isles," and "Harold the Dauntless." In 1814, he turned from poetry into the field of prose fiction, in which he at once achieved a renown surpassing that of any previous novelist in English literature.

5. **George Crabbe,** who was born in 1754, and won reputation as a poet during the eighteenth century, continued his literary labors far into our present period, and died in 1832. In early life, he suffered from poverty; and having gone to London, in 1780, as a literary adventurer, he there fell into great distress, from which he was rescued by the kindness of Edmund Burke. In 1781, he published "The Library," a poem, which met with success. He then took holy orders, and

he received in the course of his life several benefices. In 1783, his reputation was greatly increased by the publication of "The Village." In 1785, he published "The Newspaper;" and during the subsequent twenty-two years, he withdrew entirely from poetic work, giving himself up to the duties of his profession. In 1807, he once more attracted attention as a poet by "The Parish Register;" in 1810, he published "The Borough," and, in 1812, "Tales in Verse." In 1819, appeared his last poem, "Tales of the Hall." His power, which is very great, consists in the minute portrayal of the joys and sorrows of persons in lowly life, their poverty, wretchedness, virtues, and crimes.

6. **Samuel Rogers,** who was born in 1763, and who died in 1855, at the great age of ninety-two, was the son of a rich London banker; and upon his father's death, in 1793, he inherited the fortune which enabled him to keep a sort of literary court in London for more than half a century. He was carefully educated in private, and early manifested his aptitude for literature. In 1786, he published "An Ode to Superstition, with Other Poems;" and in 1792, "The Pleasures of Memory," upon which his poetic fame was established. In 1798, he published his "Epistle to a Friend, with Other Poems;" in 1812, his "Voyage of Columbus;" in 1813, his "Jacqueline;" in 1819, his "Human Life;" and in 1822, his "Italy." Since his death, his "Table-Talk" has been published.

7. **Thomas Campbell** was born in 1777, and died in 1844. He entered at the age of twelve the University of Glasgow, and distinguished himself by his fondness for Greek literature, and by his precocity in poetical composition. When but twenty-two years of age, he wrote his most famous poem, "The Pleasures of Hope," which was published in 1799, and raised him at once to high fame. He soon went to Germany for study and travel; and returned to Edinburgh in 1801, having produced, during his absence, "Lochiel's Warning," "The Exile of Erin," and "Ye Mariners of England." In 1803 he removed to London, and for many years gained a livelihood as a hack writer. In 1809 he published "Gertrude of Wyoming," together with "Lord Ullin's Daughter," and "The Battle of

the Baltic." His later poems were comparative failures, particularly "Theodric," in 1824, and "The Pilgrim of Glencoe," in 1842. His prose writings are numerous, and include "Letters" descriptive of travel, Lives of Mrs. Siddons and of Petrarch, together with histories, and essays in literary criticism.

8. Another poet whose work began in the eighteenth century and was continued during the larger part of the nineteenth was **Walter Savage Landor.** He was born in 1775, and died in 1864, and, like Rogers, inherited great wealth. He was a man of genius, and of great cultivation, particularly in the ancient classics; but he had a violent temper, and was often overbearing and vindictive. His first publication was a small volume of poems in 1795; next came a long poem, "Gebir," in 1798; and next, "Count Julian," a tragedy, in 1812. The latter brought him literary distinction. Between 1824 and 1829, he published his most celebrated work, "Imaginary Conversations," five volumes, prose. In 1836, he published "A Satire on Satirists and Detractors;" in 1839, his dramas, "Andrea of Hungary" and "Giovanna of Naples;" in 1847, "Hellenics;" in 1853, "The Last Fruit of an Old Tree;" in 1854, "Letters of an American;" and in 1858, "Dry Sticks Fagoted." He also made frequent contributions to the newspapers. A complete edition of his works has been published in seven volumes.

9. Thomas Moore was born in Dublin in 1779. He died in England in 1852. After graduating at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1799 he entered upon the study of law in London. In 1800, he won his first literary success, and his literary nickname, by publishing a translation of the odes of Anacreon. In 1801, he published a volume of original poems, under the assumed name of Thomas Little. Having made a brief tour in the United States, he published, in 1806, his "Epistles, Odes, and Other Poems," founded upon his experience in America. From this time forward, his writings in prose and verse were a multitude. His most important publications are "Irish Melodies," "Sacred Songs," "National Airs," "Lalla Rookh," "The Fudge Family in Paris," "Life of Sheridan," and "Life of Lord Byron."

10. The poets thus far mentioned in this chapter were all in the field, when, in 1809, room was suddenly made among them for a young poet, **George Gordon, Lord Byron**, who published that year his "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers." He was born in London in 1788. He received his principal education at Harrow and at Cambridge; and in 1807 published his first volume of poems, "Hours of Idleness;" by the contemptuous review of which in "The Edinburgh Review," Byron was goaded to the composition of the powerful satire above mentioned. In June, 1809, he started upon a long journey in the East; and in Albania he began the composition of "Childe Harold," of which the first two cantos were published in 1812, and brought to Byron the highest contemporary fame. During the remainder of his life, his pen had little rest. In 1813 came "The Giaour;" followed by "The Bride of Abydos," "The Corsair," and "Lara." In 1816, he published "The Siege of Corinth," and "Parisina." In 1816, having separated from his wife, and incurred great public odium, he left England, never to return; and died in Greece in 1824. During these eight years, he added to "Childe Harold," wrote "The Prisoner of Chillon," "Manfred," "Beppo," "Mazeppa," "Don Juan," "Marino Faliero," "Sardanapalus," "Cain," "The Vision of Judgment," and many other works.

11. Percy Bysshe Shelley, of an ancient and wealthy family, was born in 1792, and died by drowning in 1822. He began writing when very young. In 1810, he published "Zastrozzi," and in 1811, "St. Irvyne; or, the Rosicrucian," both romances in prose. At the age of seventeen, he was expelled from the University of Oxford for publishing a pamphlet on "The Necessity of Atheism." He soon became acquainted with Southey, De Quincey, Leigh Hunt, Godwin, Byron, Keats, and other men of letters. In 1813, he published "Queen Mab;" and subsequently he wrote "Alastor; or, the Spirit of Solitude," "The Revolt of Islam," "Prometheus Unbound," "The Cenci," "Adonais," "Hellas," "The Cloud," "The Sensitive Plant," and "To the Skylark." A complete edition of his works, in four volumes, was published in 1875.

12. John Keats was born in London, probably in 1796.

He was without worldly fortune, or the opportunity of high education. He had little Latin, and no Greek at all. He was apprenticed to a surgeon. In 1818, he published "Endymion," with other poems; and the volume was so fiercely abused by some of the reviewers, that his early death is sometimes said to have been hastened by the shock thus given to him. His health was rapidly declining by consumption; and in 1820, he was obliged to go to Italy for a gentler climate. He died in Rome in the following year. Before leaving England, he published several exquisite and splendid poems, particularly "Hyperion," "Lamia," "The Eve of St. Agnes," and "Ode to the Nightingale." He dictated the epitaph upon his tomb: "Here lies one whose name was writ in water." The dying poet seems not to have dreamed of the great and imperishable renown that was to preserve his name from dying.

13. We must group into smaller space our record of the other poets belonging to this glorious, creative era of English literature. **Robert Bloomfield** (1766–1823), an apprentice to a farmer, and without helps to education, wrote "The Farmer's Boy," "Wild Flowers," "Rural Tales," "The Banks of the Wye," "Songs and Ballads," etc., the first two of which once had great popularity. **William Lisle Bowles** (1762–1850) was a learned antiquary, and a prolific writer both of prose and verse. His most memorable work is his "Sonnets," a form of verse in which he greatly excelled. **Mary Tighe** (1774–1810) published in 1805 a poem called "Psyche," which was much read. **James Montgomery** (1771–1854), a journalist, acquired wide popular recognition by his hymns, and by several long poems, particularly "The Wanderer of Switzerland," "The West Indies," "The World before the Flood," and "Greenland." **Robert Montgomery** (1807–55), a clergyman, wrote long pietistic poems on "The Omnipresence of the Deity," "The Messiah," and "Satan." His reputation is now chiefly derived from Macaulay's contemptuous essay on his poetry. **Henry Kirke White** (1785–1806) came to his death from imprudent devotion to study at Cambridge; and had great posthumous reputation on account of the publication of his verses and prose essays, edited by Southey. **Reginald Heber** (1783–1826) wrote, besides sermons and books of travel, "Poems and Translations," 1812; and "Hymns," 1827. Some of the latter will last as long as our language lasts. **Felicia Hemans** (1794–1835) wrote "Dartmoor," "Siege of Valencia," "Songs of the Cid," "Lays of Many Lands," "Songs of the Affections," etc. **James Hogg** (1770 or 1772–1835), known as "the Ettrick Shepherd," was a self-trained writer, and published, in 1807, "The Mountain Bard;" in 1810, "The Forest Minstrel;" and in 1813, "The Queen's Wake." He is a prominent personage in "Noctes Ambrosianæ." **Thomas Lovell Beddoes** (1803–49) wrote "The Bride's Tragedy," "The Improvisatore," "Death's Jest Book," "Dramatic Scenes and Fragments." **John Keble** (1792-1866) wrote "The Christian Year," which has probably been published in a hundred editions; also "Lyra Innocentium," and parts of "Lyra Apostolica." **Ebenezer Elliott** (1781-1849), known as "the Corn-Law Rhymer," won his chief distinction as a writer of passionate and stirring lyrics at a time of great political excitement in England. **Hartley Coleridge** (1796-1849), eldest son of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, wrote essays for "Blackwood's Magazine," and "Biographia Borealis;" also "Poems," in which the sonnets are of special tenderness and beauty. **Arthur Henry Hallam** (1811–33), who is forever commemorated in Tennyson's "In Memoriam," wrote both poems and prose essays, which were printed, first, in 1834, and again in 1862. **Letitia Elizabeth Landon** (1802–38) became known by her initials, "L. E. L.," with which she signed her many poems, such as "The Troubadour," "The Venetian Bracelet," "The Golden Violet," and "The Vow of the Peacock."

CHAPTER XVIII.

FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: NOVELISTS AND DRAMATISTS.

1. Sir Walter Scott.—2. Prominence of the Novel as a Form of Literature.—3. William Godwin; Maria Edgeworth; Matthew Gregory Lewis; Amelia Opie; Jane Austen; Jane Porter; Anna Maria Porter; Barbara Hofland; Mary Brunton.—4. Mrs. Shelley; James Morier; Thomas Hope; Robert P. Ward; Theodore Hook; Thomas H. Lister; Lady Blessington; Mrs. Trollope; Mary Russell Mitford; G. P. R. James; John Galt; William H. Ainsworth.—5. Dramatists: Joanna Baillie; Sir Thomas Noon Talfourd; James Sheridan Knowles.—6. Six Greatest Novelists between 1830 and 1850: Captain Marryat; Lord Lytton; Lord Beaconsfield; Charlotte Brontë; Charles Dickens; William Makepeace Thackeray.

1. English prose fiction, which, as an influential form of literature, received its first great impulse from the labors of Defoe, of Richardson, and of Fielding, received its second great impulse from the labors of **Sir Walter Scott.** When his metrical tales had begun to lose their influence before the growing fame of Byron, Scott broke with rhyme, and began, in 1814, with his first novel, "Waverley," to pour out his prose romances. At least one, often two, in a year, appeared for the next seventeen years without intermission, except in the single year 1830. Nowhere in print was Scott so much a poet as in the earlier of his novels. His bright, cheerful fancy, his quick humor, his honest warmth of feeling, which aroused every healthy emotion without stirring a passion, exercised, in these incessantly recurring novels, an influence as gradual, as sure, and as well fitted to its time, as that which had been exercised by Steele and Addison in constantly recurring numbers of the "Tatler" and "Spectator." There was a wide general public now able to fasten upon entertaining volumes. Scott widened it, and purified its taste. In him there was no form of romantic discontent. His world was the same world of genial sympathies, in which we may all live if we will, and do live if we know it. He enjoyed the real, and sported with the picturesque. As he felt, he wrote, frankly and rapidly. Even his kindly Toryism was a wholesome influence. The Jacobites, so real to Defoe, amused the public now as the material of pleasant dreams; and the sunlight of Scott's fancy glistened upon rippling waters where the storm menaced wreck. Never, perhaps, was there a wholesomer English writer than he.

2. The vast renown, and even the vast pecuniary reward, reaped by Scott from his novels, aided to bring the novel to the front, as the one form of literature in which nearly all writers in the nineteenth century should feel a desire to utter themselves, very much as was the case with the drama in the seventeenth century. An exhaustive list of the mere names of English writers who have written novels between 1800 and 1850 would fill a great space in this book. We can only call attention to those of chief significance.

3. First, let us group together those who were writing novels in the years just before Scott published "Waverley." As far back as in 1794, **William Godwin** (1756–1836) published his powerful novel, "Caleb Williams;" which was followed, in 1799, by "St. Leon;" by "Fleetwood," in 1805; by Mandeville," in 1817; by "Cloudesley," in 1830; and by "Deloraine," in 1833. **Maria Edgeworth** (1767–1849) established her reputation as a novelist by "Castle Rackrent," in 1801. Her other novels are numerous, including "The Absentee," "Belinda," "Patronage," "Harrington," and "Ormond." Her writings were greatly admired by Sir Walter Scott. **Matthew Gregory Lewis** (1775–1818) published in 1795 his most celebrated work, "The Monk;" and in 1801, his "Tales of Wonder." Besides these, he wrote several dramas and poems. **Amelia Opie** (1769–1853) wrote many stories that have had great popularity, such as "The Ruffian Boy," "Temper," "Murder will Out," "The Father and Daughter," and "St. Valentine's Day." **Jane Austen** (1775–1817) showed great power as a delineator of common life and simple characters, in such novels as "Sense and Sensibility," "Emma," "Mansfield Park," "Pride and Prejudice," and "Persuasion." **Jane Porter** (1776–1850) published two novels that are still celebrated, "Thaddeus of Warsaw," in 1803, and "The Scottish Chiefs," in 1809. Besides these are "The Field of Forty Footsteps," "Sir Edward Seaward's Diary," and several more. With her sister, **Anna Maria Porter** (1780–1832), she wrote "Tales round a Winter's Hearth." This sister wrote, alone, a large number of novels; among which are "The Lakes of Killarney," in 1804; "A Sailor's Friendship and a Soldier's Love," in 1805; "The Hungarian Brothers," in 1807;

and "The Recluse of Norway," in 1814. **Barbara Hofland** (1770-1844) was a diligent writer, producing about seventy different works, mostly novels, which have had an enormous sale in England and America, as well as upon the European continent. Some of these are "Emily," "The Son of a Genius," "The Unloved One," "Adelaide," "Humility," and "Tales of the Manor." **Mary Brunton** (1778-1818) published, in 1811, "Self-Control," and, in 1814, "Discipline," two novels that at once gained great popularity.

4. Among the novelists whose work began after the publication of "Waverley," the following are to be mentioned. **Mrs. Shelley** (1798-1851), second wife of the poet, published, in 1818, "Frankenstein;" in 1823, "Valperga;" and, subsequently, "Lodore," "The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck," "The Last Man," and "Falkner." **James Morier** (1780-1849) wrote "Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan," "Zohrab the Hostage," "Ayesha, the Maid of Kars," "The Banished Swabian," etc. **Thomas Hope** (about 1770-1831) acquired reputation by his "Anastasius; or, Memoirs of a Modern Greek," published in 1819. **Robert P. Ward** (1765-1846) published, in 1825, "Tremaine; or, the Man of Refinement," and afterwards "De Vere; or, the Man of Independence," "De Clifford; or, the Constant Man," and "Chatsworth; or, the Romance of a Week." Other novelists of this time are **Theodore Hook** (1788-1841); **Thomas Henry Lister** (1801-42); **Lady Blessington** (1789-1849); **Mrs. Trollope** (1778-1863); **Mary Russell Mitford** (1786-1855); **G. P. R. James** (1801-60) **John Galt** (1779-1839); and **William Harrison Ainsworth** (1805).

5. Many of the novelists included in the foregoing list also wrote dramatic pieces. During the same period there were several other writers who are best known as dramatists. **Joanna Baillie** (1762-1851) published multitudes of tragedies and comedies, which are interesting and powerful as literature, but have had no prolonged success in actual representation. One of the most exquisite dramatic pieces of this century is "Ion," a tragedy, by **Sir Thomas Noon Talfourd** (1795-1854), who also wrote "The Athenian Captive," "Glencoe," and "The Castilian." **James Sheridan Knowles** (1784-1862) wrote a great number of successful plays.

6. Of the novelists who rose in England between the culmination of Sir Walter Scott's career and the middle of the nineteenth century, these six may be named as chiefs in merit and in reputation. **Captain Frederick Marryat** (1792-1848) greatly excelled in naval stories, and produced a long series of works, many of which still retain their great popularity. Of such are "Peter Simple," "Jacob Faithful," "Japhet in Search of a Father," and "Midshipman Easy." **Lord**

Lytton, best known as **Edward Bulwer-Lytton** (1805–1873), published his first novel, "Falkland," in 1827; from which time until his death, he was an extremely prolific and popular writer in many forms of literature, but pre-eminently so in that of the novel. **Lord Beaconsfield** (1805), under his name of **Benjamin Disraeli,** published his first novel, "Vivian Grey," in 1826, which has been followed by a long and famous series, including "Henrietta Temple," "Contarini Fleming," "Coningsby," "Tancred," and "Lothair." **Charlotte Brontë** (1816–55) published in 1847 "Jane Eyre," which has had extraordinary success in many languages. In 1849, she published "Shirley;" and in 1853, "Villette." After her death was published "The Professor;" also part of an unfinished novel, "Emma." **Charles Dickens** (1812–70) sprang into universal popularity by the publication of "The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club," in 1837; and he is still the most widely read novelist that England has produced. The titles of his principal novels, and the names of his leading characters, are household words among the English-speaking race. The name of one contemporary is commonly coupled with his, that of **William Makepeace Thackeray** (1811–63), to whom success came later in life and after harder struggle than it did to Dickens. His first successful work was "Vanity Fair," published in serial form in 1847–48. His most notable novels since then are "The History of Pendennis," "The Newcomes," "The Virginians," and "The Adventures of Philip."

CHAPTER XIX.

FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: ESSAYISTS, SATIRISTS, HISTORIANS, AND BIOGRAPHERS.

1. William Gifford.—2. William Cobbett.—3. Leigh Hunt.—4. Charles Lamb.—5. William Hazlitt.—6. Sydney Smith.—7. John Wilson.—8. Thomas De Quincey.—9. James and Horace Smith.—10. Lord Jeffrey; Lord Brougham; Lord Macaulay.—11. John Foster.—12. Thomas Hood.—13. Douglas Jerrold.—14. Thomas Carlyle.—15. Historians: Henry Hart Milman; James Mill; William Mitford; Connop Thirlwall; John Lingard; Patrick Fraser Tytler; Henry Hallam; George Grote; Thomas Arnold; Earl Stanhope; Sir William Napier; Sharon Turner; Lord Macaulay.—16. Biographers: John Gibson Lockhart; William Roscoe; Nathan Drake.

1. William Gifford (1757–1826) published his first satire, "The Baviad," in 1791; his second satire, "The Mæviad," in 1795; and his third satire, "An Epistle to Peter Pindar," in 1800. He had a hand in "The Anti-Jacobin;" translated Juvenal and Persius; edited the works of Ben Jonson, Massinger, Ford, and Shirley; and was the first editor of "The Quarterly Review."

2. William Cobbett (1762–1835) was a great journalist and pamphleteer. He established in London, in 1801, "Porcupine's Gazette," a morning paper; afterward he established "The Political Register." His writings were upon nearly all subjects of current interest, and had an enormous sale, especially among the middle and lower classes.

3. Leigh Hunt (1784–1859) edited newspapers, and wrote poems, plays, stories, biographical sketches, and critical essays,—his most characteristic and delightful work being in the latter form.

4. Charles Lamb (1775–1834), a genius of rare quality, will be always remembered for his "Essays of Elia," as well as for his choice and penetrating criticisms upon the Shakespearean dramatists.

5. **William Hazlitt** (1778–1830) published "Essays on the principles of Human Action," "Lectures on the English Poets," "Lectures on the English Comic Writers," "Characters of Shakespeare's Plays," "A View of the English Stage," "Lectures on the Dramatic Literature of the Age of Elizabeth," "Table-Talk," and "Life of Napoleon Bonaparte." He did many things well, but literary criticism best of all.

6. **Sydney Smith** (1771–1845) was one of the founders of "The Edinburgh Review," and published in that periodical multitudes of essays; besides these, "Sermons," "Speeches," and "Letters on the Subject of the Catholics, to my Brother Abraham who lives in the Country, by Peter Plymley." He was distinguished for wit, good sense, good feeling, logic, and eloquence.

7. **John Wilson** (1785–1854), best known by his pen-name of **Christopher North**, wrote "The Isle of Palms, and Other Poems;" "The City of the Plague, and Other Poems;" many tales, — "Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life," "The Trials of Margaret Lindsay," and "The Foresters;" and the celebrated papers in "Blackwood," under the titles of "Noctes Ambrosianæ," and "The Recreations of Christopher North."

8. **Thomas De Quincey** (1785–1859) first won notice by his "Confessions of an English Opium-Eater," published in "The London Magazine," in 1821; and during the remainder of his life he wrote frequently for the magazines, reviews, and encyclopædias, — his essays being remarkable for erudition, and for wealth of thought, fancy, humor, and style.

9. The brothers **James Smith** (1775–1839) and **Horace Smith** (1779 or 1780–1849) are best known for their burlesque imitations of popular authors, published, in 1812, under the title of "Rejected Addresses."

10. **Lord Jeffrey** (1773–1850) joined with Sydney Smith, Horner, Brougham, and others, in founding "The Edinburgh Review;" and his many essays therein published are admirable examples of acute literary criticism and of felicitous style. His associate, **Lord Brougham** (1779–1868), was a man of rugged genius and of boundless energy, and, during a long and busy career as lawyer and politician, contributed many essays

to "The Edinburgh Review." It was in the same periodical that **Lord Macaulay** (1800–1859) published in 1825 his essay on "Milton," followed by that long series of essays that have given to him his brilliant reputation in this department of letters.

11. **John Foster** (1770–1843), a writer of great ingenuity and power, published essays "On Decision of Character," "On the Evils of Popular Ignorance," and many other subjects.

12. **Thomas Hood** (1798–1845) wrote "Whims and Oddities," the "Comic Annual," "Whimsicalities," and so forth, besides some small poems now everywhere famous either for pathos or for humor.

13. **Douglas Jerrold** (1803–1857) wrote many brilliant plays and novels, and was specially renowned for his wit. He began his career as a compositor in a London printing-office, and ended it as an editor of "Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper."

14. A name of supreme authority and attraction, as essayist, satirist, biographer, and historian, is that of **Thomas Carlyle** (1795), who for fifty years has been a diligent writer, and, since the publication of his "Sartor Resartus," a most influential one. Besides that book, his most memorable writings are "The French Revolution," "Past and Present," "The Life of John Sterling," and "History of Friedrich the Second, called Frederick the Great."

15. The greatest historians in England during the first half of the nineteenth century were **Henry Hart Milman** (1791–1868), who wrote "The History of the Jews," "The History of Christianity," and "History of Latin Christianity;" **James Mill** (1773–1836), who wrote "The History of British India;" **William Mitford** (1744–1827), and **Connop Thirlwall** (1797–1875), each of whom wrote a "History of Greece;" **John Lingard** (1771–1851), who wrote "A History of England;" **Patrick Fraser Tytler** (1791–1849), who wrote "The History of Scotland;" **Henry Hallam** (1777–1859), who wrote "View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages," "The Constitutional History of England," and "Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries;" **George Grote** (1794–1871), who wrote "History of Greece;" **Thomas Arnold** (1795–1842), who wrote "The History of Rome;" **Earl Stanhope** (1805–1875), who wrote a "History of the War of Succession in Spain," and a "History of England;" **Sir William Napier** (1785–1860), who wrote a "History of the War in the Peninsula;" **Sharon Turner** (1768–1847), who wrote "The History of England;" and finally, highest in artistic skill and in popular renown, **Lord Macaulay,** who wrote "The History of England."

16. Among English biographers for this period, probably the greatest is **John Gibson Lockhart** (1794–1854), who wrote "Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart." Another very eminent biographer is **William Roscoe** (1753–1831), who wrote Lives of "Lorenzo de' Medici," and "Leo the Tenth." A noble specimen of biography is "Shakespeare and His Times," by **Nathan Drake** (1766–1836).

CHAPTER XX.

FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: SCHOLARS, PHILOSOPHERS, THEOLOGIANS, AND MEN OF SCIENCE.

1. Scholars: Richard Porson; Isaac Disraeli; Thomas F. Dibdin; George L. Craik; John Payne Collier. — 2. Philosophers: Dugald Stewart; Thomas Brown; Sir James Mackintosh; Sir William Hamilton; Richard Whately. — 3. Theologians: Robert Hall; Thomas Chalmers; Augustus William Hare; Julius Charles Hare; Edward B. Pusey; John Keble; John Henry Newman; Thomas Arnold; Frederick D. Maurice; Frederick W. Robertson. — 4. Men of Political Science: Jeremy Bentham; T. R. Malthus; David Ricardo; Nassau W. Senior. — 5. Men of Physical Science: Sir William Herschel; Sir Humphry Davy; Michael Faraday; Mary Somerville; Sir Charles Lyell; Hugh Miller.

1. **Richard Porson** (1759–1808) was an eminent Greek scholar, and edited Euripides and Æschylus. After his death were published his writings under the titles of "Porsoni Adversaria," and, "Tracts and Miscellaneous Criticisms." **Isaac Disraeli** (1766–1848) was remarkable for a minute and extensive knowledge of literature and literary men. His principal works are "Curiosities of Literature," "Calamities of Authors," "Quarrels of Authors," and "Amenities of Literature." **Thomas Frognall Dibdin** (1776–1847) was a champion and example of bibliomania. His most noted works are "Bibliomania; or, Book-Madness;" "A Bibliographical, Antiquarian, and Picturesque Tour in France and Germany," "The Library Companion," and "An Introduction to the Knowledge of rare and valuable editions of the Greek and Latin Classics." **George Lillie Craik** (1799–1866) wrote "The Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties," "History of Literature and Learning in England," "Romance of the Peerage," and "The English of Shakespeare." **John Payne Collier** (1789) is most noted for his writings upon topics connected with Shakespeare. He has published "History of English Dramatic Poetry," "Memoirs of the Principal Actors in Shakespeare's Plays," "New Facts regarding the Life of Shakespeare," an edition of "Shakespeare's Works," and "A Bibliographical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language."

2. **Dugald Stewart** (1753–1828) published "Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind," "Philosophical Essays," "Outlines of Moral Philosophy," and "The Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man." **Thomas Brown** (1778–1820) published the "Phi-

losophy of Kant," "An Enquiry into the Relation of Cause and Effect," and "Lectures on the Philosophy of the Mind." **Sir James Mackintosh** (1765–1832) published, besides works in history, biography, and politics, a "Dissertation on Ethical Philosophy," and "A Discourse on the Study of the Law of Nature and Nations." **Sir William Hamilton** (1788–1856) wrote "Discussions on Philosophy and Literature, Education, and University Reform," "Lectures on Logic," and "Lectures on Metaphysics." **Richard Whately** (1787–1863) published a multitude of works, of which the following may be noted here: "The Use and Abuse of Party Feeling in Matters of Religion," "Elements of Logic," "Elements of Rhetoric," "Historic Doubts relative to Napoleon," and "Introductory Lectures on Political Economy."

3. **Robert Hall** (1764–1831) was remarkable for his eloquence in the pulpit, and for the wonderful powers of reasoning which his sermons displayed. His discourses were published in six volumes, in 1831–33. **Thomas Chalmers** (1780–1847) was the other great pulpit-orator and profound theologian of that period. His works, which are very numerous, deal with physical science, political economy, mental philosophy, as well as with Biblical learning, and divinity. His most popular work is "Astronomical Discourses." The brothers **Augustus William Hare** (1792–1834) and **Julius Charles Hare** (1796–1855), both clergymen, published "Guesses at Truth," besides many other works. A great movement in English thought, in the direction of Catholicity in the Anglican Church, was effected by the writings of **Edward Bouverie Pusey** (1800), of **John Keble** (1792–1866), and of **John Henry Newman** (1801). A movement in the direction of theological liberalism in the Anglican Church was promoted by the writings of **Thomas Arnold of Rugby**, of **Frederick Denison Maurice** (1805–72), and of **Frederick William Robertson** (1816–53).

4. The departments of political economy, jurisprudence, and social science, are represented by many great writers. **Jeremy Bentham** (1748–1832) published "A Fragment on Government," "An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation," "The Rationale of Judicial Evidence," and many other works. **Thomas Robert Malthus** (1766–1834) published "An Essay on the Principle of Population," and other writings on political economy. **David Ricardo** (1772–1823) published works on the Currency, on Rent, and on "The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation." **Nassau William Senior** (1790–1864) published "Introductory Lectures on Political Economy," "On Foreign Poor-Laws and Laborers," and "Treatise on Political Economy."

5. In physical science, the great writers were **Sir William Herschel** (1738–1822); **Sir Humphry Davy** (1778–1829); **Michael Faraday** (1794–1867); **Mary Somerville** (1780–1872); **Sir Charles Lyell** (1797–1875); and **Hugh Miller** (1802–1856).

CHAPTER XXI.

SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: CONCLUSION.

1. Our studies upon English literature, beginning with Cædmon in the seventh century, have now come to their necessary end in that portion of the nineteenth century in which we live, and in which the actors and the writers are very near to us, and are covered by the dust of contemporary conflicts and by the mist of contemporary opinions. We are upon the battle-field itself; the battle is still going on around us; we see here and there noble soldiers fighting bravely, and doing grand deeds; but in the trampling of so many feet, in the shouts of so many voices, in the hurrying this way and that of armed and of disarmed hosts, we cannot tell either just what all these movements mean, or just how this particular battle will end, or just what is the measure of praise or of blame that should be given to each one who is having a hand in it.

2. Some indication of the substance of English literature since the middle of this century may be gathered from the following record in the form of Annals: —

1850. Alfred Tennyson becomes Laureate, *In Memoriam.* Robert Browning, *Christmas-eve and Easter-day.* Dickens, *David Copperfield; Household Words* established. Thackeray, *The Kickleburys on the Rhine, Rebecca and Rowena.* Leigh Hunt, *Autobiography.* Douglas Jerrold, *The Catspaw.* Harriet Martineau, *History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace.* Thomas Carlyle, *Latter-Day Pamphlets.* Elizabeth C. Gaskell, *Moorland Cottage.* E. B. Lytton, *Harold.* Thomas Lovell Beddoes, *Death's Jest-Book.* Alexander Dyce, *Edition of Marlowe.* Wilkie Collins, *Antonina.* Sydney Dobell, *The Roman.* Francis W. Newman, *Phases of Faith.* F. D. Maurice, *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*, Part i. Charles Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, 7 vols. (1850–61).

1851. Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *Casa Guidi Windows.* John

Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice.* Thomas Carlyle, *Life of John Sterling.* Arthur Helps, *Companions of My Solitude.* Douglas Jerrold, *Retired from Business.* W. Hepworth Dixon, *William Penn.* E. B. Lytton, *Not so Bad as We Seem.* J. O. Halliwell, *Edition of Shakespeare.* Robert Chambers, *Life and Works of Burns.* W. E. Gladstone, *Two Letters on Neapolitan State Prosecutions.* Charles Kingsley, *Yeast.* G. L. Craik, *The English Language.* Richard Chenevix Trench, *On the Study of Words.*

1852. Thackeray, *Esmond.* Anna Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna.* Dickens, *Child's History of England.* Wilkie Collins, *Basil.* B. Disraeli, *Lord George Bentinck: a Political Biography.* John Earl Russell, *Memoirs of Thomas Moore.* W. Hepworth Dixon, *Robert Blake.* Charles Reade, *Peg Woffington.* Charles Kingsley, *Phaëton.* A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon.* Henry Morley, *Life of Bernard Palissy of Saintes.*

1853. Charlotte Brontë, *Villette.* Macaulay, *Speeches.* Dickens, *Bleak House.* Thackeray, *English Humorists.* Sydney Dobell, *Balder.* Leigh Hunt, *Religion of the Heart.* Elizabeth C. Gaskell, *Cranford, Ruth.* Matthew Arnold, *Empedocles on Etna, Poems.* E. B. Lytton, *My Novel.* Charles Knight, *Once upon a Time.* Michael Faraday, *Lectures on Non-Metallic Elements.* Charles Kingsley, *Hypatia.* Charles Reade, *Christie Johnstone.*

1854. Dickens, *Hard Times.* John Forster, *Life of Goldsmith* (enlarged edition). W. E. Aytoun, *Firmilian.* Douglas Jerrold, *A Heart of Gold.* Robert Bell, *Annotated Edition of the Poets* begun. H. H. Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, vols. iii., iv. Gerald Massey, *Ballad of Babe Christabel.* William Allingham, *Day and Night Songs.* Thomas Henry Huxley, *Educational Value of Natural History.* Richard Owen, *Structure of Skeleton and Teeth.* F. D. Maurice, *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy.* John Doran, *Table Traits.* John Ruskin, *Lectures on Architecture and Painting.*

1855. Robert Browning, *Men and Women.* Alfred Tennyson, *Maud.* Dickens, *Little Dorrit.* Thackeray, *The Newcomes, The Rose and the Ring.* G. H. Lewes, *Life of Goethe.* Arthur Helps, *The Spanish Conquest of America* (1855–61). Macaulay, *History of England*, vols. iii., iv. Charles Kingsley, *Glaucus, Westward Ho.* A. P. Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine.* George Macdonald, *Within and Without: a Dramatic Poem.* George Meredith, *Shaving of Shagpat.* Leigh Hunt, *The Old Court Suburb, Stories in Verse.* Elizabeth C. Gaskell, *North and South.* Anthony Trollope, *The Warden.* Matthew Arnold, *Poems*, 2d series. Charles Shirley Brooks, *Aspen Court.* *Saturday Review* established.

1856. Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *Aurora Leigh.* W. E. Aytoun, *Bothwell.* David Masson, *Essays, Biographical and Critical.* Alexander Dyce, *Edition of Shakespeare.* J. O. Halliwell, *Edition of Marston.* J.

A. Froude, *History of England from Fall of Wolsey to Death of Elizabeth*, vols. i., ii. Thackeray, *Miscellanies.* Dinah Maria Mulock (Craik), *John Halifax.* Edward A. Freeman, *History and Conquests of the Saracens.*

1857. Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's School Days.* Elizabeth C. Gaskell, *Life of Charlotte Brontë.* Anthony Trollope, *Barchester Towers.* Henry Thomas Buckle, *History of Civilization in England.* Charles Kingsley, *Two Years Ago.* Charles Reade, *Never Too Late to Mend.*

1858. Thackeray, *The Virginians.* "George Eliot," *Scenes of Clerical Life.* John Forster, *Historical and Biographical Essays.* Thomas Carlyle, *Life of Friedrich II.*, vols. i., ii. Anthony Trollope, *Doctor Thorne.* James A. Froude, *History of England*, vols. iii., iv. Arthur Helps, *Oulita the Serf: a Tragedy.* Matthew Arnold, *Merope: a Tragedy.* E. B. Lytton, *What will he Do with It?* Robert Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland.* William Morris, *Defence of Guinevere, and other Poems.* W. E. Gladstone, *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age.* Adelaide Anne Procter, *Legends and Lyrics.*

1859. "George Eliot," *Adam Bede.* Alfred Tennyson, *Idyls of the King.* Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities.* Charles Darwin, *Origin of Species.* Sir William Hamilton, *Lectures on Metaphysics and Logic.* Anthony Trollope, *The West Indies.* David Masson, *Life of Milton*, vol. i.; *British Novelists.* John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty.* John Earl Russell, *Life of C. J. Fox.*

1860. Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *Poems before Congress.* "George Eliot," *The Mill on the Floss.* G. H. Lewes, *Physiology of Common Life.* John Forster, *Arrest of the Five Members.* Shirley Brooks, *The Gordian Knot.* Wilkie Collins, *The Woman in White.* Macaulay, *Miscellaneous Writings; History of England*, vol. v. James A. Froude, *History of England*, vols. v., vi. Charles Reade, *The Cloister and the Hearth.*

1861. "George Eliot," *Silas Marner.* Dickens, *Great Expectations.* Thackeray, *The Four Georges, Lovel.* Anthony Trollope, *Framley Parsonage.* Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown at Oxford.* W. E. Aytoun, *Norman Sinclair.* Charles Knight, *Popular History of England* (1858–62). Earl Stanhope, *Life of Pitt.* Theodore Martin, *Translation of Catullus.*

1862. Thackeray, *Adventures of Philip, Roundabout Papers.* Thomas Carlyle, *Life of Friedrich II.*, vol. iii. E. B. Lytton, *A Strange Story.* Sir Henry Taylor, *St. Clement's Eve.* F. D. Maurice, *Claims of the Bible and of Science.* David Gray, *The Luggie, and other Poems.* Caroline E. Norton, *The Lady of Garaye.* Jean Ingelow, *Poems.* Mrs. Browning's *Last Poems.* John William Colenso, *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Examined*, 5 Parts (1861–65). Theodore Martin, *Translation of Dante's Vita Nuova.* Charles Darwin, *Fertilization of Orchids.*

1863. "George Eliot," *Romola*. Thomas Henry Huxley, *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature*. John Tyndall, *Heat Considered as a Mode of Motion*. Edward A. Freeman, *History of Federal Government*, vol. i. Charles Kingsley, *The Water Babies*. A. W. Kinglake, *History of the Invasion of the Crimea*, vols. i., ii. Elizabeth C. Gaskell, *Sylvia's Lovers*. John Keble, *Life of Bishop Wilson*. A. P. Stanley, *History of the Jewish Church*. Florence Nightingale (b. 1820), *Notes on Hospitals*. George Macdonald, *David Elginbrod*.

1864. Alfred Tennyson, *Enoch Arden*. Robert Browning, *Dramatis Personæ*. John Forster, *Life of Sir John Eliot*. Algernon Charles Swinburne, *Atlanta in Calydon*. John Henry Newman, *Apologia pro Vitâ Suâ*. William Allingham, *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland*. G. H. Lewes, *Aristotle*. Thomas Carlyle, *Life of Friedrich II.*, vol. iv. E. B. Pusey, *Lectures on Daniel, An Eirenicon*. John William Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*. John Doran, *Their Majesties' Servants*. Henry Morley, *English Writers before Chaucer*.

1865. Dickens, *Our Mutual Friend*. Algernon Charles Swinburne, *Chastelard*. John Stuart Mill, *Comte and Positivism*. *Fortnightly Review* established. Thomas Carlyle, *Life of Friedrich II.*, vols. v., vi. Elizabeth C. Gaskell, *Wives and Daughters*. W. H. Dixon, *The Holy Land*. F. D. Maurice, *Conflict of Good and Evil in Our Day*. George Grote, *Plato*.

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3. A poet who sings to us still, sang in his youth of the life and work of men. In the second of his two poems, "Paracelsus" and "Sordello," **Robert Browning** wrote:

"God has conceded two sights to a man, —
One of men's whole work, time's completed plan;
The other of the minute's work, man's first
Step to the plan's completeness."

He taught, as **Elizabeth Barrett Browning** — the best English poetess — afterwards taught, in "Aurora Leigh," that we must be content to do our day's work in our day, and the more quietly for the far vision of what may be, which should include conviction that

"no earnest work
Of any honest creature, howbeit weak,
Imperfect, ill-adapted, fails so much,
It is not gathered as a grain of sand
To enlarge the sum of human action used
For carrying out God's ends."

Alfred Tennyson, in his "In Memoriam," has based upon a human love a strain that rises step by step from the first grief of the bereaved to the full sense of immortality and of the upward labor of the race of man, each true soul being

"a closer link
Betwixt us and the crowning race
Of those that, eye to eye, shall look
On knowledge."

Tennyson's "Idyls of the King" is one great allegory of a divine voice in each man's soul that should be king over his passions and desires. Then **Charles Dickens** sought to undo wrong and quicken good will among men; **William Makepeace Thackeray** attacked the petty vanities and insincerities of life, and with a cynical air upheld an ideal opposite as his own inmost simplicity and kindliness to the life of the men who scorn their neighbors and consider themselves worldly wise. Now, too, **George Eliot,** in all her novels, instils her own faith in "plain living and high thinking," by showing that it is well in life to care greatly for something worthy of our care; choose worthy work, believe in it with all our souls, and labor to live through inevitable checks and hindrances, true to our best sense of the highest life we can attain. If **Thomas Carlyle** involves more in his condemnation of the times than may deserve his censure, his war is the true war of his century, with the host of false conventionalities that yet remain, with all that stands in the way of the work now chiefly left for us to do. "Men speak," he says, "too much about the world. Each one of us here, let the world go how it will, and be victorious or not victorious, has he not a life of his own to lead? One life, a little gleam of time between two eternities, no second chance to us forevermore. It were well for us not to live as fools and simulacra, but as wise and realities. The world's being saved will not save us, nor the world's being lost destroy us. We should look to ourselves: there being great merit here in the duty of staying at home. And on the whole, to say the truth, I never heard of worlds being saved in any other way. That mania of saving worlds is itself a piece of the eighteenth century with its windy sentimentalism: let us not follow it too far."

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